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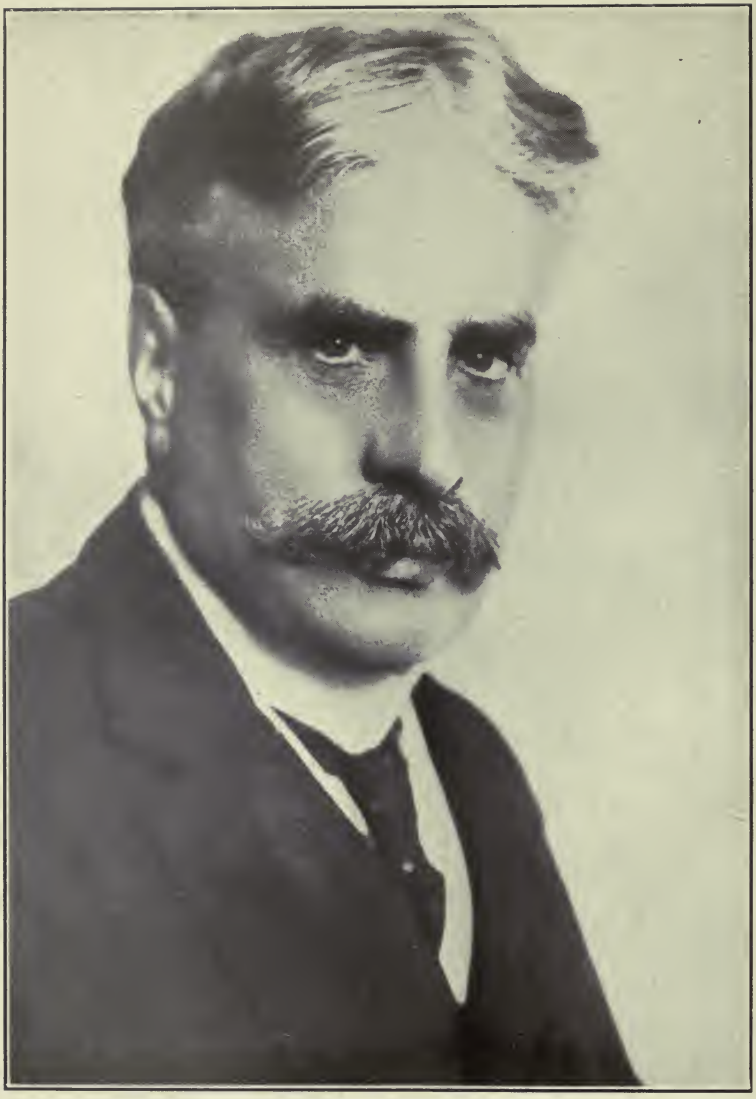
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Prime Minister of Canada 1911-17 and Leader of the Union Government Movement.

THE CANADIAN ANNUAL REVIEW

WAR SERIES

BY
J. CASTELL HOPKINS, F.S.S., F.R.G.S.

1917

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In

Sincere and Affectionate Memory

of

BRIG.-GENERAL THE HON. JAMES MASON

Who

In a Life-time of devotion to the Military
Service of Canada, to its Banking
Interests and National Welfare,
to the Unity and Greatness
of his Empire, embodied
the highest qualities
of Honour and
Loyalty

This Volume is Dedicated

By

THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE

In this 17th volume of a work which has been the object of intense interest and deep study to the Author for so many years, I would like to suggest two thoughts—one of a public nature, the other of a purely personal character. The first is a statement of gratification at the attention shown in reviews and personal letters regarding one of the main ideals which lay before me in originally undertaking this project—a History of Canada from year to year in all its processes of internal development and external relationship. I understand that the volume has been useful to public men, especially, in (1) the condensation of historical record and data as to the different Provinces of Canada—concerning the current history and progress of which no other permanent record exists; and (2) the analysis of the part taken by each of the countries of the British Empire in the War and in current processes of an interesting political development about which the average Canadian can find few facts. A third point has arisen out of the study of conditions bearing upon the progress of the World-War which I undertook to include in the volume when the struggle began in 1914—treating of all the great countries on either side of the conflict, so far as facts could be obtained and analyzed. As Canada has broadened out into a great country in the Empire and then into a British nation, known all over the world, I have endeavoured, despite the inevitable limitations of the task, to keep pace with this splendid progress in the pages of THE CANADIAN ANNUAL REVIEW.

The other thought in my mind is purely personal. Some of my friends in the press and others who comment upon or write to me about the work, frequently mention "The Editor." There can be no Editor except where someone else's literary work is dealt with, revised and edited. I feel a certain pride in the fact that since it started 17 years ago, every page and every line of these volumes, running into 700 or 800 pages a year, have been written by my own hand and personally evolved from a vast mass of contemporary data, official reports, special records, information received from all parts of the world as well as Canada—an accumulation of facts and historical detail such as only comes to a man in thirty years of time devoted to the study of his country and its place in the world.

J. CASTELL HOPKINS.

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LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR ARTHUR W. CURRIE, K.C.M.G., C.B.,
Commanding the Canadian Forces at the Front, 1917.

THE CANADIAN ANNUAL REVIEW OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

THE WORLD-WAR IN 1917

Progress and Environment of the World-War.

During this year the great world-struggle continued, with infinite variations of success and failure, of achievement and endurance, amongst the nations and interests concerned. It ended with the war-map of Europe and the East largely favourable to the Teuton Allies; with the oceans and commerce of the world fretted but not dominated by the German submarine; with a restless undercurrent of thought and feeling amongst the peoples of the world which culminated in the volcanic eruption of Russian anarchy; with a blood-testing of democratic government which showed a determined Britain, a wonderful France, an Italy of mingled weakness and power, a United States which had, finally, found itself; with a clear revelation, also, of the greatness of autocracy as the wielder of organized warfare and the inherent weakness of democracies in admitting the control or excessive influence of Pacificism and individualism.

It was a year of brilliant but somewhat ineffective triumphs for the British Allies on the Western front, a year of striking British victories in the East, and of Italian ebb and flow in the West; a year of disaster in the military collapse of Russia and of hope in the entry of the United States upon the blood-stained European arena; a year of heavy and ever-growing financial burdens for all the Powers, with the balance in favour of the Entente countries, who still, in the cases of Britain, France and the United States, maintained their commerce and credit; a year of unceasing and increasing casualties amongst the 20,000,000 troops fighting in ever-widening areas during these months of struggle; a year of bitter, individual grief in many countries, of untold, indescribable suffering amongst conquered peoples, of the continued barbarism in methods or policy of German troops and German governors; a year of varied revelations as to German plots in the turned-over pages of current history around the world; a year of restricted production and menacing famine in food supplies, of high prices and great war profits,

of heavy taxation and enormous national borrowings; a year of intense determination amongst French soldiers, of cheerful confidence in British troops, of sullen doggedness amongst the Germans and war-weariness in Austrian ranks, of disintegration, deception and disruption in immense Russian armies, of heroic action and feverish error amongst the Italians; a year in which every noble element in human nature found some expression somewhere and in which every vile or vicious trait in the life-structure of mankind found force and effect.

In this period the world experimented in all kinds of action and policy, discarded old practices and principles as a child does its worn-out toys, built up new structures of thought in a day which, under former conditions, would have needed a century for evolution, twisted and manipulated the war strategy and tactics of the past to suit terrors of high explosives, of flaming or poison gases, of monstrous Tanks, of bombs from the skies and torpedoes from under the seas. Mechanical transport, whether within the Teuton lines or on the Western Allied front, in Mesopotamia or Palestine, showed marvels of efficiency, while science worked inconspicuous but wonderful miracles in curative operation and the saving of life, in sanitary arrangements and inoculation against disease, as well as in the perfecting of varied means of death and of injury to an enemy. The social life of almost every country was in a state of flux, into the melting-pot went many national ideals, practices and prejudices, the selfish individualism of the day was shaken though not eliminated, self-sacrifice from the rarest of the virtues became a most common one, class distinction was based more and more upon public service while private morals were dealt with by public legislation and hammered out upon the anvil of war-time restrictions. Religion came to its own in some troubled quarters of the world even though, at times, the difficulties of realizing Christian principles amid the world-wide dominance of the cruellest war had a negative effect. Women in the Allied countries reached new standards of sacrifice, labour, efficiency, and obtained a political power undreamed of before this vast upheaval of elemental forces. The British Empire grew more and more into a close-knit Commonwealth of nations, while international friendships, such as those of Britain and France and the United States, found new and blood-knit spheres of sentiment and action.

Nine-tenths of the world's population, or 1,526 millions, were at war; half the Governments of the earth, with 1,370 million people, had engaged in the struggle against the German Allies with their 156,000,000 subjects; other States, with 22,000,000 of a population, had broken off relations with the Teutons, while the small neutral States only constituted 144,000,000 of people all-told. The disproportion of forces was enormous, yet back of the Germans were many elements making for possible conquest and world-power. They had a central geographical situation; a definite, determined, clear-cut ambition and policy which had been formulated and developed through half a century, by an autocratic government, to a trained and submissive people; a systematic organization

for war with a great army ready to strike and able to stand the buffets of fate to a degree which Napoleon himself would have thought superb; a splendid organization of resources, business, labour, industry, finance and man-power; a method of popular repression which might have explosive qualities inherent in its nature, but which, while it lasted, multiplied many times the striking power of its soldiers; a science which, over a long term of years, had turned every human capacity and mental power of its people into producing engines of war, machinery for destruction, weapons of death and deviltry; a transportation system unique in the operations of war and which, practically, doubled the effectiveness of the armies while expanding, as the conquered or affiliated regions expanded, from Berlin to Constantinople and tentatively out toward Bagdad and the Orient; a leadership of trained generals which gradually usurped or acquired complete and unified control over all the forces of its Allies and welded them into one great weapon for offensive war; a ruler who had held, during these war-years of tremendous national effort, the loyalty of his people and who, however vast the crime which caused and precipitated the War, possessed much ability and an obviously keen knowledge of world conditions, public thought and military strategy.

Against this mighty engine of aggressive power were the infinitely greater apparent forces of Great Britain and her Allies. At the beginning of the War their resources approximated $500,000,000,000 of national wealth, compared with an estimated $100,000,000,000 for the Teuton Allies, an area of 40,000,000 square miles compared with 3,000,000, and Pig-iron production—a back-bone of war—totalling 57,000,000 gross tons against 16,000,000, a wheat production of 3,000 million bushels against 400 millions. But during the ensuing years of war the mines and wealth and industries of Belgium and Northern France, the agricultural and mineral resources of Roumania, the forests and industries of Poland, the agricultural wealth of Courland and Lithuania, passed into German hands and were organized with characteristic completeness and ruthless skill. Meanwhile, the wealth of the Entente Allies was about the only thing organized with the same care as was shown in Germany; individual patriotism, it is true, did vast service in the various British countries but nowhere was man-power, industry and general strength adequately developed until in 1917 the voluntary system, by pure force of external compulsion, was replaced by a sort of subdued, socialistic autocracy.

The chaotic mass of populations such as China and India, the African Colonies and finally Russia—or about 1,000 millions of the great Alliance—were practically unarmed, unorganized and comparatively ineffective. They were, in part, utilized for labour purposes and, to an also restricted extent, for industry, but this was counter-acted by the force of German organization of conquered populations into practical slave labour. Hence, by the close of 1917, the preponderance of population on the part of Britain's Allies was more sentimental than effective; where it was organized the Submarine campaign had a disintegrating influence. The United

States, by this time, had thrown itself into the scale but as yet its weight was chiefly felt in the financial and industrial spheres; on the other hand Russia had dropped out and its great armies, variously estimated up to 15 millions had dissolved into wandering, undisciplined bands or huge units held together by no definite or visible force of either fighting will or patriotic power.

By this time Mittel-europa had become a fact and the Kaiser's power stretched from the North Sea, where it faced embattled Britain, to the frontiers of Egypt and Persia. At Brussels and Antwerp, at Vienna and Buda Pesth, at Sofia and Belgrade and Stamboul, at Warsaw and Riga, at Smyrna and Mosul, the war-lord of Berlin was supreme, while his trains ran and his soldiers marched at will straight across Europe into Asia. He held at the close of 1917, a position of power similar in fact, though not in detail, to that of Napoleon before the disastrous Russian campaign. Where his armies could not penetrate, where his soldiers could not win a foot of soil, where his interests were endangered, there the cohorts of German plotters, the skilful manipulation of German settlers or Germanized citizens, played havoc with the attempted organization of great democracies and promoted treason to the principles of liberty under which they lived.

These influences, underlying a secret diplomacy which the United States and various British Dominions affected to despise and did certainly under-rate, had helped to keep the United States out of the War and, therefore, to prolong its agonies. They kept Italy for a year from sharing in the struggle, saved Trieste and the Trentino to Austria in 1917, drove the Italians back to the line of the Piave, menaced Venice and all but detached Italy from the Alliance. They overthrew the Czar, drove Russia into anarchy and eliminated it as a fighting force; they almost created a crisis, a panic, a débâcle, in France during May-June, 1917; they stirred up rebellion in Ireland, helped to defeat Conscription in Australia, aided disloyalty in South Africa; they nursed sedition in India, schemed and worked throughout South America, attempted to keep China out of the conflict. Instead of the Germans going down to history in the words of Sir Frederick Pollock as "people who foresaw everything except what actually happened, and calculated everything except its cost to themselves," this phrase would seem far more applicable to the unprepared, peace-loving, pacifist-governed democracies of the world than to the organized and long-prepared peoples and rulers of the German Empire. As a matter of fact the war situation at the close of 1917 was, on the surface, favourable to the Germanic Allies and part of this result was emphatically due to long-prepared schemes, careful plots and foreseen contingencies; as much, perhaps, as to the fighting force of armies.

This point was fundamental and if the War was to be lost by the Allies, or become a draw, or result in the rehabilitation of Germany as an autocratic, organized military Power amongst the nations, it was clear, by the close of 1917, that this would be due to the difficulties of great Democracies in co-ordinating principles, policy and action and in organizing their united resources and strength. The

pivotal problem was, of course, that of Labour. Left to his natural processes of thought and the play of inter-acting forces in his own commonwealth, the workman was, and is, essentially patriotic. Influenced as he was at this time in an ever-increasing measure by the vague principles of Socialism and latterly by the anarchism of the Russian cult, he was often inclined to become simply a unit in an international class which fought for unmeasured privileges and for powers which, without education, it could not properly wield. The trained and organized self-control urged by Elihu Root as the true basis of democracy and the embodied enthusiasm and clear ideals of David Lloyd George formed the basis of an efficiency needed in all the Allied countries to carry on so vast a conflict. But they were as incompatible with the selfishness of some British or American Trades Union as they were with the idealistic ignorance of the Russian *moujik* suddenly given unlimited power, the motives of the Australian workman voting against Conscription, or the prejudices of the Boer devotee of republicanism who misused his liberty to strike at the very source of freedom.

The democracies of the British Empire, France and, finally, the United States had to meet and defeat an aggressive nation which had thrown into the scales of war a vast machine of organized manpower, industrial efficiency and state control of every individual element or function which made for strength and united force of action. During three years of struggle British countries, in particular, had to face varied forms of Party disintegration and disorganization at home and their results abroad; Governments and leaders and generals were hampered, delayed, overworked and discouraged; public men had to make speeches and play politics when they should have been administering intricate and vital details of war organization; inconceivable strikes took place in mining, shipping, munition and other industries upon which the lives of soldiers and the destinies of the War turned from day to day; long delays in imperative production occurred while statesmen were conciliating Unions and trying to obtain changes in rules which handicapped workmen, restricted work and limited efficiency. Meanwhile the unconscious traitors, the ignorant Pacifists, the purchased agents of German underground work, exercised a power which was limited yet unchecked, which hampered recruiting and industry, encouraged labour disorganization or strikes and, particularly, in the United States, blew up munition and other factories and paralyzed Government policy or, in 1917, vital Departmental action.

The struggle with these difficulties was splendid, the temper of British statesmen in the premises almost wholly admirable, as were many of the arguments of President Wilson but, meantime, the War went on and the blows of an organized autocracy wielding great guns and utilizing the efficiency of united production prolonged the struggle and bathed the world in further blood and tears. Democracy was attacked, its very life and that of liberty—which is not always the same thing—were at stake. Much was done to meet the difficulties but time was needed and while Coalitions came and politics were arranged, strikes averted or settled, Pacifists mildly

censured and various disintegrating influences of Demos overcome, great armies were winning or losing, myriads of men were dying and women suffering, countries such as Poland, Roumania and Serbia were being cruelly crushed.

By the close of 1917 it became clear that certain elements of internationalized Labour in Britain and the United States and internationalized Socialism in Russia remained ready to throw away the advantages of superior resources, the fruits of organization which had at last been consummated, the possibilities of American co-operation, the results of all the mighty sacrifices of France and Belgium and the other Allies, and close the War upon a basis of no indemnities and no annexations. Meantime, of course, self-control had come to the majority of the peoples in Allied countries, the self-sacrifice of masses and classes alike was a real vindication of the principles of liberty, class consciousness was kept in a more reasonable subjection to national interests than had been thought possible, the voluntary armies of the British Empire were marvels of effective bravery and quickly-developed efficiency, the final results of creative war-industry wonderful in view of difficulties which, however, seemed to constantly take new forms and require fresh exertions by national leaders to overcome.

An outstanding development of these years in the British Empire and amongst its Allies was that of Socialism. Of the infinitely varied forms which this propaganda and ideal took there were several of clearly-marked character. The first and most prominent and best understood was that of which Germany stood as the greatest exponent—the state ownership of utilities. Under the Prussian system in time of peace, as in war, the State monopolized or controlled nearly all the things which, in Britain and the United States, were normally left to private control and which included railways, waterworks, gas-works, industries, shipping and many other occupations or enterprises. Some of these had been accepted by democracies as with Telegraphs in Britain, Railways in Australia, Electric Power in Canada. But the principle had not been generally realized until the War worked an absolute revolution and, in self-defence, the democracies found themselves taking over first one and then another of the great enterprises of the nations and, at the end of 1917, appeared in full control of railways, industries, shipping and every interest making for organized war efficiency—a condition, however, which was slow in coming because the autocratic action which was so effective in Germany was lacking.

The second great phase of Socialism was also embodied in Germany—that of the subordination of the citizen to the State, the elimination of individualism, the turning of the nation into a vast machine in which the people were merely cogs in a wheel, units in a regiment, and working under public regulation and control. To some extent this latter phase of the system was copied by Britain when war came but in a tentative, uncertain, irritating and inconclusive way. No individualistic democracy could endure the system, in any form which would be efficient, and in this fact lay much of the ensuing difficulty and danger. Logically, of course, in time

of war there should be only the State or the country; practically no modern democracy would endure that condition a day. The Labour class, which was as truly a class as any aristocracy or financial oligarchy, would not at this time stand for dictation by even its own State, and a part of it in all the Allied countries continued to preach and practice a third form of Socialism which consisted merely of a loose combination of the proletariat or masses for the purpose of striking blows at the rich, the governing classes, the landowners, the employers of workmen. Ramsay Macdonald and his Pacifist crowd in Britain, the I.W.W. in the United States, Archbishop Mannix and Mr. Tudor—the Irish irreconcilable and the extreme Labourite—in Australia, the Bolsheviki in Russia, the Sinn Fein idealistic and intellectual rebel in Ireland, had these latter objects under different disguises. In some cases the appeal was a concrete one made only to the pocket; in others it was an attempt to realize purely theoretical fantasies; very largely it was a form of class warfare.

Yet Democracy had struggled through the years of this vast conflict and at the close of 1917 had pages of glory to its credit as great as any of which the organized and still-conquering Autocracy could boast; others would be turned over in the future but safety could never be assured until the democratic system of thought and feeling was willing to accept, also, a system of organized efficiency and unity within each of its liberty-loving countries and to make exacting sacrifice of the individual and his will to the State and its strength.

In a financial sense the Allied democracies had done well, their methods had been wise and their business conditions well-managed, from the start. Dominated by the rich resources and the careful, honest financial system of Great Britain, aided, also, by preservation of international credit through British control of the seas and the continuance of trade, the Allies were able, up to the close of 1916, to carry their enormous liabilities and meet all demands without serious or breaking strain. Then, in 1917, when the Submarine added new burdens of shipping construction and restricted the free interchange of products, the United States came into the circle and contributed from its enormous resources to the meeting of the strain which was beginning to be felt—especially in France, Italy, and Russia. Amongst them all, with the exception of broken Russia, there was no thought or talk of bankruptcy, repudiation or even critical conditions. Of Germany and her Allies little was known in this connection and the reports of the Imperial Bank of Germany were not very reliable, though even that official institution showed immense issues of paper money. The total war expenditure of the Entente Powers to August 1, 1917, was estimated by J. J. Fitzgerald, Chairman of the U. S. Congress Appropriation Committee, at $51,000,000,000 and those of the Teuton Allies at $25,000,000,000; the total for all the belligerents was placed by the *Wall Street Journal* at $89,000,000,000, by the Manchester *Guardian* at $107,000,000,000 and by the New York *Post* at $97,000,000,000; the London *Statist*, a little later, estimated the total at $100,000,000,000 with details as follows:

Entente Powers		Central Powers	
Great Britain	£4,910,000,000	Germany	£4,700,000,000
France	2,820,000,000	Austria-Hungary	2,580,000,000
Russia	4,350,000,000		
Italy	1,160,000,000		£7,280,000,000
Total	£13,240,000,000	Aggregate total cost	£20,520,000,000

These figures did not include the United States for which the Treasury Department stated the War expenses to August 1, 1917, at $1,629,000,000 and for the same date estimated the total Entente expenditures at $67,414,000,000 less $7,992,500,000 advanced to Allies and Dominions, and the total Teuton expenses at $30,900,000-000 less $600,000,000 advanced to Allies—a net total of $89,000,000-000. The New York *Annalist* estimated that if the War continued until August 1, 1918, the total would be $155,000,000,000. At the close of 1917 the Financial editor of the New York *Tribune* (Garet Garrett) estimated the cost of the War to date as follows:

United States	$ 6,000,000,000	Germany	$28,600,000,000
Great Britain	31,250,000,000		
France	20,500,000,000	Austria-Hungary, Turkey and Bulgaria	16,300,000,000
Russia	16,500,000,000		
Italy	5,900,000,000		
Belgium, Serbia, Roumania and Portugal	5,500,000,000	Total, Teuton Allies	$44,900,000,000
Total, Entente Allies	$85,650,000,000	Grand Total	$130,550,000,000

On or about the 1st of August, 1917, the issue banks began to show the strain in paper money and the Bank of England reported 200 million dollars in bank and exchequer notes, the Bank of France 4,000 millions in note circulation, the Imperial Bank of Germany 1,200 millions and the Bank of Russia 6,800 millions.* The German and Russian statements showed only a portion of their note issues. According to official figures, compiled by the Federal Reserve Commission at Washington to Oct. 31, 1917, the Bank of England then had notes of 206 million dollars in circulation, that of France 4,180 millions, that of Russia 9,456 millions and the German Reichsbank 2,413 millions. It may be added that the only currencies affected—except in relation to high prices—were those of Germany and Russia. The former at four marks to a dollar was quoted at New York in July, 1914, at 96; on Mar. 28, 1917, it stood at 59½; in Scandinavian countries during July it stood at 53 cents. The Russian rouble had a still greater depreciation. In July, 1914, it stood at 51 in New York and on Jan. 17, 1917, at 13 cents.

On Jan. 1st, 1917, the daily cost of the War to the *Entente* was placed at 70 millions and to the Central Powers at 35 millions; on Aug. 1 the estimate was, respectively, 76 millions and 40 millions. On the other hand the National wealth of the *Entente*, including the United States and the British Empire as a whole, totalled in 1914 $550,000,000,000 compared with $133,000,000,000 for the Central Powers. The national income of the peoples of the Entente countries as compiled by C. W. Gerstenberg, Financial editor of the New York *Metropolitan*, in July, 1917, was $66,000,000,000—though as usual with American writers the countries of the British Empire, outside of the United Kingdom, were omitted; that of the Central Powers

*Note.—Statement by the National City Bank of New York.

was $17,000,000,000. From these figures it appeared that Britain and her Allies could, under any system of organized finance, carry on the War indefinitely—with a national wealth which was nine times the total cost of 3½ years of titanic struggle and a national income exceeding the yearly total of war costs. Such an organization did not, of course, exist but similar principles of finance did control all the Allies and mutual helpfulness amongst the greater Powers took the place, to a substantial degree, of any paper union or exact bases of co-operation.

It must be added too, for the benefit of theorists, that so long as trade and production continued only part of the money spent in the War was lost or destroyed. Property and values were destroyed but the total of the former in three years of world-war was estimated at only $6,000,000,000—a bagatelle in such a conflict—while values changed and returned under ever-changing conditions. Money during the War changed hands but unless lost in a rare shipping or explosive disaster it was not destroyed. The real injury was in expenditure upon things which were not reproductive or permanent; but the money itself was not lost and the profits, interest, revenues, derived from its continuous turnover made for individual prosperity. Of course, the supply was limited and from that condition—as war demands increase—there came high prices, and the dangers of inflated currency. One effect of this condition was a great demand for silver in Britain, France, Italy, Russia and India, as being preferable to paper currency, and a phenomenal rise in its value which was marked by a selling price in New York (early in 1917) of 79 cents an ounce, or an increase of 20 cents over the 1914 average. Meanwhile, the world's gold production ($458,000,000 in 1916) was decreasing slightly and its silver supply (177,000,000 ounces in 1916) was decreasing considerably. The gold reserves of the Allied countries* at the close of 1916 (United Kingdom, Russia, France and Italy) was 1,849 million dollars, or about the same as on Dec. 31, 1913; those of Germany were 600 millions compared with 278 millions, and those of Austria were unobtainable; those of the six European Neutral countries had increased from 245 to 668 millions. The note circulation of the Allies (chiefly Russia and France) had increased from 2,650 to 8,957 millions, of Germany 617 to 1,917 millions, and of the neutral Powers from 699 to 1,115 millions.

As to the Public Debts which future generations would liquidate or pay interest upon, Alfred Neymarck, the French statistician, estimated the European total in 1914 at $32,000,000,000 and in the beginning of 1917 at about $135,000,000,000. At the close of the year the total must have been approximately $175,000,000,000. Turning to another topic it may be said that if the democracy of Britain and her Allied countries in the high and specially-ordered sphere of financial control had been successful in this great test of the ages, so also had the fighting spirit, action and, at times, success of its soldiers been unquestioned. When failure came it was due to the lack of discipline so clearly expressed in the Russian and Italian *débâcles* of the year. Still greater, if possible, were those Services

*NOTE—Official Statistics: Federal Reserve Bulletin, Washington.

of organized efficiency—the British Navy, the Aviators and the Medical Corps.

What of the comparative man-power, the relative casualties of the opposing nations? In 3½ years of struggle there had been nearly 50 millions of men engaged in fighting or held as reserves ready to spring. There had been campaigns in Poland, East Prussia and Galicia, in France and Belgium, in Mesopotamia and Egypt, Palestine and Persia, in Syria and Armenia, in Courland and Lithuania, in the Caucasus and Carpathians and the Alps, in Hungary and Roumania, Serbia and Greece, in South and East and West Africa. The losses were terrific, the casualties myriad in number, the details impossible of full analysis. Individual estimates were so varied as to make the thinking public during these years very skeptical of all expert statements. Germany was so continuously represented as suffering great losses, Austria was so frequently on its last legs or in a state of absolute exhaustion, Turkey was so often ready for a starved and beaten submission, that some of the statistics issued in this connection were little honoured. There was considerable divergence as to casualties and also as to available Teutonic man-power. Taking Germany alone J. W. Gerard, the late U. S. Ambassador at Berlin, estimated the original call to the colours at 12,000,000 and General de Lacroix, of Paris, at 13,100,000; F. H. Simonds, a generally-reliable American expert, placed that of Austria at 8,500,000; the Manchester *Guardian* estimated the totals at 9,000,000 for Germany and 7,000,000 for Austria-Hungary, with 2,000,000 for Turkey and 500,000 for Bulgaria—a total of about 23,000,000. For the British Allies this estimate included the following figures: British Empire 7,000,000, France 6,000,000, Russia 15,000,000 and the lesser countries 750,000—a total of 26,500,000. Up to Aug. 1, 1917, semi-official statistics of casualties, compiled at Washington and claimed to be approximately correct, were as follows:

Entente	Killed	Seriously Wounded	Captured or Missing	Total
Britain	298,988	177,224	182,452	659,664
France	1,580,000	921,328	696,548	3,197,876
Russia	2,062,064	1,223,476	1,243,096	4,528,636
Italy	130,356	60,840	68,292	259,488
Belgium	62,064	27,324	149,644	239,032
Serbia	74,484	34,776		109,260
Totals	4,207,956	2,444,968	2,340,032	8,993,956

Teutons	Killed	Seriously Wounded	Captured or Missing	Total
Germany	1,908,800	958,612	704,128	3,571,540
Austria	849,368	540,673	833,644	481,096
Turkey	157,644	236,548	86,904	481,096
Bulgaria	9,324	8,676	7,452	25,452
Totals	2,925,136	1,744,509	1,632,128	4,559,184
Grand Totals	7,133,092	4,189,477	3,972,160	13,553,140

It was added that 80% of the *Entente* wounded returned to the colours and 85% of the German wounded. A possibly more correct estimate than this and one more generally accepted was that an average of 60% were fit for service again. As to the numbers of men available or remaining on the Teuton fronts the figures were

very divergent.* Colonel E. P. Repington of the London *Times* stated that at the close of 1916 there were 128 German divisions on the Western front and 106 German, Austrian and Turkish divisions on the Eastern front, 29 mixed divisions on the Roumanian and 12 on the Austrian, with 33 Austrian divisions on the Italian front—a total of 308 divisions or between five and six million men. M. André Tardieu, French High Commissioner at Washington, wrote the U. S. Secretary of War on July 30 that 3,000,000 men were then in the Army of France at the front and that casualties were distinctly lessening in proportion to mobilized strength.

General Sir William Robertson, Chief of the British Staff, stated (Apr. 4) that there then were 24,000,000 men in the armies of the belligerents; General de Lacroix told *Le Temps*, Paris, on June 19 that out of Germany's original 13,000,000 a total of 3,630,000 were definite losses or casualties, 2,200,000 had been rejected as unfit with 1,110,000 wounded and under treatment or resident abroad, leaving a total of 6,190,000—which was a little larger than Colonel Repington's estimate of six months earlier. F. H. Simonds telegraphed the New York *Tribune* from French Headquarters on Sept. 20 that the Associated Press was able to give approximately the figures representing the man-power of Germany in the War, at that time, together with the casualties, as follows: "Fixed formations on the various fronts, employed on lines of communication and stationed in the interior, 5,500,000; Divisions undergoing formation and men in *depôts*, 600,000; losses in killed, permanently disabled and prisoners, 4,000,000; wounded, under treatment in hospitals, 500,000—total 10,600,000." To this total another correspondent (Henry Wood) added 700,000 for still unincorporated classes of 1919 and 1920. J. W. Gerard's estimate of effectives available early in 1917 was 9,000,000, with 400,000 new men of military age each year. Mr. Gerard's figures do not appear in his book, *My Four Years in Germany*, and may be considered as exaggerated. Mr. Simonds estimated that, after the elimination of Russia, Austria had about 3,500,000 and that Italy had at least 3,000,000 men available.

Taking the general estimate of 6,000,000 for Germany with M. Tardieu's statement of 3,000,000 French troops and Mr. Lloyd George's estimate of 3,000,000 available British troops, together with 2,000,000 Turks and Bulgarians and 800,000 of lesser Entente Allies, it would seem that the year 1917—excluding Russia, Japan and the United States—closed with the nations at war holding forces in the fighting line, or as active reserves, of about 21,000,000—very nearly equally divided with, perhaps, a balance in favour of the Germans. The statistical situation was much worse for the *Entente* than at the beginning of the year; the real position depended on how soon the United States could get into the conflict seriously. The tremendous advantage of reserve man-power in the Entente Alliance over that of the Central Powers obviously was not visible in the fighting ranks after Russia had dropped out, with India, Japan, China, etc., excluded from practical consideration and the United States still unready.

*NOTE.—Some careful estimates were given in this Section of *The Canadian Annual Review* for 1916.

Such a position was calculated to arouse pessimism but, as a matter of fact, it was not known to the public in the detail given above nor appreciated by the masses of the people in British or other Entente countries. There was, also, the obvious and immense reserve which the United States constituted, there was the successful financial policy of the Allies and their superior bases of wealth and credit already referred to, there were the greater possibilities of industrial strength available when the organization of the United States should be completed. On the Western front there might, during 1917, be some Socialistic trouble in the French ranks and privations and bitter battles elsewhere but there was superb optimism amongst the soldiers in general and absolute confidence as to superior *morale* and, until the artillery of the Eastern Front came, there was assurance as to the superiority of artillery and aeroplanes.

The recovery of the valuable strategical ridges around Ypres, in Flanders, the retreat of the Germans in the Somme, Oise and Aisne regions, their defeat at Vimy, and Messines, and Passchendaele, the Battle of Arras with its capture of 250 guns and 20,000 prisoners and German casualties placed at 250,000, the wiping out of the Noyon Salient, the advance to the walls of St. Quentin, Laon and Lens, the partial success at Cambrai, all gave colour to this confidence and strength to the Allies. So in the Near East with a British spectacular success at Bagdad and Jerusalem and the occupation of Mecca by the Arabs. But the great point in this connection was that raised and stated by Sir William Robertson in an interview (New York *Times*) on Aug. 6: "Armies in the field are only a part of this tremendous conflict. Suppose we conclude that no army of millions can be broken and crushed. Is the same thing to be supposed of the nation behind the army? Surely we see in this great contest much more than a struggle of armed forces. It is a sifting of nations, a trial of character, a test of racial quality."

Of war weapons and inventions during this period it must be said that they were as wonderful as in some cases they were horrible. In 1914 there had been the 42 centimetre gun which pulverized fortifications that were supposedly impregnable; in 1915 came the poison gas which added new horrors to the War; in 1916 the "Tank" developed and in 1917 came the depth bomb which attacked Submarines so successfully. As to gas there were four main kinds employed by the Germans: (1) one which made the eyes smart and weep so copiously as to temporarily impair their use; (2) the gas that especially attacked and burned the tender parts of the body; (3) the kind that shrivelled the mucous membrane and wholly blinded the victim for 90 hours; (4) the gas that was projected in a ball-envelope, which dropped without noise and opened without explosion to release odourless but fatal fumes.

Associated with these weapons of war was the method of propaganda—the issue of floods of literature by the different countries, ranging from millions of leaflets, and pamphlets up to thousands of books. The German system was exceptionally varied and skilful and vast in the volume of its secret literature. But Great Britain also did active work and one organization alone, the Over-Seas Club,

issued in various languages to meet German arguments a total of 2,000,000 pamphlets. These publications had more general diffusion than books, yet the latter, through touching the pulse of intellectual and political and journalistic forces in different countries, probably wielded an equal influence. Statistics in this connection* indicated that about 1,200 books dealing with the World-War had been issued at the beginning of 1917.

The year ended with varied lights and shadows for the world, with mingled pride and pain for the Allies, with suppressed and concealed suffering in Teuton countries. Anxious world-wide eyes were looking into a future still dark with possible horrors, the sound was everywhere heard of marching hosts in new and greater armies. There was the continued piling up of vast armaments, the prospect of starvation for multitudes of people, the sound in the tree-tops of revolution and change and rough-shod action in the world's social strata. The brightness lay in the continued heroism of vast forces of men—far more voluntary and initiative in character on the one side than on the other; in an almost unexpected self-sacrifice and self-control shown by the democracies involved and only brought into more vivid view by the lurid leaders of Russian anarchy; in the light of women's work and endurance in all the war-swept lands.

The Entente Allies were engaged in the stupendous task of carrying munitions and men and supplies upon all the Seven Seas with submarines and sudden death lurking everywhere. England, at the close of the year, needed men, munitions and money, Italy food, steel and coal, France food, munitions, money, credits and men —everything in fact. The United States, in a splendid but still disorganized effort, had a million men in training and at least 200,000 untrained, unarmed men in France; its War estimates were gigantic and the demands upon its resources in wheat, coal and iron, machinery and ships, motors and food, were all equally great. Britain was ringing with insistent demands for reprisals upon the enemy for continued war brutalities and smashing of international laws while General Smuts, who was one of the leaders in the agitation for such a policy—as the Archbishop of Canterbury was in opposition to it—announced on Oct. 4 that air reprisals had at last been reluctantly decided upon.

Great Britain faced the menace of German reinforcements pouring into the Western field of operations with, according to Mr. Lloyd George, 3,000,000 fighting men overseas and with a record of transportation summed up in the official statement of General F. D. Maurice that the daily importation of war material into France was 11 tons per hour in January, 1917, and 24 tons per hour in September. To the Allied nations and to her Dominions Britain, at the year end, appealed earnestly for increased food production and everything in the way of world data proved the need of the appeal—a threatened and desperate shortage of food in the coming year. To rulers and public men the year brought fresh proof of the personal havoc wrought by war. The Czar of all the Russias was gone, King

*NOTE: F. W. T. Lange in *Annotated Bibliography of Literature Issued During the European Conflict.*

Constantine of Greece had reaped the reward of treachery, Nicholas of Montenegro and Peter of Serbia shared with him the pains, though not dishonour, of exile. Bethmann-Hollweg, Von Jagow, Zimmerman and Von Tirpitz had followed each other into German retirement while Berchtold and Tisza had disappeared from Austrian control; Asquith and Grey in Britain had followed Delcassé and Viviani of France, while Bryan and Dumba and Bernstorff had faded from the American foot-lights. In the Armies of the world death had called Kitchener and Von Moltke, retirement had come to Grand Duke Nicholas of Russia, the Archduke Friedrich and Von Hotzendorff of Austria, Joffre and Nivelle, Von Kluck, Von Hausen, Von Heeringen and Von Haesler, Smith-Dorrien, Nixon and Murray, French and Cadorna. The military situation seemed a menacing one to the Allies but with more favourable conditions promised when the power of the United States was realized. Territories respectively occupied or captured by the rival groups of Powers were as follows at the close of 1917:

Territory Under Teutonic Control			Territory Under Entente Control		
Countries	Area Sq. Miles	Nominal Population	Countries	Area Sq. Miles	Total Population
Belgium	11,000	7,700,000	German Colonies:		
Serbia	34,000	4,600,000	Asia	200	169,000
Roumania	54,000	7,500,000	Africa	890,000	13,000,000
Montenegro	6,000	500,000	Pacific	96,000	358,000
Poland	49,000	12,000,000	Greece	46,500	4,800,000
Russia	35,614	2,664,000			
Total	189,614	34,964,000	Total	1,032,700	18,327,000

The Inter-Allied Conferences and Supreme War Council.

An Allied step of great importance in 1917 was the movement toward closer international control of war policy and better co-operation in methods. The Conference system of 1916 was improved and enlarged. Mr. Lloyd George, the British Premier, and Lord Milner, M. Briand, the French Premier, with M. Lyautey, Minister of War, and M. Thomas, Minister of Munitions, were at Rome on Jan. 5 and held a War Council with the Italian Government about the situation of General Sarrail at Salonika, the Greek King and the Army of the Orient. Other Conferences or Councils of Premiers, statesmen and generals followed at Petrograd on Jan. 29, at Calais on Feb. 26, at St. Jean de Maurienne, Savoy, on May 5, at Paris on May 6 and again on July 25. Every effort at unity of action—short of the single command and direction which had done so much for the Teutons—was made and, toward the close of the year, there developed a movement for co-ordinating the higher commands of the French, British, Italian and future American armies at the front under one supreme strategical head. F. H. Simonds, in one of his able articles in the New York *Tribune*, urged this policy early in November and some of the British papers took it up as a part of the French press already had done. Unity of command and concentration of the whole vast battle-line in one single front, against an enemy front under the general control of the German high command, was the proposal. The opposite view was expressed by the London *Globe* of Nov. 7: "No one who knows either Italy or France could advocate the denudation of the Italian front at the

order of a French generalissimo, or the imperilling of Paris by the despatch of French troops to the Carso on the command of the Italian commander. What would be our feelings were Haig under Cadorna and the latter commanded the uncovering of the Channel ports in order to develop his offensive against Trieste."

Obviously this kind of distrust still was a difficulty in the way as it had during three years past been an obstacle in the path to victory. The *Entente* was apparently groping in the dark for a Ludendorff of organization or for a new Kitchener who could lead nations as well as armies, and this desire the Italian defeat further intensified. Field Marshal Haig, Generals Pétain, Nivelle and Foch, General Jan Christian Smuts, were all suggested as possible heads under some new arrangement. Meanwhile, the British Government had been maturing a scheme for closer co-ordinated action and at the Conferences in Rome and Paris and, finally, at Rapallo, near Genoa, on Nov. 9, the subject was discussed, a draft eventually approved and submitted to the General Staffs, accepted by France and Italy and tentatively approved by President Wilson. The important and conclusive gathering had been at Rapallo where the British Premier, the French Premier (M. Painlevé), the Italian Premier (Sig. Orlando), Generals Foch, Sir W. Robertson, Sir H. H. Wilson and J. C. Smuts were present with several other Ministers and many officials. An Inter-Allied General Staff was created with Generals Cadorna, Foch and Wilson as members.* The agreement of eight clauses arrived at between the three Governments concerned was in the following terms:

(1) With a view to the better co-ordination of military action on the Western front a Supreme War Council shall be created composed of the Prime Minister and a member of the Government of each of the Great Powers whose armies are fighting on that front; the extension of the scope of the Council to the other fronts is reserved for discussion with the other Great Powers.

(2) The Supreme War Council has for its mission to watch over the general conduct of the War; to prepare recommendations for the decision of the Governments and to keep itself informed of their execution and to report thereon to the respective Governments.

(3) The General Staffs and the Military Commands of the armies of each Power charged with the conduct of military operations remain responsible to their respective Governments.

(4) The general war plans drawn up by the competent military authorities are submitted to the Supreme War Council, which, under the high authority of the Governments, ensures their concordance, and submits, if need be, any necessary changes.

(5) Each Power delegates to the Supreme War Council one permanent military representative whose exclusive function is to act as technical adviser to the Council.

(6) The military representatives receive from the Governments and the competent military authorities of their country all the proposals, information, and documents relating to the conduct of the War.

(7) The military representatives watch day by day the situation of the forces and the means of all kinds of which the Allied armies and the enemy armies dispose.

(8) The Supreme War Council meets normally at Versailles, where the permanent military representatives and their staffs are established. They may meet at other places as may be agreed upon, according to circumstances. The meetings of the Supreme War Council will take place at least once a month.

Speaking at Paris on Nov. 12, to the Allies in general and about the new proposals in particular, the British Premier made a some-

*NOTE.—In December, General Weygand succeeded General Foch as the French representative.

what startling and very blunt speech. He first pointed out that on land and sea the Allies had superiority and the advantage in numbers, weight of men and material, economic and financial resources, and, beyond and above all, in the justice of their cause. "This, combined with superiority, ought ere now to have ensured victory for the Allies; at least it ought to have carried them much further along the road to victory than the point which they have yet reached." He paid tribute to defeated but gallant Italy and fevered Russia, stricken through no fault of her own, and declared that the blame for slowness in world-success did not lie with Allied armies or navies:

> No! The fault has not been with the armies; it has been entirely due to the absence of real unity in the war direction of the Allied countries. We have all felt the need of it. We have talked about it. We have passed endless resolutions resolving it. But it has never yet been achieved. In this important matter we have never passed from rhetoric into reality, from speech into strategy. In spite of all the resolutions there has been no authority responsible for co-ordinating the conduct of the War on all fronts, and, in the absence of that central authority, each country was left to its own devices. We have gone on talking of the Eastern front and the Western front and the Italian front and the Salonika front and the Egyptian front and the Mesopotamia front, forgetting that there is but one front with many flanks, that with these colossal armies the battlefield is continental.

Such unity as was evolved at War Conferences was, he declared, make-believe, a stitching together of plans instead of a strategic direction of armies. Had unity in this respect been achieved the victories of the armies would by this time have ended the War. He analyzed the mistakes of the Allies as to Serbia, Roumania and Italy, and based his policy upon the fact that the War, as a whole, was a blockade of two Great Powers. Finally, he declared that for many months and years he had been urging a War Council and some central direction, but in vain: "Personally I had made up my mind that unless some change were effected I could no longer remain responsible for a war direction doomed to disaster for lack of unity." The Council was thus established and it commenced work at once; it was at first composed of the three Premiers and one other Cabinet member from each country—Britain, France and Italy. It was hoped that the United States would come in later, and perhaps, Russia. Summarizing the official terms quoted above the general object of the Council was to continuously survey the field of operations as a whole, to co-ordinate the plans prepared by the different General Staffs and, if necessary, to make proposals for the better conduct of the War.

Meantime, an American Special Mission had reached England on Nov. 7 to represent the United States in a Conference with the British authorities. Edward M. House, the President's personal adviser and confidential envoy on some preceding missions, was the Republic's chief representative and was accompanied by Admiral W. S. Benson, Chief of Naval Operations; General Tasker H. Bliss, Chief of Staff, U. S. Army; Oscar T. Crosby, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury; Vance C. McCormick, Chairman of the War Trade Board; Bainbridge Colby, U. S. Shipping Board; and others. The British Premier and the War Cabinet, Mr. Balfour, many other

Government members, and the chief British army, navy and war officials were in attendance at the opening meeting on Nov. 19. Mr. Lloyd George, in his address, described man-power at the Front, and shipping, as of special and equal urgency. He wanted to know when the first million of men would come from the United States and whether the promised 6,000,000 tons of shipping for 1918 would be realized. He then described the Aeroplane situation and demands and the urgency of increased American food production; he promised a tighter blockade of the Central Powers. Admiral Benson replied with information as to what the United States had done already in training men, making munitions, building fleets, economizing food and manufacturing aircraft. It was shortly afterwards announced that the American Mission would attend an Inter-Allied War Council in Paris.

In the Commons on Nov. 19 the British Premier defended his Paris speech as necessary to destroy dangerous complacency and illusions, stated that the Allied Council plan had been first proposed by Lord Kitchener in January, 1915, and pointed out that with this War Council there would be the right to press matters to a conclusion—such as recent suspicions about the Italian front, which were dealt with too late. Upon the point of Politicians *vs.* Generals, so fatal in other wars, the speaker was explicit in declaring that the whole campaign of the year had been carried out by the advice of soldiers and only upon their advice. As to the rest: "There are two fears—two things that can defeat us—the submarine menace and a lack of unity. Of the Submarine I have no longer any fear. We are on its track. The only other thing is lack of unity. Unity is the only sure way to victory—a victory that will bring peace and healing to a world which is bleeding to death." A great Inter-Allied War Conference followed and was opened at Paris on Nov. 29, 1917. It was composed of representatives of all the Allies except China and included representatives of 15 nations —France, Great Britain, United States, Italy, Japan, Belgium, Serbia, Roumania, Greece, Portugal, Montenegro, Brazil, Cuba, Russia, and Siam.

M. Clémenceau presided and briefly welcomed the delegates; and M. Pichon outlined the methods of deliberation; various Sections were then constituted to deal with finance, imports, munitions, aviation, food, transportation and blockade; each was presided over by the French Minister whose Department was involved and diplomatic, military and naval questions were similarly handled. The importance of the meeting was indicated by the fact that the British delegation, including officials and clerks, numbered 143 persons. Co-incident to, and inter-acting with, the Conference were sittings of the Supreme War Council at Versailles—as to which Mr. Lloyd George told *Le Petit Parisien* (Dec. 1) that: "We are endeavouring at the present to realize unity of direction and control, and the real and total concentration of our collective efforts." For the moment the one-time centre and seat of autocracy and artistic luxury under Louis XIV, the gorgeous home of the most splendour-loving Sovereign who ever sent armies to battle and embodied in his own day the

passions of conquest and power, was the centre of a democratic alliance of nations fighting another autocrat of quite another personal type but with very similar aims and ambitions.

No detailed statement was officially issued as to the Conference meetings but it was announced on Dec. 4 by the French Minister of Foreign Affairs that agreements had been concluded upon the basis of "a complete understanding and close solidarity among the Allies" for the solution of the War questions in which they had a common interest: "The financial needs of each of them, the requirements of their armament, their transport, their food, have been subjects of profound study. The creation of a Supreme Inter-Allied Naval Committee was determined upon. Military unity of action has been placed in the way of certain realization by the Inter-Allied General Staff, which is at work upon an organized programme of all military questions. In a diplomatic point of view, entire accord resulted from the discussions." Other general statements were made as the Conference continued its sittings over a period of 30 days and as the various Committees or Sections deliberated and decided upon the vast task of co-ordination which lay before them. At the close of the year Col. E. M. House, the U. S. representative, issued at Washington a summary of proceedings in which the most important items were as follows:

1. The pooling of Allied resources, with special reference to those of the United States was settled so as to guarantee full equipment of the fighting countries and forces.

2. The Allies, considering that the means of Maritime transportation at their disposal should be utilized in common for the pursuit of the War, decided to create an Inter-Allied organization for the co-ordination of their operations and establishment of a common programme kept up to date.

3. Full and detailed Conferences were held of the British, French, United States and Italian representatives upon Blockade matters and a complete understanding was obtained of the principles upon which these countries would act.

4. A comprehensive and accurate estimate was obtained of the food in the possession of the Allied nations and of the amounts that must be supplied by North America during the year ending Oct. 1, 1918.

On Dec. 14 the appointment of an Inter-allied Naval War Committee was announced as composed of the Minister of Marine and Chief of Naval Staff (or flag officers to represent them) of each country. Admiral Benson reported at Washington that its object was: "To ensure the closest touch and co-operation between the Allied fleets. The task of the Council will be to watch over the general conduct of the naval war and to ensure co-ordination of effort at sea as well as the development of all scientific operations connected with the conduct of the War." The question of an Allied Generalissimo was shelved for the moment—greatly to the disappointment of the French who thought an Allied War Staff should, logically, involve an Allied War Chief.

The Germans and the Kaiser in 1917; National Character and Opinions.

The Kaiser continued to dominate Germany during this year; his will, whether interpreted, explained, modified or influenced by succeeding Chancellors, such as Bethmann-Hollweg, Michaelis or Von Hertling, was the arbiter of fate and the final source of national action and policy. The country could not properly be judged apart from his personality; neither could he be judged apart

from the war-aims and ruthless actions of German statesmen and armies. John Morley, in his Diary of July 9, 1891, once wrote of him, during a visit to England, that there was "energy, rapidity, restlessness in every movement, from his short, quick inclinations of the head to the planting of the foot. But I should be disposed strongly to doubt whether it is all sound, steady, and the result of a rightly co-ordinated organization." Years passed on and whether for good or ill the Kaiser's character hardened and his ambitions and convictions became interchangeable.

The current denunciation of him and his policy in the world-press outside of German countries, had in 1914-17 a touch of war-fury about it; but there could be no doubt that he bore an awful burden of responsibility, personally and historically, in his initiation of the War and in its conduct at the hands of his Generals and soldiers. That his personality was a powerful one appears clear. No monarch who could carry his people and allied nations into such a conflict and hold them there in the teeth of 800 and then of 1,400 millions of other peoples during four years of terrific struggle, could be honestly said to lack strength of will and capacity. Like Napoleon, he had the ambition and faculty of ruling; unlike Napoleon he had to leave much, though not all, of the military leadership to others. His people, in the main, believed in him during this period and through 1917—whatever changes defeat or starvation might later on create, or whatever of increased *prestige* victory or partial success might evolve.

Meanwhile he bestrode the continent like a Colossus and his armies went hither and thither at will, while hosts of cleverly-organized agents and spies and political workers pulled the strings in every enemy country. German Socialism in all its millions, though restless, still lay at his feet; conflicting and antagonistic races and interests in Austria-Hungary, the Balkans and Turkey obeyed his war-behests; political critics at home still whispered in private or withdrew their public opposition to his internal policy. To a considerable degree he still embodied in himself the will and ambition and character of his people; the Divine right of rule and action, which he, no doubt, believed in as honestly as any monarch of the distant past, was capable of continued exercise only because of this fact.

His order to the Army and Navy at the beginning of 1917, when the Peace proposals of that time collapsed, was as typical of this arrogant piety and war enthusiasm as was the autocracy of many old-time rulers in other applications and other conditions: "Our enemies refused my offer. Their hunger for power desires Germany's destruction. The War will be continued. Before God and humanity I declare that on the Government of our enemies alone falls the heavy responsibility for all further terrible sacrifices from which I wished to save you. With justified indignation at our enemies' arrogant crime and with determination to defend our holiest possessions and secure for the Fatherland a happy future, you will become as steel. Our enemies did not want the understanding offered by me. With God's help our arms will enforce it.—Wilhelm,

I.R." His ensuing Proclamation (published Jan. 14) was also significant of "the will to power," which Treitschke urged and the Prussian people had made a world formula:

> Our glorious victories and our iron strength of will, with which our fighting people at the Front and at home have borne all hardships and distress guarantee that also in the future our beloved Fatherland has nothing to fear. Burning indignation and holy wrath will redouble the strength of every German man and woman, whether it is devoted to fighting, to work or to suffering. We are ready for all sacrifices. The God who planted His glorious spirit of freedom in the hearts of our brave peoples will also give us and our loyal Allies, tested in battle, the full victory over all the enemy lust for power and rage for destruction.—Wilhelm, I.R.

To understand the Kaiser and his government, the diplomatic arguments of Germany and the attitude of its people, their extraordinary national conceptions of World-morality must always be remembered. There was no change apparent in 1917. Just as Bethmann-Hollweg and Von Jagow, and of course the Kaiser, saw no crime in smashing the neutrality of Belgium, so on Jan. 11, 1917, a Note handed to the neutral Powers from the German Government said: "Twice the Imperial Government declared to the Belgian Government that it was not entering Belgium as an enemy, and entreated it to save the country from the horrors of war. In this case it offered Belgium a guarantee for the full integrity and independence of the Kingdom and to pay for all the damage which might be caused by German troops marching through the country. The Belgian Government refused the repeated offer of the Imperial Government. On it, and on those Powers who induced it to take up this attitude, falls the responsibility for the fate which befell Belgium." As a matter of history Frederick the Great had acquired Silesia and its basis of industrial strength just as Wilhelm I took Alsace-Lorraine and its basis for the iron and steel and armament greatness of modern Germany, or as Wilhelm II took Belgium with a view to crushing France and reaching England. These incidents, or Schleswig-Holstein and the Kiel Canal, Kiao-Chau and defiance to Japan and China, the Delcassé affair and the taking of French-African territory, were stages in a process of acquisition which, in 1914-17, included the great French mining districts of Briey and Longwy, Belgium, Poland, Courland, Lithuania, Esthonia, Roumania, etc. National and military necessity to the German mind demanded these territories and therefore they must be taken!

The people were convinced of the absolute superiority of the Germans over all other races and the difference between their conception along this line and that of American spread-eaglism or British conceit lay in a deliberate education by their masters to feel that the only way in which this sentiment could be embodied and practiced was in conquest by force—as a combined religious and racial duty. The system of thought, faith, policy, practice, and the methods of war which resulted, were foreshadowed* in countless

*A most interesting work in this connection is William Archer's *Gems of German Thought*. See also the German Sections of *The Canadian Annual Review* for 1914, 1915, 1916.

writings and speeches and books—700 books a year on War alone were issued before 1914 or in defence of the War after 1914. Universities, schools, pulpits of all denominations, poems, songs, public gatherings, farm leagues, industrial leagues, colonial societies, all poured into the public mind the idea, which had slowly crystallized into action, that everything was at the service of the State, that everything should serve national ends. A few quotations from German books may be put on record here:

1. *Pure Germanism (1893) by Freidrich Lrange:* Who knows whether we Germans are not the rod predestined for the chastening of these degeneracies; who knows whether we may not again, like our fathers in dim antiquity, have to gird on our swords and go forth to seek dwelling-places for our increase!

2. *Thoughts on the World-War, by Prof. Ernst Haeckel:* One single highly-cultured German warrior, of those who are, alas, falling in thousands, represents a higher intellectual and moral life-value than hundreds of the raw children of nature whom England and France, Russia and Italy, oppose to them.

3. *The True Causes of the World-War, by Karl A. Kuhn:* Must Kultur rear its domes over mountains of corpses, oceans of tears, and the death-rattle of the conquered? Yes, it must. . . . The might of the conqueror is the highest law of morality, before which the conquered must bow.

4. *The Real England, by Edmund V. Heyking:* England is our worst enemy, and we will fight her till we have overthrown her. So may it please our Great Ally, Who stands behind the German battalions, behind our ships and U-boats, and behind our blessed 'militarism.'

5. *War Devotions, by Pastor J. Rump:* Verily the Bible is our book. . . . It was given and assigned to us, and we read in it the original text of our destiny, which proclaims to mankind salvation or disaster—according as *we* will it.

6. *Politicus (1899) by H. Von Treitschke:* Every sovereign State has the undoubted right to declare war at its pleasure, and is consequently entitled to repudiate its treaties.

7. *World-Germany, by F. Philippi:* Formerly German thought was shut up in her corner, but now the world shall have its coat cut according to German measure, and as far as our swords flash and German blood flows, the circle of the earth shall come under the tutelage of German activity.

8. *War (1906) by Karl Wagner:* War is the basis of all Kultur, of all morality. War is the source of all good growth. Without war the development of nations is impossible.

9. *A Genealogy of Morals, by Freidrich Nietzsche:* Deep in the nature of all these noble races there lurks unmistakably the beast of prey, the *blond beast*, lustfully roving in search of booty and victory.

A part of this curious world of thought, more or less a product of it, was the Kaiser, his family, his ministers, his Generals. At times the Kaiser could show democratic wisdom as well as autocratic assurance and of such a character was his Order of Apr. 8, 1917, addressed to the Imperial Chancellor, who was, also, First Minister in Prussia. In it he observed that "in the endeavour, while strictly holding the just balance between the people and the Monarchy, to serve the welfare of the whole, I am resolved to begin building up our internal political, economic and social life as soon as the war situation allows." Preparations, therefore, must be made to meet the changed conditions of the future, and as to this he added: "Reform of the Prussian Diet and the liberation of our entire inner political life, especially, are dearest to my heart." For the Lower House there was to be "direct and secret election of Deputies"; and for the Upper one "more extensive and proportionate representation." Much discussion followed but the pro-

posals were not carried out during this year. So, also, with a policy suggested by the Constitutional Committee of the Imperial Reichstag, which urged that the Chancellor and Ministers of War and Marine should be responsible to that Chamber and that the Kaiser's ordinances should be countersigned by the Chancellor for the Reichstag.

Meantime all the important threads of war and government, transportation, food supplies, industry, agriculture and foreign relations were by now more or less controlled by Marshal Von Hindenburg and Marshal Von Ludendorff—the latter the real Kitchener of Germany in matters of military organization. Many subordinates, many Ministers, varied political leaders, there were, but around and above them all were the war needs and policy guided by these two men under the Kaiser, and embodied in an Imperial rescript to the Army and Navy on Aug. 1: "We shall fight for our existence in the future with firm resolution and unfailing courage. As our problems multiply so does our strength increase. We are invincible. We shall be victorious. The Lord God will be with us.—Wilhelm, I & R." To the people, on this anniversary, was issued a proclamation which reviewed "this righteous war of defence" and concluded with a significant clause: "Our people may rest assured that German blood and German zeal are not being gambled with for an empty shadow of ambition or schemes of conquest and subjugation but in defence of a strong free empire in which our children may live in security." On Aug. 22 His Majesty, in addressing troops in Flanders, said:

> It is in God's hands when, in His wisdom, He will give us victory. All Germans have realized who is the instigator of this war, and who is the chief enemy—England. Everyone knows England is our most spiteful adversary. She spreads the hatred of Germany over the whole world, filling her Allies with hatred and eagerness to fight. Thus everyone at home knows what you know still better, that England is particularly the enemy to be struck down, however difficult it may be.

The Kaiser's belief in, or misuse of, God's name was as earnest and pronounced as with Puritan leaders of old. A favourite form was indicated in the despatch to Prince Leopold after the conquest of Riga: "Far-seeing leadership and steel-hard will to victory guaranteed this fine success. Onward with God"! At this time the publication of Treaties and correspondence between the Czar and other European rulers created wide comment and aroused a storm of criticism in the Allied press against the Kaiser. It was a very natural condition but it is a little difficult to see any particular wickedness in the diplomatic efforts of the Kaiser to break up a growing *entente* amongst those whom he considered his rivals and perhaps really believed to be his enemies. Moreover, an agreement between two autocrats, heads of two great neighbouring nations, was not in itself improper or unnatural and not by any means the first of the kind which England had been compelled to meet. That Britain and France won out in the end was creditable to the peace-aims of the Czar; it did not particularly reflect upon the Kaiser himself. The Czar even stated in his correspondence (Aug. 4, 1906) that: "The maintenance of friendly relations between Germany

and England is an absolute necessity for the world." On Dec. 22, 1917, the Kaiser made a speech to his Second Army, which dealt with the battles of the year on the Western front in characteristic terms:

> The year of 1917, with its great battles, has proved that the German people has in the Lord of Creation above an unconditional and avowed Ally on whom it can absolutely rely. Without Him all would have been in vain. We do not know what is still in store for us, but you have seen how, in this last of the four years of war, God's hand has visibly prevailed. . . . If the enemy does not want peace, then we must bring peace to the world by battering in with the iron fist and shining sword the doors of those who will not have peace.

Meanwhile the German leaders had talked and acted in a similar strain. The Submarine decision of January and the United States break of February created difficulties for these Ministers at home and abroad. Herr Von Bethmann-Hollweg, as Imperial Chancellor, used characteristic German language in the Reichstag on Jan. 31: "I always proceeded from the standpoint of whether an unrestricted U-boat war will bring us nearer to a victorious peace or not. Every means, I said in March, that is calculated to shorten the War is the humanest policy to follow. When the most ruthless methods are considered as the best calculated to lead us to victory, and to a swift victory, I said at that time, that they must be employed." Then followed the usual curious Divine appeal: "Success lies in a higher hand, but as regards all that human strength can do to enforce success for the Fatherland, you may be assured that nothing has been neglected." In an interview Count Von Hertling, Bavarian Prime Minister (Feb. 20) declared that "the War draws nearer its termination, but it must be fought to the bitter end"; while the Kaiser on the 1st of that month had issued a naval order which stated that: "In this work the Submarine will stand in the first rank. I expect that this weapon, technically developed with wise foresight at our admirable yards, in co-operation with all our other naval fighting weapons and supported by the spirit which, during the whole course of the War, has enabled us to perform brilliant deeds, will break our enemy's war-will."

As the months passed on Peace discussions became more frequent and were the apparent cause of the Chancellor's retirement. The latter would not accede to the Socialist demand for a formula of no annexations or indemnities and on May 15 told the Reichstag that: "Time is on our side. With full confidence we can trust that we are approaching a satisfactory end. Then the time will come when we can negotiate with our enemies about our war aims, regarding which I am in full harmony with the Supreme Army command." Ledebour, Haase, Schiedemann and other Socialist leaders, in vain demanded specific terms for Peace. There followed the crisis of July and the Government's desertion by Mathias Erzberger of Bavaria, leader of the Clericals or Catholic Centre of the Pan-German party. His policy was, apparently, to promote a Reichstag demonstration with the object of showing that Germany was not the servant of a Prussian military caste: to link the Government with the Reichstag by forming a sort of Coalition Ministry which,

however, should not be a transition to an English Parliamentary system; and to influence foreign opinion, and especially Russian opinion, by securing a further pledge as to the reform of the Prussian franchise. On July 10 the Chancellor stated that "the formula of peace without annexations is unacceptable to us. We cannot declare our terms of peace. We must fight to conquer." On the 14th his resignation was announced—that of the last political ruler in the world who was in office when the War began, with the exception of the Bulgarian Premier and Sir Robert Borden in Canada.

The appointment followed of George Michaelis as Imperial Chancellor—a Prussian leader who, without having shown any particular Liberalism of thought, was yet out of touch with the Junkers. In his first speech the new official told the Reichstag on July 19 that Russia was to blame for the War, that submarine warfare was not contrary to international law and violated no law of humanity and that "England forced the weapon into our hands," that there would be no more offers of Peace and that the basic conditions for the future were as follows: "First of all the territory of the Fatherland is inviolable. If we make peace we must make sure that the frontiers of the German Empire are made secure for all time. We must by means of an understanding, and give and take, guarantee the conditions of existence of the German Empire upon the Continent and overseas. Peace must prevent the nations from being plunged into further enmity through economic blockade."

On Aug. 6 following, Herr Zimmerman, author of the attempt to league Japan and Mexico against the United States, resigned and was succeeded as Secretary for Foreign Affairs by Dr. Richard Von Kühlmann, Ambassador to Turkey; Herr Michaelis remained Chief of the Prussian Government and Herr Helfferich Vice-Chancellor and Minister of the Interior. Speaking in the Reichstag on Oct. 10, Dr. Michaelis again asserted his fear of Allied after-war retaliation and practically made its elimination a current war-aim: "We must continue to persevere until the German Empire, on the Continent and overseas, establishes its position. Further, we must strive to see that the armed alliance of our enemies does not grow into an economic offensive alliance." Dr. Von Kühlmann followed and was explicit on one important point: "There is but one answer to the question—Can Germany in any form make concessions with regard to Alsace-Lorraine? That answer is No! So long as one German hand can hold a gun, the integrity of the territory handed down to us as a glorious inheritance by our forefathers can never be the object of negotiations or concessions."

Another political crisis followed, led by Socialist opposition to the Chancellor but shared in by other Reichstag leaders; and on Oct. 30 Herr Michaelis resigned and was replaced by Count Georg Von Hertling, Bavarian Chief Minister and the first non-Prussian to hold the Imperial Chancellorship. He was a man of culture, an author of books, a leader of the Catholics, opposed in the past to Parliamentary government and democratic proposals. As to Peace, he had on Oct. 10 stated that: "Under all circumstances Germany must see that she obtains political and economic guarantees from a



The Ruins of Ypres Cathedral, 1917.

hostile Belgium." In the Bavarian Diet on Oct. 23 he had made a remarkable speech, of which the following was the salient point: "America against Europe—that is the character which the War threatens to assume more and more. Consequently the Central Powers and their Allies are no longer fighting for themselves alone; they are fighting for the independence of Europe against a colony Empire which has become too strong. With them are fighting the neutral States, which will not allow themselves to be forced into war against the Central Powers, which are defending Europe." The appointment of a Catholic leader was supposed to be a subtle appeal to Italian and Irish sympathies and, no doubt, also, it was intended to neutralize the activities of Herr Erzberger. The resignation of Dr. Helfferich followed this appointment.

On Nov. 29 the new Chancellor stated his views—or some of them. "I am," he said, "proud and thankful to say that the arms of Germany and her Allies have been successful on almost every occasion and everywhere." As to Peace: "We greet joyfully the Pope's appeal. The spirit in which the answer to the Papal note was given still is alive to-day." In the Reichstag the leaders tentatively supported Von Hertling; on the 30th Herr Von Kühlmann described the democratic progress of Germany as "proceeding with a clear perception of historical necessity," declared England to be under a Dictatorship and France undemocratic, quoted Lord Lansdowne's letter as a hopeful sign. Meanwhile, "the German people will stand up and be prepared to meet force with force until the dawn of the better and more humane understanding."

Much was written during 1917—outside of Germany—as to the progress of democracy in that country. As a matter of fact its progress was negligible so far as the elements of government and advance of legislation were concerned. Like the Holy Alliance of another century the entire system of German policy, government, thought and action was based upon autocracy at home and autocracy abroad, with the same Kaiser who had backed the Turkish Sultan before the War and endorsed Transvaal Krugerism in 1899; drilled in 1897, through Marshal Von der Goltz, the armies of Turkey; backed Austria in its seizure of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and opposed any development of democracy in the blood-stained Balkans. It was still the old Germany, still the same Kaiser—sterner than ever in his passion for power and belief in a mission which mixed up personal pride, divine right and national patriotism in a policy of German aggression. Liberalism represented by men such as Prof. Foerster still had small place in the national life; Prussian Junkerdom still controlled the situation and held 236 out of 397 members of the Reichstag; real power still remained in the Bundesrath, or Upper House—appointed by the rulers of the Kingdoms and States of the Empire, and constituting practically a Royal Council of 61 members—which originated nearly all legislation, including money-bills, and which could dissolve the Reichstag with the Kaiser's consent, and by which all laws must be approved before passage.

The Entente Allies attached importance to the spread of Bolsheviki doctrines in Germany and Austria and any panacea proposed amid such conditions of privation as then existed was sure to have its influence. But the most rigid censorship and autocratic system in the world did not give the movement any public chance of success. The press remained as a restricted and controlled bulwark of autocracy and the situation still was as Liebknecht had described it 30 years before this time: "The Monarchy has all the guns, the railroads, the telegraphs, the police, the courts, the prisons, and the executioners, and we have nothing but our bare arms; how could we succeed in a revolution?" Added to these powers was that of a vast, machine-like army while the industrial and financial leaders of Germany still aligned themselves with a Government of power, expansion and organization.

What the actual situation was amongst the masses at the close of 1917 no one could say—even the rulers of Germany must have been in doubt. A ferment had begun in all nations and just as in pre-Napoleonic days or in 1848 no one could foresee the future. Had Louis XVI, however, been a strong man the French Revolution might not have occurred; had Charles I been a different character there would have been no Commonwealth; had the Czar been equal to his responsibilities in 1917 the Bolsheviki could not have forced the issue. The fact is that in Germany at this time the existing discontent and popular demonstrations were due chiefly to war conditions, not to anger against the Dynasty or the Kaiser as such, or to any revulsion of sentiment against principles drilled and trained into the people from infancy. There was no united movement. Maximilien Harden demanded freedom but he had been a militarist before the War and his paper was in a condition of chronic suppression; Liebknecht was in gaol and the Socialist leaders were still riding in the War chariots of the Junkers and Professors; some of the intellectuals—Haeckel, Delbrück, Fischer, Reinecke, Rohrbach, etc.—demanded reform of the franchise but all of them were advocates of Pan-Germanism and opponents of liberty for the little nations; secret societies were growing in strength and hoped to fill a place like that of the Hetairia in Greece or the Carbonari in Italy or the Nihilists in Russia but only time could say how deep was their root in the very different soil of phlegmatic, stubborn German character. "We want a Republic" was the unpunished cry of Ledebour in the Reichstag on May 15; "we want freedom and peace and republicanism" was the demand of a leaflet written by Siegfried Baldur and circulated in large numbers from Allied aeroplanes and in other ways amongst German soldiers; the Independent Social Democrats were organized as an association in April, 1917, in opposition to the regular or Government Socialists and claimed 120,000 members at the close of the year, with a pronounced policy of peace. But the hope of victory was still there; the character of the people still unsoftened; the will of the teachers and the rulers still held sway.

Germany in 1917; Its Armies, Finance, Food, and other Conditions.

The War losses and military strength of Germany at the close of 1917 were difficult to state with absolute accuracy. Approximately the casualties to date, as based upon official lists and involving death, capture or permanent disability, were 4,000,000; close British estimates of the total, allowing for delayed German lists, etc., made it 4,500,000. The Danish Society for the Study of the War, in a Monograph upon German conditions, gave a general estimate of the indirect war loss of life in that Empire from Aug. 1, 1914, to Aug. 1, 1917, as (1) a net increase of mortality amongst persons above one year of age, 1,436,000 and (2) a decrease in the birth-rate totalling 2,482,000. The original German mobilization was from ten to twelve millions; the generally accepted total was the first figure with J. W. Gerard, the U. S. Ambassador at Berlin during that time, presenting the latter estimate. G. H. Perris, a well-known British war-correspondent (London *Chronicle*, Sept. 14) put the figures at 10,500,000, the definitive losses at 4,000-000, with 6,100,000 as the total of remaining effectives on all fronts, on lines of communication and in the interior, of Divisions in formation or in depôts—the balance composed of wounded under treatment and not yet exempted or returned to service.

Colonel E. P. Repington of *The Times*, after a visit to France and Flanders, wrote on May 4, 1917: "The Germans are still very strong, in fact stronger than they ever have been. It is not open to us to reckon they have less than 4,500,000 men in the field on both fronts, 500,000 on the line of communications, and 1,000,000 in depôts in Germany. They have increased the number of Divisions in the west to 155." F. H. Simonds, the United States correspondent, asserted a larger estimate of casualties and stated on Aug. 1 that: "German casualty lists, as we now obtain them, show a total loss in killed, captured and wounded of 4,500,000. The figure is too low by half a million, I believe; but, accepting it for the moment, it shows that 1,100,000 Germans have been killed and 600,000 are missing or prisoners. Here is an immediate, absolute loss of 1,700,-000. Of the 2,800,000 remaining casualties, not more than 60 per cent. have returned to the firing line and, despite various claims, this is a high estimate. This adds 1,100,000 to the permanent loss, which makes it 2,800,000." If we add to this casualty total—safely one of 5,000,000 up to the close of the year—the Danish estimate of decreased birth-rate, the loss of population was heavy.

Mr. Gerard's figures, as given in the American press of Aug. 7, were as follows: "I want to bring home to the people of the United States and Canada the gravity of the situation; because I want to tell them that the military and naval power of the German Empire is unbroken; that of the 12,000,000 men whom the Kaiser has called to the colours, but 1,500,000 have been killed, 500,000 permanently disabled, not more than 500,000 are prisoners of war and about 500,000 constitute the number of wounded or on the sick list of each day, leaving at all times about 9,000,000 effectives under arms." There was a vast difference between this total of 9,000,000 and the 6,000,000 indicated above, confirmed by General de Lacroix and

reduced by Hillaire Belloc to 5,000,000. Much depended upon the estimate of men originally called and also upon the proportion of wounded returning to the colours. Ledebour, the Socialist, was quoted at Washington on Oct. 30 as stating in the Reichstag that "we have had 1,500,000 dead, three or four million wounded, of whom 500,000 are crippled for life and two million absolutely invalided. That makes all together 6,000,000 men lost during three years!" As to this vital point of mobilization the Associated Press on Sept. 9 gave out from French Army Headquarters the following statement:

Particulars	When Called	Number
Trained men	On Outbreak of War	4,500,000
Untrained Ersatz Reservists	Aug. 1914 to Feb. 1915	800,000
Class of 1914 Recruits	Nov. 1914 to Jan. 1915	450,000
1st Ban of untrained Landsturm	Beginning of 1915	1,100,000
Class of 1915	May-July, 1915	450,000
Remainder of untrained Landsturm	May-July, 1915	150,000
Class of 1916	Sept.-Nov. 1915	450,000
Contingent of hitherto Exempted men	October, 1915	300,000
2nd Contingent, Exempted men	Early in 1916	200,000
2nd Ban of Landsturm	Early in 1916	450,000
Class of 1917	March-November, 1916	450,000
3rd Contingent of Exempted men	Late in 1916	300,000
Class of 1918	Nov. 1916 to Mar. 1917	450,000
Class of 1919	1917 (in part)	300,000
Additional Exempted men	During 1917	150,000
Total to August 1, 1917		10,500,000

The French semi-official estimate of German divisions on their front in August, 1914, was 96½ with 26½ divisions on the Eastern front; on Sept. 1, 1917, the total was placed at 147 divisions in the West and 92 in the East. On Oct. 20 of this latter year Colonel Repington estimated 2,200,000 German troops as being on the Western front and 1,400,000 in the East. During the last months of the year large numbers of the latter were moved west to France or Flanders or Italy, with a considerable number of Austrians. Hence, no doubt, the miscalculation or surprise which caused the British victory at Cambrai to be turned into a practical reverse with the German capture of many guns and tanks and thousands of prisoners. Hence the change in the military situation which appeared to transfer the aggressive on the Western front from Entente to Teuton hands and enabled Marshal Von Ludendorff to say in the Vienna *Neue Freie Press* (Dec. 3), with obvious reference to Russia that: "Modern war is a war of peoples, not of armies, and a war ends now when an enemy people is defeated. There are no decisive battles, as in former wars. The battles merely have an indirect influence on the whole national system, inducing decay and collapse." Back of the man-power of Germany was the fact, alleged by Carl W. Ackerman and other correspondents and asserted in detail by Gertrude Baeumer, the leading German woman writer, that 9,000,000 German women were working for a living in 1917—very largely relieving men in every species of work developed by the War.

The financial situation of a country is not seen in figures alone and only a few statistics as to German conditions—official at that—were available during this period. The German ideas of system and method were rigorously applied and immense sums of money

raised by the internal loans and limited taxation which were the only forms of Government finance open to the country; Bank resources and reserves were freely utilized and manipulated while Krupp's huge financial resources were used to the utmost. The total sum raised by the nation in loans up to the beginning of 1917 was about $12,000,000,000. From July 23, 1914, to Jan. 1, 1917, the published figures of the Reichsbank or Imperial Bank of Germany —an institution corresponding in its functions to those of the Bank of England—showed* that its loans and discounts, including Treasury bills, increased from about $200,000,000 to $2,124,000,000, or by, approximately, $1,924,000,000. In the same period its gold reserve was said to have increased from $323,000,000 to $625,000,000. According to Sir Edward Holden, the British banker, on Dec. 31, 1917, the notes issued had increased over July 23, 1914, by $2,200,000,000, the credit accounts by 1,680 millions, and the Exchange bills by 3,200 millions.

External influences created great difficulties. Dr. Lentze, Prussian Minister of Finance, in his Budget speech of Jan. 16, said: "The Blockade makes itself felt more and more. It cannot be denied that it lies heavily on the country, and yet it must be borne. Encroachments on private interests, the difficulties of supplying foodstuffs, and their costliness certainly are very great." As the year 1917 went on the monetary situation became more unpleasant. The normal increase of National wealth, which had been placed at 2,500 million dollars a year by Herr Helfferich and 2,000 millions by Herr Hauerstein, President of the Reichsbank, was obliterated by war conditions and the elimination of trade. The result was to make even the payment of yearly interest on national borrowings—of which interest the lowest estimate was 750 million dollars—difficult without calling upon national income. This interest total was more than the whole of the pre-war Government revenues. Allied writers and statisticians believed Germany to be bankrupt at the end of 1917 but its people did not know it and only the close of the War could prove the exact position. Meantime, and apart from speculations, the mark, which at the end of 1915 was quoted at 20% discount, had dropped a year later, in neutral centres, to 30%; in June, 1917, it was 44% below normal, in August 50%, and in September 54%. On July 26 the London *Times* announced that the silver florin—or 2-mark piece—was to be withdrawn from circulation and replaced by paper money in order to market the coins in Holland for the price of the silver. The Votes of Credit in the Reichstag in the first three years of war were as follows:

Number	Date Passed by Reichstag	Approximate Value in Dollars
1	Aug. 4, 1914	$1,250,000,000
2	Dec. 3, 1914	1,250,000,000
3	Mar. 22, 1915	2,500,000,000
4	Aug. 31, 1915	2,500,000,000
5	Dec. 24, 1915	2,500,000,000
6	June 9, 1916	3,000,000,000
7	Oct. 3, 1916	3,000,000,000
8	Feb. 23, 1917	3,750,000,000
9	July 20, 1917	3,750,000,000
Total		$23,500,000,000

*NOTE.—Bulletin of the National City Bank of New York.

Internal conditions as to food, etc., also made the financial situation difficult, but there was at the close of 1917 one factor of obvious strength, and a source, also, of national revenue. Krupp's, with its huge factories and workshops and 100,000 workers, its great coal mines at Essen with at least 10,000 miners, its rolling mills at Annen and Gruson, its blast furnaces and shipbuilding yards, its vast steel and shell and gun industries, was in full operation despite occasional aerial attacks, brief strikes, shortage of unskilled labour, and fires. Scarcity of railway rolling-stock, trucks and waggons was an element of weakness, as was the decreasing product of iron-ore, but machinery and electricity and chemicals and shipbuilding trades were active industries, though coal production, as a whole, was short and many other great industries of the past, such as silk, dress-goods, woollens, lace and embroidery, were dead or stagnant. The total loss of German shipping to the beginning of 1917 was estimated at 2,250,000 tons—through mines, torpedoes, and capture—but an unknown number of new ships were under construction or had been built and a $75,000,000 subsidy was voted in 1917. Certain war industries in addition to Krupp's were tremendously prosperous with big dividends—though much of the profits went into War loans.

The vital elements of industrial decline were (1) the curtailment in raw materials and (2) the curtailment of markets. The greatest war production—and it was tremendous—could not compensate for these losses. Despite the sweep of Austrian and Turkish markets, the great and growing financial strength of the farmers and larger merchants, Saxony lost its large foreign markets for dress goods and porcelains and cheap cottons and leather and notions; other States lost their customers for carpets and bronze-ware and chocolates and varied lines of textile goods. Substitutes of every kind there were but hardly any were really satisfactory and in food they were sorrowful imitations of the real thing. Substitutes for Saltpetre from Chile and aluminum from France were of the more satisfactory kind; mineral oils were made from coal, synthetic rubber was invented and utilized, paper replaced cloth with success in some respects. All the press writers who had been in Germany during periods of the War—Ackerman, Corey and Roth, for instance—agreed in declaring in 1917 that there was no great concealed preparation for after-war conditions and industrial conquest. But there was no doubt as to the war industries and *Entente* estimates of artillery early in 1917, put the German army supply at 8,000 field guns, alone, compared with 3,850 in 1914 with a five-times greater supply of heavy guns than in 1914.*

What of the food supply? As to this vital problem official facts were non-existent to the world-public outside of Germany but there was a cloud of testimony covering every detail. The information was contradictory at times as to definite conclusions, yet the net impression to the close student was one of increasing general privation, insufficient nourishment for the masses, severe

*Note.—According to semi-official figures published by G. H. Perris, in January, 1918, the German armies were supplied with 21,000 cannon of all kinds.

pressure upon individual and national *morale*. At the beginning of this year there was great scarcity in butter, cheese, sugar, cocoa, fats, oils, pork, coffee, tea, oranges, lemons, bananas and eggs. Vegetables were available and also certain fruits. Everybody lived under the card system—with degrees of difficulty in obtaining food—but this had often meant nothing except wise organization and Government foresight. Continuous efforts of the most vigorous and skilful kind had been and were under way to make Germany and its Allies independent of outside food supplies. Grain and meats were the essentials and many animals were killed out of the 23,000,000 cattle, originally in stock, in order to save grain and fodder. An estimated 3,000,000 head of cattle, 6,000,000 sheep and 2,000,000 pigs were obtained in Roumania and no doubt divided with Austria; Poland was swept bare of stock and other conquered regions had furnished supplies for a time. Wheat and potatoes were also obtained in Roumania and fresh fields of cultivation developed. Large supplies of iron-ore and some other raw material, with heavy food-stocks, were obtained from neighbouring neutrals—either through fear or for profit or a little of each.

As to details, there were early in 1917 Government tickets for meat, bread, butter, sugar, potatoes, soap, eggs, etc.; people had to wait for hours to be served with their poor supplies; clothes were, under regulation by magistrates, limited in quantity and very expensive; large numbers of shops were closed in Berlin and other places, private motor-cars had disappeared and lighting was bad; war-bread was made largely of rye or potato flour or barley-meal, fish was obtainable with game, fowl, etc., to those who could pay the bill; prices of staple foods were carefully controlled by the Government; milk was largely confined to supplying young children and invalids; there was a steady increase during the year in illnesses traceable to mal-nutrition. All reports indicated worse conditions as the year progressed. Correspondents and others coming away with the American Ambassador were not agreed in their conclusions but all proclaimed conditions then as bad. There were serious food riots at Cologne, Kiel, Dresden, Dusseldorf and Leipsic, while the workmen at Krupp's struck for larger rations and those working the longest hours were successful.

Brig.-Gen. J. E. Kuhn, President of the U. S. Army War College, told the New York *Times* (Mar. 11) on his return from Germany that "economic conditions are trying everywhere, especially in the case of the Central Powers. It is certain that the German people are on the edge of starvation and the bravest man will succumb to an empty stomach." The Cuban Minister at Berlin, Dr. Aristides Aquero, told the press of Paris (June 7) on his way home, that "for every element of the civil population, regardless of the social class to which it belongs, the daily ration at the time of my departure consisted of 250 grammes of bread, 35 grammes of meat, 350 grammes of potatoes, 10 grammes of fat and 8 grammes of sugar. One egg monthly was allowed and one portion of war marmalade monthly." Of the National livestock 27,000,000 head of cattle had fallen to 19,000,000, 30% of the swine had been killed and sheep had disappeared almost entirely.

The harvests of 1917 were below the average and on July 30 reports to the Washington Food Offices were that fresh fowls brought $1.01 a pound, young laying hens, $3.32 each, well-fed geese, $11 to $19 each; that the egg ration at Hamburg for one week was one egg for each person; that horses were in great demand for food, with horse-flesh selling at from 53 cents to 86 cents a pound and rabbits at $2 each. According to similar statements on Oct. 18 the weekly German ration then was, approximately, 4½ pounds of bread, half a peck of potatoes, a cupful of beans, peas or oatmeal, half a pound of meat, 12 cubes of sugar, 6 individual patties of butter and an equal amount of other fats. The caloric value of these foods in the aggregate was less than half the amount estimated by the U. S. Food Administration as sufficient for a person in a sedentary occupation. At this time it appeared that leather for boots and shoes was almost at an end, that a big shortage in vegetables existed, that the material allowed for clothes had to be further lessened. Carl W. Ackerman, a correspondent who returned with Mr. Gerard, gave the following list of food supplies which could not be obtained in Germany:

Rice	Cream	Candy	Coffee		
Fruit Flavours	Malted Milk	Tea	Canned Soups		
Beer (malt or hops)	Cocoa	Syrups	Caviar		
Chocolate	Dried Vegetables	Ice Cream	Olive Oil	Nuts	Macaroni

Mr. Ackerman's opinion, as expressed in newspaper articles in November, was as follows: "In their present under-nourished condition the public cannot face a defeat. If the War ends this year Germany will not be so starved that she will accept any peace terms. But if the War continues another year or two Germany will have to give up." Herbert Corey, another correspondent, who spent much time in 1917 with German refugees on the Swiss borders, put the situation in another way at this time: "Germany is suffering from progressive mechanical deterioration and cumulative human misery. There will be more food in Germany during the next 12 months than there was during the 12 months past. The weakness in the German war fabric is not one of material, but of *morale*." He illustrated this statement in a despatch dated Berne, Oct. 20, in which he said: "Already the weakness occasioned by persistent under-feeding is making itself felt in the death rate. Men and women of more than 45 years of age and children under 6 or 7 years have slight chance of regaining their strength when attacked by an illness that at other times would be considered of a minor class. Deaths are being reported from catarrhal colds, from rheumatism, anæmia, and various stomach and digestive troubles, which are in reality occasioned by the under-nourishment of the past 2 years. An epidemic of dysentery is sweeping through Germany." Of course, the war-map victories in Italy and the possible peace with Russia pending at this time gave a factitious strength for the meeting of such conditions but there seemed no doubt that at the close of 1917 the German food situation was serious. Starvation, however, was not so near as the London *Post* or *Express* and some British correspondents thought, though the blockade had become wonder-

fully efficient and much more so as the United States pressure of war action became operative. In the general situation Germany still had certain specific advantages over her enemies—(1) the absence of experiments or improvisation in types of guns and weapons through a careful preparedness policy—except as new inventions might develop; (2) regulated wages which gave cheaper war materials; (3) slave labour in the forcible enlistment of about 2,000,000 prisoners of war and the requisitioned workers from conquered populations totalling 42,000,000; (4) free coal and iron from conquered mines in France, Belgium and Poland; (5) a geographical position which gave speedier and cheaper war transportation; (6) seizure of much war material, foodstuffs, finished products, personal property, specie, jewels and securities; (7) War imports and exploitation of natural resources in captured territories.

The Germans in Belgium and France; War Methods of the Teuton Allies.

The German occupation of Belgium had begun with a crime—a self-acknowledged offence—against International law and treaties; it proceeded in a spirit of cruel terrorism over the population with a ruthless ravaging of life and home and public rights and private property; it was practiced in 1917 along lines of systematic exploitation of the resources, labour, incomes and industry of the country. There had been, and there continued, forced requisitions upon industry, municipalities and individuals in defiance of all international laws and regulations. Up to July 6, 1917, there were 140 Administrative Orders* issued in the Official Bulletin dealing with all kinds of natural products and raw materials and deliberately calculated to fetter or limit Belgian industries by restrictions upon factories and farms, exports and imports, transport of merchandise, etc. They were made absolutely subsidiary to German industries while the Belgian workmen were deported in tens of thousands to help in operating those of Germany; this slave-labour policy was pursued also in Poland and Roumania. Even Belgian trade secrets and industrial methods were utilized and operated in Germany, while tools and machinery were carried away by wholesale.

Financially, the German mark was established at a compulsory rate in francs; the illegal principle of collective responsibility for individual infraction of complex German-imported regulations was made the excuse for heavy fines upon communities and heads of large families; war contributions exacted and fines imposed were estimated in the middle of 1917 at $40,000,000; military levies were exacted out of all proportion to the only legal purpose involved —the needs of the occupying army—and by Order of May 21, 1917, they amounted to $12,000,000 a month, or a total up to Aug. 10 of $288,000,000 since the outbreak of war; various new taxes and imports were established by the Government of occupation in direct violation of the Hague Convention and, on Sept. 12, 1916, the cash balances of two large Banks (private corporations) to a total of $100,000,000 were seized and transferred to the Berlin Reichsbank;

*NOTE.—A volume by Fernand Passelecq published at Paris.

the value of requisitioned raw material and seized machinery and tools was estimated up to Jan. 31, 1915, by Dr. Ludwig Gaughofer in the Münchener *Neueste Nachtrichten* (Feb. 26. 1916) at $400,000,000. General Von Bissing, the late Military Governor, in his well-known "Political Testament" described this general situation as follows:

> I must call attention to the fact that the industrial territory of Belgium is of great value, not only in time of peace, but also in case of war. The supplementary advantages which we have derived in the present war from Belgian industries, by the carrying away of machines, etc., must be accounted fully as great as the injury caused to the enemy by the deprivation of these resources. The immediate importance of the industrial region of Belgium does not exhaust the interest of the subject for us. Without Belgian coal, what would have become of our policy of exchange with Holland and the northern countries? The 23,000,000 tons taken annually from the Belgian coal mines have given us a monopoly on the Continent which has contributed to assure our existence.

The deportation and forced labour of the Belgians was the cruellest action and condition of 1917. Commenced in the preceding autumn it had elicited official protests from the United States, Spain, Switzerland and Holland. According to a formal document issued* by the Belgian State Department conditions showed (1) the cessation of the larger part of Belgian industries owing to the systematic economic war carried on by Germany with the consequent reduction to idleness of 300,000 to 400,000 workmen; then (2) the organized deportation of many thousands of these men for the alleged reason of aid to unemployment and the real reason of providing forced war-labour of civilians behind the German front or in depleted German factories and workshops. A Belgian Mission to the United States—headed by Baron Moncheur—followed and told the President and American leaders, at close range, something of local conditions; in February Cardinal Mercier wrote continued and vigorous protests to Baron Von Huehne, acting Governor-General in succession to the late General Von Bissing, against the renewed "kidnapping of thousands of my fellow-countrymen." Referring to the fines levied upon priests for refusing to aid in the make-up of lists for deported labour he added: "We await our vengeance in patience. I am not speaking of our earthly vengeance. We have that already, for the *régime* of occupation that you force us to undergo is despised by everything that is decent in the whole world. I am speaking of the judgment of history, of the inescapable punishment of the God of Justice." The treatment of these workmen as shown in varied and numerous reports was that of slaves; the Belgian Government for instance issued a statement describing the various "punishments" resorted to in order to make men work for their own enemies. In February these raids or deportations ceased for a time and, in reply to neutral protests and the appeal of the Pope, it was announced that all who did not wish to remain in Germany would be returned. Many did come back but later on they were seized and again deported. In the summer there was a renewal of general deportation.

*Note.—Published in U.S. Official Bulletin, June 9, 1917.

One of the worst phases of this policy was that it included women and young girls—estimates ranging as high as 20,000—who were thus torn from their homes and deported for enforced labour amongst and for the roughest of soldiers. Press stories of their treatment, private letters made public or known to a few, gave details too horrible for full narration here. After reading some of these statements the most impartial historian will appreciate the conclusion of J. H. Baker of the Minneapolis *Tribune*, and latterly of the Ambulance Service in France, that: "No story of the German's treatment of women can be exaggerated. Ambulance men and soldiers agree on that." Of these German slaves (both men and women) as Mr. Gerard called them, 30,000 men and women were estimated to have been taken from Antwerp and surrounding regions and 20,000 from the Belgian Province of Luxembourg. Of the whole situation a Canadian home from the front, Major, the Rev. Dr. C. W. Gordon, said in Winnipeg on Dec. 31: "Then there is the present slave drive in Belgium. It is a real slave drive; no other words can describe it. It has all the pain, all the anguish, the indignity and the inhumanity which roused such resentment against slavery in the United States." The German organization of the country, however, showed much care in hygienic and educational matters, skill and some success in the promotion of agricultural production and the management of war factories, simplicity and directness in the drafting of enactments, a skilful use of the bi-lingual situation under which nearly half the country spoke Flemish—a sort of German dialect dating back to the days of the Roman Empire. Toward the close of the year it was announced that Belgium would be forcibly divided into two Provinces running roughly along bi-lingual lines of French and Flemish. It does not appear, according to a statement by Baron Moncheur, that prices of food ranged very much higher than they did in many parts of Germany itself—though there was, of course, little money to buy it with.

As to the military and political situation the German intention to hold Belgium was stiffened by the close of 1917. The belief of General Von Bissing that the War would be lost if Belgium were not kept at its end was an essential faith of the Pan-German party. In the official Memorandum prepared by him shortly before his death on Apr. 18* he urged annexation, because, otherwise, Belgium would be a centre for enemy plot and aggressive action in the next war; because it was, on the other hand, the natural passage to France for German armies, and should be a shield for German manufacturing interests and regions: "Belgium must be seized and held as it now is, and as it must be in future. . . . If only on account of the necessary bases for our fleet, and in order not to cut off Antwerp from the Belgian trade area, it is necessary to have the adjacent hinterland."

Meanwhile Dr. Stresemann, a leading Liberal member of the Reichstag, had stated in a public speech on Jan. 7 that: "If peace is concluded without Germany's possessing the Flemish coast,

*NOTE.—Published by the late Governor's friend, N. W. Bacmeister, in *Bergisch Markische Zeitung*, May 18, 1917.

England is the winning, and we are the losing side. A neutral Belgium is an historical impossibility after the War. Without the future possibility of marching through Belgium the Germans must fight the next war on the Rhine and not in France." To him Von Bissing had written (Jan. 14) congratulations upon this point of view, mentioned his Memorandum, as above quoted, and added: "We must push as far northwards as possible the frontier which in future will protect Belgium from England and France. As the coast is part of that frontier, the coast must be our frontier. I was delighted to see this point brought forward at a recent meeting of the Navy League." The Pan-German party expressed their feelings clearly in a pamphlet-manifesto early in 1917: "Above all, the domination of Belgium improves our position against England. . . . Nothing can prevent the construction of a fortified harbour on the marshy coast of Flanders, which could not be successfully attacked even by the most powerful fleet." Even more significant was the conversation in January, 1917, described by J. W. Gerard, U.S. Ambassador to Berlin*, with Herr Von Bethmann-Hollweg, then Chancellor:

Mr. Gerard: 'Are the Germans willing to withdraw from Belgium?'
The Chancellor: 'Yes, but with guarantees.'
Mr. Gerard: 'What are these guarantees?'
The Chancellor: 'We must possibly have the forts of Liège and Namur. We must have other forts and garrisons throughout Belgium. We must have possession of the railroad lines. We must have possession of the ports and other means of communication. The Belgians will not be allowed to maintain an army, but we must be allowed to retain a large army in Belgium. We must have commercial control of Belgium.'

No thought of such a possibility as annexation appeared in Allied documents, policy or public expression and during this year steps were taken to estimate the damages which Germany would have to pay a free and restored Belgium. The Belgian Government's preliminary figures were as follows: German war exactions $238,000,000, private and municipal assessments $40,000,000, confiscation of machinery and raw materials $400,000,000, destruction of sources of economic wealth—not including private property—$1,000,000,000. As to this latter point a Belgian Government map was issued showing 43,000 estates destroyed by German occupation. On May 31 King Albert enacted and declared, upon advice of his Ministers, that "all acts of disposal or transfer of movable property or real estate belonging to the State, and the seizure of which has been made or ordered by the enemy since the 4th of August, 1914, unless they fall within the scope of a normal management, are null and void."

As a result of the necessary withdrawal of the U.S. Ambassador at Berlin, H. C. Hoover of the Relief Commission and Brand Whitlock, Minister in Belgium, from control of the Belgian Relief Commission early in 1917, that great organization passed into the hands of other neutrals and suffered considerably in its work. Lord Robert Cecil, British Minister of Blockade, on Feb. 14 paid high

*NOTE.—*Four Years in Germany*, Page 365.

tribute to those who had been in charge: "The mere fact that for 28 months they have kept alive 10,000,000 people without a single serious hitch in the machinery of purchase, transport and distribution, shows what their organization has been." In New York on Mar. 14 (*Herald* report) Mr. Hoover urged continued support to this "the largest venture in history of international, benevolent and economic service and of charity." He stated that 1,250,000 children were dependent upon the Commission, that $1.00 per child each month was imperative and to emphasize his American appeal added: "Great Britain and France, to say nothing of the British possessions overseas, are burdened with such taxation as would have been considered impossible before the War; in addition they have had their own wounded, their own widows and orphans to care for and their own interrupted commerce to struggle with. And yet, without argument, without delay, they have dispensed a charity which will be one of the marvels of history, for they have handed to the Commission more than 90 per cent. of all of the money spent by the Commission for the feeding of Belgium."

What the exact figures had been Edgar Rickard, Assistant Director of Belgian Relief work, told the Canadian Club at Ottawa on Apr. 14: "We have received to date approximately $270,000,000, of which we have delivered into Belgium $235,000,000 value in food. We have on the ocean or purchased ready for loading $35,000,000 in food value. Of the imports into Belgium $120,000,000 in value has been allocated to the destitute. We have purchased in the United States and Canada $150,000,000 and we estimate the profits to the merchants supplying us with this food have been no less than $30,000,000 from first to last. . . . You will want to know where this $270,000,000 has come from. The British and French Governments have advanced us, through loans to Belgium, $148,000,000. France and French institutions have given $90,000,000 on account of Northern France. We have received in private benevolences from the British Empire $16,000,000, of which Canada's share is over 2½ million. The United States has contributed $11,000,000."

The situation in occupied France was even harsher than that of Belgium because it was nearer the firing line of vast armies. Hence the fact and revelation of horrors which followed the systematic, organized devastation made by German troops in the territory evacuated by them early in 1917. To the Berlin *Lokal-Anzeiger* of Mar. 18 its military correspondent wrote that "great stretches of French territory have been turned by us into a dead country. It varies in width from 10 to 12 or 15 kilometres (6 to 8 miles), and extends along the whole of our new position, presenting a terrible barrier of desolation to any enemy hardy enough to advance against our new lines. No village or farm was left standing on this glacis, no road was left passable, no railway-track or embankment was left in being. Where once were woods there are gaunt rows of stumps; the wells have been blown up, wires, cables, and pipe-lines destroyed. In front of our new position runs, like a gigantic ribbon, an empire of death." As a preliminary civilians

were stripped of any paltry belongings they might still have, all able-bodied men and youths, numbers of women and girls, were deported to the interior. Not only was a definite zone submitted to destruction but a much wider area also abandoned in the retreat which stretched from the Scarpe to the Aisne.

A Commission of Inquiry was appointed by the Government —George Payelle, A. Mollard, G. Maringer and E. Paillot—and reported on Apr. 18 that: "Every detail in the spectacle of devastation that met our eyes reveals a method so implacable and so strikingly uniform that it is impossible not to recognize the execution of a rigorously marked-out plan. The enslavement of citizens, the carrying off of women and young girls, the pillage of homes, the annihilation of towns and villages, the ruin of industries by the destruction of factories, the desolation of rural districts by the shattering of agricultural implements, the burning of farms and the cutting down of trees, were all inaugurated at the same moment and with the same ferocity, to create poverty, inspire terror and generate despair." T. P. O'Connor, M.P., stated, after visiting these regions, that the atrocities were too awful to describe; one phrase indicated the material destruction when he stated that the smashed-up trees alone, which he had seen, represented $50,000,000 of fruit wealth. One other incident may be placed on record here because public memories are short and days of peace bring many soporific influences. At a dinner of the New York Merchants' Association on Nov. 1, 1917, Dr. Leon Dabo, a member of the U.S. Commission sent to investigate German actions in France, made this statement:

> All that the correspondents send over about the atrocities that have been committed, all the inhumanities, all the bestialities, that no paper can possibly publish —they are not only true, but the worst of them cannot be told. . . . One of my distinguished predecessors has just told you that our women and our girls have been protected from the fate that befell the women of France and of Belgium by the British Navy. Men, believe it, what you have heard of that fate is absolutely true. It is more than true. I have been in a hospital in the Department of Meuse in France where there are nearly a thousand girls; not one is 18 years of age and all will be mothers. Eleven per cent., in addition, are stark mad.

To other alleged or proven atrocities of German act, or complicity, in other parts of the world only a hasty reference can be made. The methods of warfare adopted from the first were clearly those calculated to strike terror into opponents, or the civilians of enemy countries, and to over-awe neutrals—illegitimate war fines, indiscriminate mine-laying at sea, bombing undefended towns, poisoning wells in South-west Africa with arsenic, brutally treating prisoners of war and civilians in occupied countries, sinking non-combatant and neutral vessels without notice or help, destroying hospital ships, storage of the German legation at Belgrade with phials of disease-producing germs, the bombing of Allied hospitals. These are only a few instances or illustrations of the situation. The Rev. Dr. Dwight Hillis in his Brooklyn Church on Sept. 21, 1917, after a visit to the Western front, said: "More than 10,000 separate atrocities committed by the German armies have been

documented and are on file in the chancelleries of the Allied nations." André Cheradame, the French publicist, in a 1917 pamphlet published in New York described the German-controlled populations in Europe as totalling 176,000,000, which he divided as follows:

1. The Masters—Germans	73,000,000
2. The Vassals—Magyars, Bulgars, Turks	21,000,000
3. The Slaves	82,000,000

The latter included 3,000,000 French, 7,500,000 Belgians, 1,500,000 Alsatian-Lorrainers, 22,000,000 Poles and Letts, 8,500,000 Czechs, 8,000,000 Roumanians and the balance made up of various Austrian tributary races, Armenians, Levantines, Ottoman Greeks and Arabs. Meantime various little nations were suffering cruelly. The treatment of tiny Luxembourg, with its 269,000 inhabitants, was as bad in principle as that of Belgium. Besides the neutrality obligations of the Hague Conventions there was a special Treaty of Neutrality in its case which was signed by Germany on June 11, 1872. Despite this the country had been over-run and taken possession of in 1914 and its railways and factories freely used for war purposes. In Warsaw and other centres of Russian Poland —according to statements in the Amsterdam *Telegraaf*, republished in the London *Times* of Feb. 9—all the material for industry, the copper, factory machinery, dynamos, motor parts, the cotton and the wool were confiscated by the invader.

In a number of Polish factories and warehouses only the four walls remained. Commanders requisitioned everything, even to clothing and the shop carpets: "More crushing and agonizing than this, however is the moral oppression, the menace of which is over the country. The 'Courts of Blood' perform their work without cessation. Firing parties are always at work." Slave drives were frequent: "I saw with my own eyes how the Germans proceed in the sweeping away of men. At night cordons of troops surrounded a working class quarter at Warsaw with loaded rifles. The soldiers chose here and there those men and women whom they thought suitable, separated brothers and sisters, mothers and children, and compelled those whom they declared good for slavery to leave immediately. Thus more than 100,000 men and women were removed from the part of the country under the Government of Warsaw. . . . Deportation trains leave the country every day for Germany." An elaborate constitution, however, under control of an Austro-German Governor-General, was given to the people who were told to look forward to being an *independent* Kingdom under the protection of the two Empires.

Conditions in Serbia under the Teuton Allies were indescribable. According to a Report made public on Dec. 1 by the official Serbian Press Bureau at Washington, 40,000 old men, women and children had been deported by the Bulgars from Serbia to Turkey. Serbians, interned and prisoners of war, were treated with appalling barbarity in Germany, Austria-Hungary and Bulgaria. The *Frankfurter Zeitung* was quoted as saying that at the end of 1916 155,030 Serbian soldiers were prisoners of war and distributed as follows: 25,829

rank and file in Germany, 96,363 men and 709 officers in Austria-Hungary, and 31,942 men and 187 officers in Bulgaria. There were also 5,000 Montenegrin prisoners of Serbian race. Particulars were given by the Press Bureau of the ill-treatment of these prisoners, the death at camp Nauthausen, for instance, of 7,000 by May, 1917, the general spread of typhus and tuberculosis with not more than 70,000, or less than one-half, still alive at or about the above date. It was claimed, according to information issued by the U.S. State Department (July 24), that a large amount had been extorted in forced subscriptions to Austrian war loans; that Serbian business had been greatly injured by allowing enemy merchants to collect immediately, at six per cent. interest, debts estimated at $24,000,000. Failure to pay was penalized by the sale of property at ridiculous auction figures which allowed the invaders to make immensely profitable purchases. In addition, many shops had been pillaged; the National and the Ethnographical Museums were completely ransacked by the Austrians; the National Library, the University Library of Nish and the Library of the School of Theology at Prizzen were pillaged by the Bulgarians.

According to the London *Times* correspondent with the Serbian army (June 1) the rebellion of 15,000 Serbians in February, 1917, was most cruelly suppressed: "This affected the Provinces of Vidin and Tircova, where the majority of the inhabitants are of Serbian blood, and about 6,000 insurgents were captured, of whom over 2,000 were summarily executed. Executions were effected with machine guns manned by Germans. Long, deep trenches were dug, in front of which the victims were bound to stakes and shot in groups." What proportion of German troops were engaged in these and other cruelties or in the permanent occupation of Serbia is debatable but certainly there were German officers and Germany indirectly controlled the whole Balkan situation. The general condition of the unfortunate Serbians at this time was terrible. Hangings, shootings, robbery, every kind of violence to man, woman and child, starvation and inconceivable misery, were all in the lot of the conquered people. According to M. Pashitch, the nominal Premier, in a London interview on Aug. 10, over 10,000 girls of from 10 to 14 years old had been deported to the Harems of Constantinople and the East. Other deportations were wholesale in character and the Dutch Section of the League of Neutral Countries issued a Report late in 1917 stating that "not less than nine internment camps for Serbs have been established in Austria-Hungary." The Bulgarians had much to do with these conditions and had, also, internment camps in their own country. With the Austrians their Administration combined in an effort to crush the language; patriotic poems and books of the past were interdicted or seized, the primary schools were closed and others opened with German and Hungarian instruction as compulsory; the museums were stripped and churches pillaged. The Commission above quoted declared that: "The mass of documents placed at our disposal has left a profound impression of an attempt to achieve the complete ruin of a free nation by means the most brutal and cruel. The



LIEUT. ROBT. GRIERSON COMBE, V.C.,
27th Battalion, C.I., Melville, Sask.
Killed in action, May 3, 1917.



CAPT. J. R. WOODS,
1st Battalion, Coldstream Guards; Killed in action, Sept. 16, 1916; son of J. W. Woods, Ottawa.

systematic destruction of the Serbian nation is a pendant to the enslavement of Belgians."

The part of Roumania over-run by the Austro-German forces suffered in many ways but not so violently. The little son of the beautiful Queen of Roumania dying from alleged poisoned candy, dropped by a German aeroplane before the capture of Bucharest, typified the state of that country in its sufferings from the enemy, from traitors within and treachery without. The conquered region was squeezed like an orange for the benefit of the conquerors and the people driven like slaves to work; but their production of grain and food supplies was too valuable to escape the organized and in this case, preservative operation of German policy. In Italy, and typical of German war character, were the instructions issued in November by the Military Governor of the newly-conquered Province of Udine: "Al workmen, women, and children over 15 years old are obliged to work in the fields every day, including Sunday, from 4 a.m. to 8 p.m. Disobedience will be punished in the following manner: (1) Lazy workmen will be accompanied to work and watched by Germans and after the harvest they will be imprisoned for six months—every three days, one day with bread and water; (2) lazy women will be exiled and obliged to work after the harvest, and receive six months' imprisonment; (3) lazy children will be punished by beating and the Commandant reserves the right to punish lazy workmen by 20 lashes daily." If this was not slavery it would be hard to find a definition for that system.

Of the Armenian massacres many volumes have been written, many more will be published and a question of the ages will be German responsibility or otherwise. In an earlier and famous effort of the Turks to destroy these unfortunate people Mr. Gladstone made England ring with his denunciation of a British Government which did not go to war in order to avert the crime of that period and which he therefore held to a partial responsibility. During this greater crime of the World-war Germany had Constantinople in an iron grip, German officers and officials were everywhere in Asia Minor, Germans controlled transportation interests and the regular Turkish armies. Yet the Turkish irregulars and regulars alike—sometimes the latter were under German officers—committed this dreadful offence against humanity and religion and law without fear and without punishment, without German interference or any expressed official regret. Stories of the crime continued to sift through in 1917.

The Rev. G. E. White, President of Anatolia College, Marsovan, whose Faculty was slaughtered with axes and their students murdered in varied ways, reached New York on Sept. 30 and described to the press the brutal way in which his town was cleared of Armenians by wholesale outrage and slaughter. Much of the evidence collected in 1916 and 1917 showed that Government orders were given as the excuse for every kind of crime; that masses of murderers believed in German approval of their killings, tortures and rapes. This was one of the elements in the "Holy War" preached by the Germans

and the Turks—a jehad carried through the East with fire and sword. T. P. O'Connor, M.P., like so many others, was explicit in his view of the responsibility. He stated in an address at Chautauqua, N.Y., on Aug. 11 that: "For a generation the voice of Berlin had been omnipotent in Constantinople. At that very moment the troops of Germany and Turkey were fighting side by side. Is it not clear, therefore, that Berlin had only to say a word and the massacres would not have begun, and even if they had begun, would not a word have brought them to an immediate end?"

Dr. Harry Stuermer, then correspondent of the *Kölnische Zeitung*, witnessed the 1915 massacres and wrote reports which were suppressed and for which he was dismissed from his post. In his book, *Two War-Years in Constantinople*, he afterwards gave a passionate account of what he saw and heard. Having established the "boundless guilt" of Turkey in this Armenian slaughter, the "most terrible massacre since Nero's day," he accused Germany of being the Pilate of a whole race. "Conscienceless cowardice, cynical levity," were some of the terms with which he branded his own official countrymen. "How do I come to make such a terrible charge?" he asked. "Because of the fact that when the Armenian Patriarch used to come to our Ambassador with tears in his eyes, begging for help—and I witnessed this scene more than once at our Embassy—no interest was shown." The Germans, he pointed out, had Turkey absolutely in hand, and could have put an end to the massacres at once had they so desired: "In some cases, unbelievable as it may seem, German officers were found who, when the Ottoman authorities had not the heart to fire on women and children taking refuge within doors, turned their guns on the buildings and engaged in 'cynical artillery practice.'" On Feb. 24 the American Committee for Armenian Relief received at New York a despatch from Mr. Balfour, British Secretary for Foreign Affairs, who stated that:

> The sufferings of the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire are known, but it is doubtful if their true horror is realized. Of the 1,800,000 Armenians who were in the Ottoman Empire two years ago, 1,200,000 have been either massacred or deported. Those who were massacred died under abominable tortures, but they escaped the longer agonies of the 'deported.' Men, women and children without food or other provisions for the journey, without protection from the climate, regardless of age or weakness or disease, were driven from their homes and made to march as long as their strength lasted or until those who drove them drowned or massacred them in batches. Some died of exhaustion or fell by the way; some survived a journey of three months and reached the deserts and swamps along the middle Euphrates. There they have been abandoned and are dying now of starvation, disease and exposure.

Meantime, German War methods had not been limited to conquered countries or peoples. At home there was autocratic oppression and a continuous suppression of agitation, of free-speech, of journalistic criticism or individual opinion. The cases of Mehring, Mme. Luxemberg, Mme. Duncker, Mme. Spahn, Dr. Meyer, Herr Regge, Editor Kluers, Editors Oerter Weinberg and Albrecht, were all discussed by Socialists in the Reichstag as being flagrant instances of improper and cruel imprisonment in different parts of Germany—manipulated, as Herr Dittmann alleged, by an army

of police spies and functionaries. Prisoners of War in some of the German camps were brutally treated, practically murdered on certain occasions; in other camps they were treated with a fair degree of decency. Wherever possible they were put at work and it was stated that over 1,000,000 were engaged in agricultural work—General Gröner being quoted in February, 1917, as estimating the number at 750,000.

As to the individual treatment of prisoners—with exceptions as already stated—there was every possible proof of brutality. J. W. Gerard, on his return from Berlin, told a New York audience (Canadian Club, April 9) that German authorities imprisoned townsfolk for giving food and drink to starving Canadian prisoners of war; that German sheep-hounds were trained to bite British soldiers; that small German boys were allowed to shoot arrows tipped with nails into the bodies of prisoners; and that, when typhus broke out in a camp of Russian prisoners, Frenchmen and Englishmen were sent to live with them. He declared that war prisoners were housed in horse-stalls, six men to a stall, at the Ruhleben race-track, Berlin; they were underfed and the conditions were such that many of them became insane. The French authorities reported officially all sorts of cruel punishments and tortures inflicted upon unfortunate *poilus;* the British White-Paper (Cd. 8480) dealt in detail with the brutal use of dogs in various camps.

Another characteristic of German militarism was revealed in the extraordinary, almost unbelievable, statements that the German Offal Conversion Co. (D. A. V. G. were the German first letters) was in active operation with a capital of $1,250,000, and its chief factory at St. Vith near the Belgian frontier, for the purpose of converting corpses from the front into oils, fertilizers and food-fodder. Proofs of this revolting practice included an advertisement in the *Chemische Zeitung* for an Engineer to direct such a factory, details published in the *Independence Belge* as extracted from *La Belgique* of Leyden, a photographic facsimile of descriptive words in an article by Herr Karl Rosner which appeared in the Berlin *Lokal-Anzeiger* of Apr. 10, stories told by returned prisoners, the photographed copy of an army Order issued to the 6th German Army and dated Dec. 21, 1916, which said: "It has become necessary once more to lay stress on the fact that when corpses are sent to the corpse utilization establishments returns as to the unit, date of death, illness and information as to (contagious) diseases, if any, are to be furnished at the same time."

Still another curious development was the use of Commemoration Medals. Though not actually issued by the Government they were permitted, controlled in the same way as the press, and at times were encouraged. Those which had found their way to neutral countries numbered in 1917 nearly 600 varieties.* The most notable marked and celebrated Zeppelin raids on London, the announced victories of the Crown Prince at Verdun, the bombardment of defenceless Scarborough by German ships, various Sub-

*NOTE.—Pamphlet by G. F. Hill, M.A., Keeper of Coins and Medals in British Museum.

marine snccesses with "Gott Strafe England" as a motto and portraits of Admiral Von Tirpitz as a new conqueror of Neptune, the sinking of the *Lusitania.*

One point that time and history will not forget in this War was the German destruction of Art treasures. No reparation was possible nor any explanation sufficient for the destruction of the Louvain galleries where Charles V, one of Europe's greatest rulers, pored over treasures of old learning; for the burning of 250,000 ancient and priceless manuscripts in the Louvain Library; for the destruction of 16th century editions of Virgil and Terence and Sallust and many others and the loss of rare copies of Aristotle and other Greeks of eternal memory; for the priceless Bibles and libraries of ecclesiastical history, illuminated and bordered by long and patient Monkish labours. Nothing in money or power or greatness could ever restore Rheims Cathedral or St. Quentin, the Chateaux of Coucy and Caulaincourt or other French and Belgian monuments of religion and art and century-long creation; nothing could repair the damage done in Padua to the Carmini Church or to the façade of its famous Cathedral, the levelling of the evacuated part of France—the Tuscany, the classic region of that beautiful country. As with Greek paintings and temples, the works of Menander and Sappho, the fruits of Greek sculpture destroyed by the barbarians of old, so for ages will Europe mourn over the losses and regard with disgust the memory of the invader who caused similar destruction in a supposed new era of civilization.

War Conditions in Austria-Hungary; Bulgaria and the Turkish Empire.

When the Archduke Karl ascended the Austrian throne on Nov. 21, 1916, he had confirmed Dr. Von Koerber in the Premiership and announced by proclamation that: "You know me to be in harmony with my peoples in my inflexible decision to continue the struggle until a peace assuring the existence and development of the Monarchy is obtained." At the same time he would hasten, with all his power, the evolution of peace. This was the keynote of Austro-Hungarian policy in 1917; its Government fought doggedly on but with an ever-growing desire for the end. The Foreign Minister, in his Note to the United States on Mar. 6, stood frankly behind Germany, endorsed fully what was described as long-suffering struggles for "the freedom of the Seas," and declared the official Submarine warnings given to neutrals and the enemy by that Power as quite sufficient.

In opening the Austrian Reichstath on May 31 the Emperor delivered a long address in which he foreshadowed a grant of freer institutions: "I am convinced that the happy development of constitutional life after the unfruitfulness of past years is not possible without expanding the Constitution and the administrative foundations of the whole of our public life, both in the State and in the separate Kingdoms and countries, especially Bohemia." He also dealt with peace and war in these German-like words: "While our group of Powers, with irresistible force, is fighting for honour and existence, it is and remains, towards every one who honestly

abandons the intention to threaten us, readily prepared to cease hostilities, and whoever wants to open again better and more human relations will certainly find from this side a ready and conciliatory spirit. In the meantime, however, our fighting spirit will not relax and our sword will not become blunt."

Such was the official situation early in 1917. What the internal conditions of the Empire were is not so easy to state. The 12,000,000 Germans and 10,000,000 Hungarians who controlled the other part of the mixed populations making up the Dual Monarchy did not, during this war, have an easy task. They had conscripted men right and left for war purposes and compelled Poles and Bohemians, Croats and Serbs, Roumanians and Italians, all alike, to fight for their conglomerate Empire. Out of this condition had arisen much of suffering, oppression and suppression, but the details were unknown to the outside world. The Roumanians of Bukowina, the Jugo-Slavs of Dalmatia, the Serbs of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Italians of Tyrol and Carniola, the Slavs of Croatia and Slavonia, were in a state of chronic disaffection. Bohemia, although recognized in the new Emperor's title as a Kingdom similar to Hungary, was in a state of historic and continuous antipathy to the Austrians, with a population of which about 4,000,000 were Czechs and 2,500,000 German-speaking and thinking. Yet in one way or another these peoples were held together, or held in subjection, and presented a fairly united front for the War.

Of course the lines were not drawn completely or always clearly, in a racial connection; German propaganda, which was so clever in other parts of the world, did not lose its grip in this stamping-ground of power. The Austrian system of government was not undemocratic in theory; there was in fact universal suffrage in elections for the Reichstath. In practice, however, the constituencies were so arranged as to return a German majority—the average of German seats having 40,000 population and Slav seats 60,000. In Hungary conditions were autocratic with Count Tisza as the long-time Premier and pro-German ruler. Only Magyars and an Austrian minority were entitled to vote. Until May, 1917, the Austrian Reichstath had not been convoked because of War conditions; with its meeting came the tremendous changes of Russian policy which could not but help in bringing the races of the Austrian Empire together. For the time, at least, Russia abandoned its racial headship of the Slav, gave up its historic claims to Constantinople and retired from all leadership in the Balkans while making public its own betrayals of Roumania and Greece. This left the Slavs of Austria-Hungary free to drift away from old moorings and take up fresh racial associations. Hence the great possibilities before the new Emperor and a lessening of the internal strain and friction in this particular.

Meanwhile, however, war conditions had increased the hardships of the people, Russian successes in portions of the year and the Russian example of revolution and disintegration had increased a discontent already based upon hunger and privation. Flour-bread and fats were all increasingly scarce, boots were worn with wooden

soles; official reports stated 35% of the foods in use to be adulterated; in Bohemia, as the year progressed, there was a distinct failure in crops and many died of starvation; in the Austrian Upper House on Oct. 27 Dr. Gilbert Helmer, Lord Abbot of Teul and an influential churchman, declared that "terrible want reigns in the districts of Gablonz, Rumburg and Warnsdorf and in the Erzgebirge"; food and political riots occurred in many places though all information as to details was checked by the censorship; a coal crisis late in the year became serious and the Government took over control of the trade; in December food relief was promised *via* Russia and it was announced that the Governments of Berlin, Vienna and Buda-Pesth were all creating transport facilities with this hope in view.

At this time the food issue depended upon the Ukraine—the granary of Russia—which had a new Government not very secure in its tenure as yet, in clear hostility to the Bolsheviki and in close touch with Roumania; in Austria and in Germany, also, much depended upon the willingness of Hungary to part with its grain supplies—and it was not very willing. The outlook, therefore, was not hopeful though the average Austrian subject knew little but what he was officially told. As a matter of fact most of the war-news was kept from him; as far as was humanly possible all military defeats or retirements were eliminated from his purview; the War, but for personal losses and food privations, would have been a far-away thing indeed. As to food F. C. Penfield, United States Ambassador, on his return to New York in May, put the situation as it then was with conservative care: "While it is no secret that the distress in the Dual Monarchy is very great, it must not be assumed that the people are at the end of their resources." Everywhere money was being made out of war contracts—even where people were crying for food; there was much hoarding of supplies by the wealthy and Carl W. Ackerman, the U.S. War correspondent, quoted early in the year an estimate of 400 new millionaires in the City of Vienna.

Meanwhile, political events were not on the surface unfavourable to Austria in the War. Reference has been made to the immense changes caused by the Russian situation; at the beginning of the year the important *Ausgleich*, or agreement, regulating the arrangements between Hungary and Austria, had been renewed for 20 years; Count Tisza, who though pro-German in his original sympathies was strongly Hungarian and Nationalist in local policy, was forced out of the Premiership in May and was replaced by Count Moritz-Esterhazy and then by Dr. Alex. Wekerle. The Roumanian campaign was chiefly carried out by German officers and soldiers—aided in the background by the Austrians who had just been beaten in the Russian offensive—and was directed by the German General Staff. In August much importance was attached to the Conference of representatives of Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey, which took place at Vienna for the discussion of an economic agreement. Germany's real policy was to create a solid economic union with Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey, which would mean absolute German control over the

natural resources of those far-stretching regions, and would support Germany in its future State-aided drive upon world markets after the War.

At this time the Emperor Karl was, despite occasional cryptic or Germanized utterances, believed to be in favour of reasonable peace and Count Czernin von Chudenitz, who early in the year became Imperial Foreign Secretary, was credited with similar sentiments. In an interview made public on July 30 the latter said: "I am absolutely convinced the *Entente* will never succeed in crushing us, and, since in our position of defence, we have no intention of crushing the enemy, the War will end sooner or later in a peace by understanding. But, to my way of thinking, the natural conclusion is that the further sacrifices and suffering imposed on all humanity are useless, and that it is necessary in the interests of humanity to reach a peace by understanding as soon as possible." The peace should be honourable and in conjunction with Austria's Allies. He added that "the democratization of constitutions is the great demand of the times. Both in Austria and in Hungary, the Governments are putting their hands to this great work." Then came the Bohemian demand for absolute Czech independence and the dissensions and bitterness shown at the Reichstath meeting which, as news, gradually sifted through to the outside world.

In an address reported at Amsterdam on Oct. 4 Count Czernin expressed himself in favour of (1) eventual and complete disarmament of the nations, (2) international guarantee of the freedom of the seas, (3) renouncement of Austro-Hungarian plans for enlargement, (4) positive certainty of the elimination of future economic war, (5) no indemnities. Dr. Wekerle, the Hungarian Premier, had declared in the Chamber at Buda-Pesth on Sept. 12 that "our defensive war aims at no conquests whatever, that we oppose an economic war between the nations, and that we are striving for a suitable and lasting peace, which is not detrimental to our interests, and that to avoid a recurrence of the War we even consider it desirable that brute force of arms in international relationships should be replaced by the moral empire of right." Dr. Von Seydler, who in June succeeded Count Clam-Martinic as Premier of Austria, stated at Vienna (Dec. 1) that "the Austro-Hungarian Government, in view of its repeatedly proclaimed position, has decided to conduct negotiations in a spirit of conciliation, as its aim is a speedy peace that will make possible trustful co-operation of the nations in the future." The close of the year saw Peace demonstrations in many quarters, the partially successful Austro-German attack upon Italy and the *pour-parlers* with the Russian Bolsheviki.

The part taken by the Turkish Allies of Germany and Austria in the War was not very great in 1917. Late in 1916 the Turkish Empire had repudiated the guardianship, guarantees, and treaties under which there had long been a sort of collective Suzerainty held by the Great Powers over its affairs and formally declared that it entered the group of European Powers "with all the rights and prerogatives of an entirely independent Government." The succeeding Russian *débâcle* saved the situation for the Porte in Asiatic

Turkey after the Russians had captured Erzeroum, Trebizond and Erzingan, and cleft the way almost clear for the long march through Anatolia to Scutari. On the other hand the revolt of the Arabs swept through Arabia and deprived the Sultan of the holy places of Mecca and Medina, stultified his German-backed declaration of a Holy War and largely relieved the Mohammedan world in Africa, India and Central Asia from its vague religious allegiance to the Caliph at Stamboul. The British expedition through Mesopotamia, in its second stages, re-captured Kut-el-Amara and in advancing through Bagdad delivered a blow to Turkish *prestige* which the later success of the Palestine expedition and capture of historic Jerusalem greatly enhanced.

More and more during the year Turkey had become a vassal of Germany. All the high military commands were filled by Germans while German officials were everywhere and largely in control of the administration of affairs; Turkish troops were under German rules of discipline and were sent freely to reinforce the Austrians in Dwina, in Galicia, in Roumania; a National Munitions factory was in operation under German foremen though most of the munitions required came from Krupp's. Finance was disorganized, food scarce and poor, many in Constantinople were starving, typhus, cholera and plague were always present. It was stated that the total advances from Germany to Turkey in August, 1917, were about $700,000,000. The large Turkish armies in Asia Minor, though aided by German officers, were not seriously supported by German or Austrian troops. In the Autumn the Kaiser visited Constantinople, Count Von Bernstorff, of American fame, assumed the post of German Ambassador, it was announced that $250,000,000 of German Exchequer bonds would be deposited at the capital to form the basis of an issue of Turkish paper money of equal amount, and Marshal Von Falkenhayn was appointed to command the Turkish armies.

The policy of Bulgaria made it the one Balkan State which at the close of 1917 had benefited by the War. The unscrupulous astuteness of Czar Ferdinand, his inherited Austrian associations and practical alliance with that country under peace conditions, his disguised neutrality which lasted until Austria was ready to strike with him at Serbia, his treacherous assertions of friendship at a critical moment for the Entente Allies, enabled him to reap fruits from this seething cauldron of Balkan strife. Had Serbia been allowed by the Allies to strike at Bulgaria first instead of being stricken from behind, with the Austrians in front, she might have been saved. As it was Serbia was crushed and the German dream of Mittel-europa was for the moment a fact. Bulgaria played a very similar trick upon Roumania and with the aid of treacherous ministers in Russia came out of the struggle with additional territory. Later, Ferdinand succeeded in keeping the United States from declaring war against him and the New York *Tribune* of Dec. 11, 1917, made this comment: "As Ferdinand deceived Sir Edward Grey and Delcassé he is now deceiving the United States. He is nothing more than the creature of Austria and Germany. More-

over, the collapse of Russia has destroyed the last hope of that considerable Bulgarian faction which is hostile to Ferdinand, sympathetic with the United States and eager to free Bulgaria from an alien domination and a foreign prince."

Bulgaria, as the Prussia of the Balkans, appears to have been the dream of this ambitious ruler. Serbia and Roumania had been crushed by this time; Greece was still safe under the guns of Allied troops. Something of this result was, no doubt, due to mistakes of Allied diplomacy; something also was due to the fact that Ferdinand's people were in the main vigorous, healthy farmers—ruthless as were all Balkan peoples under the precepts, practices and burdens of Turkish rule or custom—and determined in this upheaval of the nations to survive as the fittest of Balkan races. M. Radislavoff, Premier of Bulgaria, was in Berlin on June 10, spent many hours in conference with the Kaiser and Marshal Von Hindenburg, and in an ensuing interview stated Bulgarian policy as follows:

> We are only claiming territory in which Bulgarian is spoken. The Dobrudja belongs to this area, as it was forcibly taken from us by the Treaty of Bucharest. We are insisting that such territories as are populated by Bulgarian-speaking people become again part of our country. If the principle of the right of nationalities to determine their allegiance is recognized the Bulgarian-speaking sections of Macedonia and Dobrudja will be allotted to Bulgaria.

Russia: The Sweep of Revolution, Anarchy and Socialism.

The leaders of the momentous changes of 1917 in Russia swept away the national institutions of centuries and substituted vague, crude and anarchistic conditions of so-called government; affected the War situation of the world and aided those who were striving to suppress freedom and destroy the independence of nations; proposed, as did the French revolutionaries of a previous century, to compel other peoples, by agitation or force, to adopt similar lines of thought and policy; attempted the abolition of classes in Russia, demolished national systems of finance and credit, confiscated money and property and promised the ignorant, credulous, idealistic peasantry every condition that fools could hope for, saints pray for or thieves fight for. They, in short, smashed up the Russia of other days, which, in a geographical and racial sense, had become a great Power through the efforts of some leaders who were great in policy and achievement and been held in unity by others of similar type—even though this work was marred by the cruelties and crudities of a nation half Eastern and half Western in its nature and its weaknesses and by the latter-day actions of decadent or utterly unfit men in the seats of power.

Western democracies in this great War did not, and could not, understand Russia—either before or after the Revolution. They judged its statesmen by their own codes, its people by their own principles of patriotism. Yet neither the popular leaders nor the people were fitted for self-government in a Western sense. Like every administrative system which has ever existed and under which great nations have risen and ruled, fought and struggled and died, that of Russia had been more or less adapted to certain conditions in the body politic, in the equipment of the national mind; and

when those conditions changed under the tremendous shocks of a world-war the system collapsed. It was called a triumph for democracy; it was really a revolt against physical conditions of suffering, against treason seen in a shaded light, against the blind leadership of the blind, coupled with a strong desire to acquire something which was owned or held by other people.

The Russians as a whole knew nothing about the theory or principles of democracy. Some wanted the land which they did not know how to cultivate—except as an ox or horse drags the plow: others wanted riches which they did not know how to use and in taking them destroyed exquisite churches or art collections or historic buildings—far more than was known at the end of 1917; others like Kerensky or Lenine or Trotzky wanted to govern without, at least in the two latter cases, knowing anything or caring anything about the principles or practice of government. To call anarchy and socialism, red guards and personal autocracy, Bolsheviki, pillage and wild license, by the name of democracy was as foolish in 1917 as it was in 1795 to call the product of Robespierre and Danton by the same great name. Yet it was widely done; in Canada whole-heartedly and ignorantly—as in the States; in Britain guardedly and with knowledge in some quarters, freely and necessarily so in official circles.

Russia, under the Czars, was a land of paradoxes. Its government was an absolute autocracy yet the peasant class had held the Mir, or village commune system, intact since the earliest days and in this cradle had rocked some of the springs of liberty and evolved a certain political practice and a local power as great as that of municipalities in Western lands; its masses were exceedingly illiterate and ignorant, yet facile in the crude discussion of economic and personal questions such as division or seizure of the land; its Government controlled the Universities and educational system, the press, the army and the pulpit, and sent anarchists to Siberia at pleasure, yet the local Mirs had grown into Provincial Zemstvos—with much political power and during the War, under direction of aristocrats, with an immense volume of good work to their credit—and into a Douma or Parliament which represented all classes, though with a majority still favourable to the landowners and the nobility.

The Greek Church of Russia was officially represented in the Government with the Czar as its head and the Holy Synod as its governing body, yet its 50,000 clergy were frequently illiterate and of a peasant type and character, while it had a multitude of monks, arch-priests, etc., in various Orders who were largely in the same category; the Church was a form of Christianity yet all around, and often in it, were phases of mysticism and semi-barbarous oriental thought which produced some of the strangest sects known to humanity and enabled them to flourish in many parts of the country. Moral laxity accompanied hysterical excitement and resulted in such off-spring as Gregory Rasputin; out of many weird and sometimes murderous or savage cults grew such developments as Jew-baiting, such people as the naked Doukhobor and an ever-

growing mass of persons who were as anarchistic in religion as most of the Socialists were in politics.

The *entourage* of the Czar was very mixed. His wife's mother was Princess Alice—a daughter of the late Queen Victoria; her father, the Grand Duke of Hesse, was not only a German but an English-hating German; the family was brought up in this environment, though with occasional visits to England. The Czarina undoubtedly was under the masterful, personal influence of the Kaiser, while one sister became Princess Henry of Prussia; her transference to St. Petersburg gave her an atmosphere of plentiful German sympathy and ever-growing German intrigue—in which men like Stuermer, Soukhomlinoff, Protopopoff, Belaieff, Rasputin, Polivanoff, Manuilov, Kurloff and Ptimirin, the Metropolitan or head of the Church, shared. She was strong-minded, narrow in thought, autocratic in political faith, ready to accept the courtier-like lies of pro-Germans around her as to a loyalty in the people which they were doing their best to undermine. The Czarina was very religious and by deception as to her son's sickness Rasputin obtained his influence—largely exaggerated and important chiefly as it was represented to the people by pro-Germans or anarchists creating discontent; and as it was utilized by similar elements seeking information to send to Germany. Telegrams published after the Revolution showed her as constantly interfering in the conduct of affairs along lines of what might be termed personal politics. A letter of warning and advice written to the Czar by his cousin, the Grand Duke Nicholas —a cousin of the General of that name—in December, 1916, contained a clause which caused his banishment but will live in history:

> Often did you tell me you could put faith in no one, and that you were being deceived. If this is so, then it applies particularly to your wife, who loves you and yet led you into error, being surrounded by evil-minded intimates. You believe in Alexandra Feodorovna. This is natural. But the words she utters are the product of skilful machinations, not of truth. If you are powerless to liberate her from these influences, then, at all events, be on your guard against the constant and systematic influence of intriguers, who are using your wife as their instrument.

The Czar's mental character was typically Russian without the brutality which would have been understood by his people and which might have carried him over a crisis, or the clarity of thought which might have enabled him to appeal to the people and rule without the bureaucracy, the reactionary German and the noble who naturally wanted to hold his land. But he was, constitutionally, the product of years of Nihilistic threat and menaces from bomb and bullet—nervous, irritable, excitable and controlled by those he thought his friends. Despite all this he loved his country and was devoted to the most arduous labour under terrific strain. Years before the War a translation of some poetry written by him indicates his feelings and character:

> My happiness was born at night,
> It has only flourished in darkness;
> I have lost my joy in life,
> I wander wearily in gloom.
>
> My soul gropes, sadly searching,
> In mental fog—it pines,
> And prays and suffers,
> But finds no peace on earth.

Such were the characters and environment of the Court. In public life or the Douma were a number of able men led by its President M. Rodzianko—men like Miliukoff, Sazonoff, Ignatieff—who under a reformed system would have been strong supporters of the throne. Meanwhile, however, the country was being wrecked by internal enemies, despite the fact that the Czar had done much in weeding Germans out of the Court, the Departments, the Army, the Civil Service, etc. Still, large numbers remained and there were enough of them to betray secrets, misdirect or delay army supplies, promote munition strikes and blow up plants, bedevil transportation, corrupt officials and army officers, prevent food shipments to the Front, hamper re-inforcements, promote disaffection and, even up to the last weeks of February and March, 1917, hinder food supplies for the masses so as to cause troubles in Petrograd and Moscow which might help negotiations for a separate Russian peace or else throw the country into anarchy.

Rasputin was one of the worst of the German tools, Soukhomlinoff, when Minister of War, one of the most dangerous. The Galician conquest of Grand Duke Nicholas was turned into a retreat by lack of munitions; attempts were made to murder Korniloff and Brusiloff and other loyal leaders; Spahn, brother of a German statesman at Berlin, was retained as Director of the Putiloff works —the largest of Russia's munition factories—where mysterious explosions and frequent strikes were the order of the day; German spies were sent with commissions to the United States. Along the border and in all the Baltic regions the millions of Germans descended from settlers of the days of Catherine II, had outstripped the simple Russians in business, production and prosperity and, under later-day developments, had spread through Russia a network of spies and co-operative propaganda, poisoned the wells of thought and paralyzed the springs of effective action.

Early in March the Revolution developed and the world was amazed by the suddenness, force, and effectiveness of the overthrow. There had for weeks been unrest, a sudden proposal to prorogue the Douma, critical conditions in food supply, prohibitive prices and scarcity in the cities, continuous rumours as to German plots in Court and noble circles, popular meetings and strikes. On Mar. 6 there came a great deputation to the Ministers and a deliberately weak and insulting reply from Protopopoff, the pro-German Minister of Agriculture. Then the Czar was advised of danger and started back from the front but never reached Petrograd in a sovereign capacity; the troops for a few days of indecision were loyal, while marching bands of Socialists and anarchists, workmen and students, rebel soldiers and city clerks, paraded the streets; there was considerable bloodshed with infinite talk and the result hung in the balance for a time without a man in the Czar's Government strong enough or popular enough to save the situation.

These conflicts developed, the red flag flew in growing confidence, buildings were captured by the rebels; soldiers hesitated and many gave way to the elusive propaganda of the internationalists, the Pacifists and the pro-Germans; on Mar. 12 the rank and file of the

troops went over to the Revolution and on the following day the Government buildings were captured while every square foot of public ground was jammed with people who talked and talked and talked. Meantime the Douma had re-assembled and, finally, on Mar. 15 a Government was formed from it as being the only organized source of administration left. Prince Georges E. Lvoff, President of the Zemstvos and a man of moderation and capacity, became Premier—whose Premier did not appear! Prof. P. N. Miliukoff, one of the ablest of the Social reformers and Liberal leaders, a believer in Parliamentary monarchy, became Foreign Minister, General A. J. Guchkoff was appointed Minister of War, M. Tereschenko, a wealthy, cultured manufacturer, land-owner and Socialist of high character, Minister of Finance, and A. V. Kerensky, a brilliant journalist, orator and leader of the workmen, Minister of Justice. The new Government on Mar. 18 issued a statement of policy which was general in terms and announced the grant of wide liberties in public, military and social life.

Meanwhile the Czar had been detained at Pskoff on his way to Petrograd and there went through three stages of abdication—(1) a grant of full responsible government, (2) abdication in favour of his son Alexis and (3) in favour of his brother, the Grand Duke Michael, who, however, declined the responsibility unless chosen by popular vote. The text of the final document on Mar. 15 included the statement that: "In these decisive days in the life of Russia we believe our people should have the closest union and organization of all their forces for the realization of speedy victory. For this reason, in accord with the Douma of the Empire, we have considered it desirable to abdicate the throne of Russia and lay aside our supreme power." The Grand Duke Michael, after announcing his decision, said on Mar. 16: "I urge all citizens of Russia to submit to the Provisional Government, established upon the initiative of the Douma and invested with full plenary powers"—until such an election as was suggested should take place. The Czar and his family were sent to the palace of Tzarskoe-Selo and there imprisoned; later they were removed to Tobolsk, Siberia, and in October to the Abolak Monastery; their property and that of the several Grand Dukes, estimated in various values up to $958,000,000 and including immense areas of Crown Lands, was taken over by the Provisional Government; some of the former Ministers were put in gaol, others had been killed in the riots of early March. On the 20th the Government issued a Manifesto in which the arbitrary actions of the Czar's Ministers were reviewed in moderate terms, the country described as on the verge of ruin, the heroic efforts of the Army eulogized and the statement made that "the Government will do its utmost to provide the army with everything necessary to bring the War to a victorious conclusion. It will faithfully observe all alliances uniting us to other Powers and all agreements made in the past."

To superficial observers, to the Allied Governments who were determined and bound to see the best in the changes thus made, to a great democratic press all over the world, the situation was one akin to jubilation. A nation of vast potential effort, with 180,000,000

people controlling 8,400,000 square miles of territory, with tremendous resources in men and commerce and finance and agriculture, had joined the free peoples of the world and would, they said, surely stand for democracy against autocracy. Much of the British press described the result as a triumph for the *Entente* and a disaster for the Central Powers; the United States papers were almost unanimous in considering the event a victory for freedom and a blow to Germany; Prof. S. N. Harper of Chicago, considered the leading American authority on Russia, declared (Mar. 16) that the "Revolution spells the end of anxieties and means a more active prosecution of the War to victory"; the Toronto *Globe* of Mar. 16 voiced Canadian newspaper opinion in general when it said that "far from prejudicing the cause of the Allies, the *coup d'etat* will prove the salvation of Russia as a military power engaged in war"; the Ontario Legislature passed a unanimous Resolution (Mar. 30) of congratulation to the Douma "upon the establishment of free institutions and responsible government in Russia." The University of Manitoba, a number of Members of the British Parliament, and others, followed suit, while Mr. Lloyd George (Mar. 22) cabled the Russian Premier that: "I believe the Revolution, whereby the Russian people have based their destinies on a sure foundation of freedom, is the greatest service which they have yet made to the cause for which the Allied peoples have been fighting since August, 1914. It reveals the fundamental truth that this war is, at the bottom, a struggle for popular government, and for liberty."

There followed a period of desperate struggle between Prince Lvoff, supported by the moderate Liberal element, a middle-class composed of merchants and small landowners, people of small settled incomes or possessions, reasonable reformers and the lesser nobility on the one side against the Maximalists, or Bolsheviki as they came to be called, who were made up of every class of extremists—Nihilists and anarchists and bomb-throwers of the old *régime*, the Socialists who held wild theories as to equal redistribution of money and property, and other Socialists who held the view that it was their turn now and that everything should be turned over to the proletariat and themselves. The Provisional Government was recognized as the centre of such stability as still existed and for this reason it was formally and promptly recognized by the United States, Great Britain, France and Italy.

The new Government took an oath (Mar. 28) to observe and guard "civil liberty and civic equality" and to convoke a Constituent Assembly; M. Tereschenko, Minister of Finance, promised (Mar. 29) a new system of taxation of War profits sufficient to pay interest on outstanding national loans; the Premier stated on Apr. 10 that "the object of free Russia is a permanent peace and the rights of all nations to determine their own destiny"; M. Kerensky declared on Apr. 7 that if the German people would follow the example of Russia and overthrow their monarch "we offer the possibility of preliminary negotiations." It admitted the right of Poland and Finland to complete independence and promised Armenia an autonomous Government under Russian protection; proclaimed full

religious liberty and the emancipation and absolute equality of the Jews and promised women the right to vote; released 100,000 exiles from the prisons, mines and convict settlements of Siberia—including Catherine Breshkovskaya, "the grandmother of the Revolution," who had been there for 44 years.

Alongside this Government, in sympathy with the more radical elements of its policy but growling at times like the Jacobins of France against the Girondists in their brief period of power, was the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates—a self created body, jealous of all authority except its own, striving to increase its strength in various ways and always at the expense of Government stability, tending toward extremes but not yet enmeshed in the net of anarchy, and inclined toward peace. It at first represented the Labour Unions and the peasants, but not to any great extent the anarchistic group under the leadership of Nikolai Lenine. On May 1st the Government increased its unpopularity with the radical, extremist, pro-German element, alike in the Soviet and amongst the Petrograd masses, by a Note from M. Miliukoff to the Allied Governments, declaring that the Provisional Government "in safeguarding the rights acquired for our country will maintain a strict regard for its engagements with the Allies of Russia." This was the policy of the Government and the Douma; but the Council of Workmen and Soldiers resented it and showed a growing divergence by calling upon all peoples to hold a Peace Conference of international Socialists in a neutral country.

M. Guchkoff and General Korniloff, Commander at Petrograd, resigned on May 13 and the Council at the same time appealed to the Army—which was being demoralized by Soviet and anarchistic and German propaganda—to continue its defence of Russia, and to German and Austrian Socialists to overthrow their Governments, while M. Kerensky declared that as matters were going it seemed impossible to save the country. He denounced fraternizing with the enemy on the Eastern front: "If the tragedy and desperateness of the situation are not realized by all in our State then all our dreams of liberty, all our ideals, will be thrown back for decades and perhaps will be drowned in blood." Samuel Gompers, head of American Labour interests, appealed (May 7) to Russian Labourites and Socialists to stand by their Allies and world-liberty; the Workmen's Council (May 15) after first refusing Coalition suggestions, decided to accept them and declared against a peace separate from the Allies; the resignation of M. Miliukoff followed and the Government was reorganized as a Coalition with M. Kerensky as Minister of War and a dominating figure in the Government and country. His aim apparently was to make Socialism the controlling influence but at the same time to moderate and adjust Socialism to government and to foreign co-operation, to avert anarchy and continue the War.

During June economic collapse was threatened by the exorbitant demands of Labour for an increase in wages greater, often, than the entire profits of factories, with Committees of workmen in control of production; advances were made of 100 to 150 per cent., without any increase in price of the output, while an 8-hour day was every-

where established but not observed by the workers who practically worked when they pleased. Meantime the Government on May 27 had shown either that it had no conception of Army and Navy operation or else was being driven by the extremists. It issued a decree in which everyone from Generals and Admirals to drummer-boys were placed upon an absolute equality of rights and position. All discipline was practically abolished. Soldiers could belong to and freely share in the advocacy of any political party; no soldier could be compelled to any religious observance, nor could his mail be touched or his right of receiving any kind of propagandist literature interfered with; the uniform could be discarded except when on active service and there were to be no more soldier servants or orderlies, no fixed replies to superiors or compulsory salutes to officers—except on parade; soldiers outside the duty-hours could leave the barracks as they chose and no punishment could be inflicted without trial; officers could only issue orders in connection with actual fighting or preparations for it; while all regimental matters were placed in the hands of elected Committees.

On May 30 a Congress of Soldiers' Delegates passed a Resolution declaring it "indispensable to take every measure to put an end as quickly as possible to the international carnage and conclude peace without annexation or indemnities." Disorders and disorganization followed apace in both Army and Navy; General Alexieff resigned his command of the former and General Brusiloff succeeded him; Elihu Root, the United States Commissioner, arrived and his addresses, backed by the continued advice of the British Ambassador, Sir George Buchanan, steadied matters locally for a time; the Russian commercial, industrial and banking interests met in Congress at Petrograd and urged continuance of the War, while a Congress of Peasants on June 8 asked for peace without annexation or indemnities, but urged the Army to submit itself to discipline and defend the Revolution; the elections for a Constituent Assembly were arranged under universal suffrage, secret voting, and an age-limit of 20. Prince Lvoff on July 7 declared the situation improving and the United States to be Russia's ideal.

Early in July, General Brusiloff swept forward in a Galician offensive which was made possible by the eloquence and personal force of Kerensky and which, over 100 miles of front, won various victories and advanced to Kalusz, the key to Lemberg. Here, however, mutiny and lack of all discipline accomplished what the Austro-Germans could not do and, step by step, drove the Russians back beyond their original lines, while German and anarchistic propaganda also caused defeat in the Baltic region, in the Carpathians, at Czernowitz and, eventually, gave to the Germans Riga and all the country sweeping along the shores of the Gulf of Riga and dominating the road to Petrograd. Kerensky's war patriotism had been rendered futile by the folly of his army administration along lines of Socialism and permitted propaganda. Meantime the extremists and anarchists under Lenine had done their best to create riots and disturbance and to upset the Government. German influence and money and spies were everywhere; fraterniz-



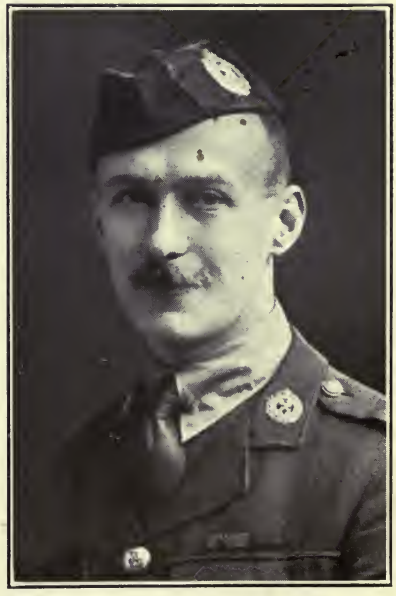
Capt. Henry Strachan, v.c., m.c.,
Fort Garry Horse, Winnipeg.



Pte. Michael Jas. O'Rourke, v.c., m.c.
Canadian Infantry, New Westminster, B.C.



Sergt.-Major Fred. William Hall, v.c.,
8th Battalion, Winnipeg. Killed in action.



Capt. Robert Shankland, v.c., d.c.m.,
Canadian Infantry, Winnipeg.

Canadian Winners of the V.C.

ing at the Front in various stages of fighting was still going on and the murder of officers constantly taking place; while German plots in the Ukraine and amongst the Swedish leaders of Finland precipitated and maintained disorganization there. Despite all these and many other difficulties the Lvoff Government held office until July 20 when A. V. Kerensky became Premier and, practically, the Dictator of Russia, with, at first, complete endorsement from the Workmen's Council and the Peasants' Council and their proclamation of his Cabinet as the Government of National Safety. This was caused by the retreats and defeats of the Army and the obvious need of restoring organization and discipline. To the Soldiers a proclamation was issued by the two Councils on July 23: "You are being watched by those who work for Russia and by the whole world. The ruin of the Russian revolution spells ruin for all. Summon up all your manhood, your perseverance and sense of discipline and save the Fatherland."

Despite this, however, despite an appeal, also, from the Kerensky Government, the partial restoration of the death penalty and the prohibition of publications inciting to insubordination, the demoralization grew deeper; open treachery had already aided the enemy and thrown away the fruits of victory. Lenine and his associates were censured by the Workmen's Executive and it was recommended that "the group of Maximalists accused of having organized disorders or incited revolts or of having received money from German sources should be tried publicly." Ruszky, Gourko and Brusiloff resigned their Army commands and Korniloff took over the desperate task. A re-organization of the Government followed with extreme radicals eliminated and some bourgeoisie representatives admitted; M. Kerensky called a National Council which met at Moscow on Aug. 26 with 2,500 delegates present who represented all the chief Russian interests; it heard a long speech from the Premier in which he declared that "the State was passing through a period of mortal danger."

The fundamental division between moderates and extremists showed itself in the Congress but still more outside of it, and the fall of Riga on Sept. 3 created a new crisis and a wave of unrest—followed by discoveries of alleged monarchist plots and the Korniloff revolt which Kerensky so easily suppressed. The Government was re-organized and strengthened and on Sept. 27 a new Democratic Congress, with 1,200 Delegates, met at Moscow. Again Kerensky dominated the situation and controlled the moderate Socialists or Mensheviki, a decreasing portion of the Bolsheviki or anarchistic group, the Constitutional Democrats or Cadets under Miliukoff and including the *bourgeois* or business, professional and landed classes. On Sept. 14 M. Kerensky, as President of the Executive Council, issued a Proclamation declaring Russia a Republic:

> Holding it necessary to put an end to the external indefiniteness of the State's organization, remembering the unanimous and rapturous approval of the republican idea expressed at the Moscow State Conference, the Provisional Government declares that the constitutional organization, according to which the Russian State is ruled, is a republican organization, and it hereby proclaims the Russian Republic.
>
> Minister of Justice, Yaroudni. Minister and President, Kerensky.

Meantime the Douma had disappeared, the proposed Assembly had not been called and the Soviet, or Workmen's and Soldiers' Council, was steadily increasing its power, drawing into itself varied elements of the proletariat, establishing branches everywhere and gradually coming under control of Lenine and his associates. In the Soviets, in the Socialist Party and its many cliques and sections, in a multitude of continuous street and secret meetings, in the Army at Petrograd and Moscow, as well as at the Front, the extremists, Pacifists and pro-Germans were, during these months, very busy. Their chief leader was Nikolai Lenine, a man of varied career and peculiar character. He had published Socialist papers in Paris and Switzerland and written books and pamphlets on the wildest phases of international Socialism; he was in Austrian Poland when the War broke out and in Germany when the Revolution began; he was a clever, unscrupulous, intolerant, courageous man, whose affiliations and operations had been such as to lead to a widespread belief that he was corrupted by German gold and was an agent of the German Government. His real name was said to be Nikolai Ilvitch Ulivanof; one of his book names was Vladimir Ilyin; another name used was the significant one of Zederblum. According to the London *Daily Chronicle* (Nov. 10, 1917) various associates of his in the Bolsheviki and in the Government which he afterwards formed, were really Germans bearing the following names:

Name Assumed	Actual Name	Name Assumed	Actual Name
Trotzky	Bronstein	Sutkhanoff	Gimmer
Zinovieff	Applebaum	Goreff	Goldman
Kameneff	Rosenfeldt	Nishkovsky	Goldenberg
Stekhof	Nabankhis	Ladin	Lure

Tcherneff, strongly opposed to Kerensky, was originally Feldmann; Parvus, who acted as a go-between for Lenine and the Germans at Copenhagen was Helfandt; Martoff, another Bolshevik, was Zederbaum and Zagorsky was once Krachmann.* In July Lenine's followers had seized Kronstadt and he endeavoured to repeat the exploit in Petrograd (July 16) with appeals to the people to support immediate peace, the taking of land and freedom, the destruction of the Douma and all capitalistic Ministers, etc., but the attempt was crushed with machine guns. For a time Lenine had to remain in nominal hiding and herein lay one of the great mistakes of Kerensky. Had he boldly seized and disposed of the leaders of violence, anarchy and incendiary Socialism, he might have organized stability and retained power; but he was unable to rise to the level of the necessary autocracy.

During these months Lenine issued a pamphlet formulating the platform of the Bolsheviki† which may be summarized as follows: (1) We represent the class-conscious proletaries, hired labourers,

*NOTE.—*Le Petit Parisien*, of Paris, published on Feb. 7-8, 1918, a series of official German documents, amongst which was a circular, dated March 2, 1917, from the German Imperial Bank to representatives in Switzerland, instructing them to honour all demands for money from Nikolai Lenine, M. Sinovieff, Leon Trotzky, M. Kameneff, one of the Russian representatives at the Brest-Litovsk negotiations, and others.

†NOTE.—Translation by Abraham Yarmolinsky, of the N.Y. City College, in New York *Times*, Nov. 18, 1917.

and the poorer portion of the rural population; (2) we stand for Socialism and the Workmen's Councils must take over control of the banks and capitalistic syndicates, with a view to nationalization; (3) we advocate a republic of Councils of Workmen, Soldiers, Peasants, in which all the power must belong to them; (4) we are against capital and it is necessary to transfer power in this respect to the proletariat and the poorer element among the peasants; (5) we believe the State does not need a Police force and the people must be synonymous with the Army and Militia; (6) we declare that all Monarchs should be deposed and the land of Russia should be seized immediately and given to the peasants. In October Lenine issued a statement, denouncing the capitalists of Germany and all countries as pirates, and describing the rulers of Germany, England and Italy as robbers. He described the war as waged by two groups of Powers for purely Imperialistic and Capitalistic purposes and then declared that it must be continued by Russia with a Militia paid the same wages as first-class workmen! As to the rest:

> The officers of the Militia should be elected by the soldiers, and subject to recall, and every order of the officers or generals should be approved by a vote of the men. For it is only elected officers whom the men can be expected to obey and respect. In order that the soldiers be better fed, a re-partition of the lands should be arranged for. Finally, we must encourage at once every attempt made by the soldiers on both sides of the line to fraternize, in order that these instinctive manifestations of solidarity may ripen into a conscious, organized movement to place the Governmental owners of every belligerent nation in the hands of the revolutionary proletariat.

With Lenine was a man named Leon Trotzky or Leber Bronstein as he was declared to be. A leader in the literary work of the Socialists, an exile from Russia for years and an anarchistic agitator who had been in turn expelled from France, Switzerland and Spain, he spent the early months of 1917 in New York. When the Revolution came he started for Russia but was detained at Halifax by the British authorities and was only released at the misguided request of the Provisional Government in Petrograd. When the War first broke out he had been in Berlin and was allowed to leave for Paris where he had funds enough to start a Socialist paper of anti-war propaganda. After the Revolution he became a leader of the Petrograd Workers' Council or Soviet and delivered burning speeches in favour of separate peace with Germany.

Persistent agitation developed amongst the extremists in August and September and by November the Kerensky influence had been thoroughly under-mined; on Nov. 1 the Premier issued a statement conveying an intimation of despair as to the restoration of civil law, describing Russia as worn out by the long strain of strife, cursing Great Britain and the United States for not helping Russia as they had France, but declaring his country not yet out of the War. On Nov. 8 his Government was overthrown and after some fighting in streets and buildings Petrograd was in the hands of Lenine and the Red Guards of the Bolsheviki. Their Revolutionary Committee at once issued a Proclamation declaring for (1) the offer of an immediate democratic peace; (2) the immediate handing over of large proprietarial lands to the peasants; (3) the transmission

of all authority to the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates; (4) the honest convocation of a Constitutional Assembly.

To the Soviet M. Trotzky announced that the Provisional Government no longer existed and that Russia was now controlled by the peasants and workmen. A Congress of Councils of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates of all Russia met and issued on Nov. 8 proclamations declaring (1) that all power lay in its hands; (2) that the re-established death penalty at the Front was abolished and complete freedom of political propaganda restored; (3) that most of the Ministers had been arrested and that M. Kerensky had fled but would be brought back and dealt with for high treason. On Nov. 9 M. Lenine was announced as Premier, Leon Trotzky as Foreign Minister with a Government of various other Ministers and a Committee of three to deal with War and Marine—one being Krylenko, a minor officer in the Army, and another a Kronstadt sailor. All were of the Bolsheviki. On the 10th the Soviet Congress passed a Resolution in favour of immediate peace amongst all belligerents without annexation and without indemnities. The collapse of the Kerensky Government was complete and on Nov. 20 the new "Government" announced its "obligation to offer all the peoples and their respective Governments an immediate armistice on all fronts," with the purpose of opening *pour-parlers* immediately for the conclusion of a democratic peace. General Dukhonin, Commander-in-Chief, was ordered at once to offer an armistice to "all nations, Allied and hostile," and, not replying, was relieved by Ensign Krylenko while, on the 25th, M. Trotzky sent a note to the neutral Powers, declaring that "the consummation of an immediate peace is demanded in all countries, both belligerent and neutral," and that the Russian Government "counts on the firm support of workmen in all countries in the struggle for peace."

Chaos followed in the fullest sense of the word. Military movements directed against Petrograd and the Red Guard leaders by Kerensky, Kaledines, Korniloff and others failed in turn and constant desertions from their ranks made it difficult even to hold together the elements of law and order in Siberia, Finland, Ukraine, etc.; the Soviets or local Workmen's Councils got control in most of the centres—little and big—and did much as they liked; copies of all treaties and private correspondence between Russia and other Powers were issued to the press; Departmental officers and many Government agents and officials throughout the country were displaced for refusing to recognize the Lenine combination; money was seized in the Banks and repudiation of the National Debt threatened; the original revolutionaries were repudiated as too mild while rich peasants, small landowners, merchants and moderates of every class were designated *Bourgeois* and enemies of the nation; the Army was run by ranting demagogues and any little efficiency left was destroyed, while Committees once more dominated the Navy; untold and unknown crimes accompanied the peasant seizures of land and property throughout vast regions of the much-troubled nation.

The 60 or more racial and ethnographic groups of Russia—Slavs and Lithuanians, Germans (2,000,000 of them) Latins, Armenians, Jews (5,000,000 of them), Finns, Tartars, Mongols, Georgians, Poles, etc.—split up in varied forms of plastic or pacific reception of the strong propaganda which the Germans had long been giving them and the Bolsheviki now hastened to support; food rotted for want of someone to move it and soldiers starved at the Front for want of transport; work was paralyzed and social vice and bribery were rampant, drinking was widespread though vodka was not available, and violence was everywhere; talk was continuous but real freedom of speech impossible, lynch law was frequent in a form adapted to the crude, dwarfed mind of the Russian workman and useless meetings became a perfect mania; peace talk was everywhere and Petrograd in an orgy of pacificism, German propaganda and insane idealism while Russian army paralysis struck deep blows at world freedom and prolonged the War a year at least; the elections for the Constituent Assembly—that dream of the old-time revolutionist—were held but went against the Bolsheviki who refused to recognize the body and eventually "dissolved" it.

It was forgotten in other countries at this time that the Bolsheviki were the direct and legitimate inheritors of Nihilism; that some of them had led in bomb-throwing plots and violence in the old days; that Lenine and others had in 1905 done their best to make the Czar's nominal grant of political freedom and creation of the Douma useless through disunion amongst the supposed friends of democracy; that Trotzky, though not a Bolshevik at that time was the advocate of a "permanent revolution"; that the Bolsheviki had associated themselves with the lawless elements in all countries, and, as late as 1917, had protested against the execution of Mooney, convicted at San Francisco of throwing a bomb into a public parade, and against a sentence of death upon Alex. Berkman, the United States anarchist; that, as a party, they represented only themselves and were badly beaten in nearly all the Municipal elections in over 600 Russian towns and cities during October, 1917, as well as in the Assembly elections; that whatever of good or evil there might be in the variegated Socialism of these men there was not, and could not be, any patriotism. It was internationalism and anarchy, an individual ambition for power which evolved a new autocracy and class control of a special type—government by the poor as Lenine put it.

Following the seizure of power in November came the Armistice negotiations—not with the German people but with their warlords; the formal recognition of the new Government by Germany, Austria, Turkey and Bulgaria, but not by the *Entente;* the announced abolition of all titles, distinctions and privileges and, as in the French Revolution, the application of the prefix "citizen" to every one; the order that all corporate property of nobles, merchants and burgesses be handed over to the State—*ergo* Lenine and his associates; the threatened confiscation of the Church's property in lands, money, gold and silver and precious stones; the abolition of all military ranks, titles and decorations and an order for the

election of all officers—which resulted in the degradation of those still in command and the choice of privates accompanied by much violence and insult; the dismissal of Russian Ambassadors and staffs in other countries for not recognizing the Bolsheviki.

Steadily, throughout the year, the army had become a mob, technical materials, vast war supplies, artillery and guns and munitions, the command of millions of men, issues depending on tactical and scientific knowledge, with great fortifications, passed under control of private untrained soldiers; Brusiloff, Korniloff, Alexieff, the Grand Duke Michael, Ruszky, Gourko and other veteran leaders of victory were replaced, finally, by one who was little more than a private in the army; the guardianship of 1,000 miles of line, the holding of 35,000 miles of Turkish territory, the maintenance of the Roumanian front, of Galician gains, of noble fortresses, and immense areas of fertile land behind the trenches, were placed in the hands of elective Committees and privates who could talk; fraternization with the enemy brought German gold, vodka or other liquors from the Austro-Germans in exchange for medical supplies and made the rear a mob of deserters, while the elimination of discipline made strategy a farce and military success impossible. Despite all this, however, and treachery everywhere, the long Russian lines at the close of 1917 still held, a considerable section of Austrian and German troops were compelled to remain on guard; and Russia was to this extent still in the War. In detail, however, at least 2,000,000 men were made available to the Teuton Allies for other purposes.

Meantime, financial matters in Russia had been growing steadily worse. The difficulties of the Lvoff and Kerensky Governments were bad enough; the credit of the Bolsheviki was, of course, nil. British money lent since the War began to an estimated total of $3,000,000,000 and American credit to the amount of $180,000,000 ceased to flow into the country or to be available; the prosperity existing from war industries was soon nullified by wholesale exaction, robbery, terrorism and disorganization; Lenine, on Nov. 28, renewed the Bolsheviki threat to repudiate Russia's obligations and debts to other nations and the total Russian Debt, internal and external, had increased from 4,500 million dollars in 1914 to 25,000 millions in 1917; the legal limit of the Russian State Bank in the issue of paper money without gold security had been raised gradually from 1,500 million roubles in July, 1914, to 8,500 millions in March, 1917, and after the Revolution it was again raised to 12,500 millions on July 11; production steadily decreased over the 240,000,000 acres of land which in 1915 had grown grains and potatoes, and the seizure of land in so many places by an ignorant and irresponsible peasantry intoxicated with liberty, further menaced the food supply and the bases of finance; the decline of the rouble in exchange value proceeded steadily and, by July, had gone down from 51 to 23 cents and in September to 17 cents; the extraordinary increases in Labour wages made it impossible to obtain taxation from the industries and, needless to say, Socialism would not tax the workmen; trade was in a unique condition illustrated by the fact that in 1917 (June 30) Russia imported from the United States $558,584,000 worth of merchandise and exported to that country $9,484,000.

Yet all of these troubles and others such as the bottling up of wheat exports by the closing of the Baltic and Dardanelles, the disorganization of transport and labour, the original loss of the large German trade, could have been met and would have been met under the stable system which the moderate revolutionists had partially built up. In fact credit was returning and in October Japan gave the Provisional Government a credit of $33,000,000, while the United States advanced, a few weeks later, $31,000,000 more out of its Russian credits. The coming of the Bolsheviki stopped all this; what the Germans may have done in their peace parleys in the way of financially helping the Soviet or its leaders was not known at this time. The economic resources of Russia were tremendous and if the German Government, commercial leaders and industrial masters once got control—even partially—of the vast timber and pulp supplies, the food and raw materials of the great central plains, the enormous coal fields of Siberia, the great Baku oil-bearing lands and other large mineral resources, it would be an obvious economic victory of the first importance. At the close of 1917 the financial situation, as well as other things, was chaotic, and anything might happen.

With the overthrow of the Czar had gone the link which held together the great regions and divergent populations of Russia, and at the close of the year Finland was an independent republic under German patronage, Siberia was separated and in active hostility to the Bolsheviki, the Ukraine was a republic threatened by Germany in numerous forms, Russian Poland was in German hands, Bessarabia was a separate republic for the moment, there was also a republic in the Caucasus and one amongst the Don Cossacks while Courland and Lithuania were practically German provinces. While all this turmoil and trouble were developing, the Allies of Russia had not been idle. Early in the year Lord Milner had been at Petrograd and Moscow in conference with the Czar's ministers, together with special representatives of France and Italy. Arthur Henderson of the British War Cabinet was there in June as was M. Albert Thomas, French Minister of Munitions.

At this time, according to the London *Times*, (June 15) the British Government replied to a Russian Note with (1) acceptance of the policy of no domination of other peoples or forcible occupation of foreign territory; (2) declaration of its war objects as being defence of one's country, enforcement of international engagements, liberation of oppressed populations, such as Poland, agreement with President Wilson's war message to Congress; (3) the statement that "the British Government believe that broadly speaking the agreements which they have from time to time made with their Allies are conformable to these standards. But if the Russian Government so desire they are quite ready with their Allies to examine, and, if need be, to revise, these agreements." Neither Great Britain nor her Allies, however, would recognize the Bolsheviki nor would they share in the farcical negotiations of Brest-Litovsk. The American Commission of Mr. Root was in Russia for some time during June and Mr. Root returned, with a more optimistic impression than succeeding events warranted.

The first formal Peace parley with the Teutons was held on Dec. 1st between Ensign Krylenko and Gen. Von Hoffmeister; negotiations followed at Brest-Ltovsk on Dec. 2 with Kameneff, Sokolnikoff, Bithenko and Mstislasky—a peasant, a sailor, a soldier and a workman—as the Russian delegates; for the Germans Prince Leopold of Bavaria was in charge but General Von Hoffman was the actual negotiator and the Turks, Austrians and Bulgarians also were represented; a ten days' suspension of hostilities followed to enable settlement of Armistice conditions and, on Dec. 7, Roumania was compelled to associate herself with the negotiations. To Russia's nominal Allies M. Trotzky then presented an arrogant demand for definition of their attitude toward his negotiations and the statement that "in case of refusal, they must declare clearly and definitely before all mankind the aims for which the peoples of Europe may be called to shed their blood during the fourth year of the War."

Negotiations of this kind must have been rather humiliating to the War-lords of the Central Powers but they had a big game to play with little men and they played it well—the statesman at Berlin throwing up clouds of dust such as the following comment of Dr. Von Kühlmann in the Reichstag on Nov. 30: "The principles hitherto announced to the world by the present rulers in Petrograd appear to be entirely acceptable as a basis for re-organization of affairs in the East—a re-organization which, while fully taking into account the right of nations to determine their own destinies, is calculated permanently to safeguard the essential interests of Germany and Russia." On Dec. 16 the Armistice was signed to last from Dec. 17 to Jan. 4, 1918, to cover all fronts, naval as well as military, and to give the privilege of fraternization and intercourse between soldiers. It was "for the purpose of achieving a lasting and honourable peace between both parties" and no troops were to be moved during the duration of the agreement. Peace negotiations were to continue and "cultural and economic relations" to be at once re-established.

On Dec. 22 a formal Peace Conference met at Brest-Ltovsk with Germany represented by its Foreign Secretary Dr. Von Kühlmann and other diplomats; Austria-Hungary by Count Czernin, its Prime Minister, Field Marshal Von Chisceries and others; Bulgaria and Turkey by more or less able political and diplomatic leaders; Russia by nine men of whom the majority were uneducated and utterly inexperienced theorists of good Socialist standing but very uncertain patriotism and honesty, and as diplomats mere infants in arms to those they were dealing with. They asked nominally and with a confidence which was either superb or silly for many of the things which the Allied Powers, backed by 20,000,000 men in arms, were desperately fighting for. They were stated as demands in the following terms:

1. No compulsory annexation of territory taken during the War and speedy evacuation of such territory.

2. That political independence be restored to all nations deprived of independence by the fortunes of war.

3. That national groups not independent before the War shall decide by a referendum whether they shall become independent or give their allegiance to some Power.

4. Where mixed nationalities occupy any territory the rights of the minority shall be defended by a separate law.

5. No belligerent country shall be required to pay indemnities and private persons shall be compensated for losses incurred through the War from a special fund contributed by all the belligerents on a proportional basis.

For the moment the Central Powers appeared to accept some of these clauses and Count Czernin stated to the Congress on Dec. 25, in words which preceding and after events made interesting: "The delegations of the Quadruple Alliance are agreed immediately to conclude a general peace without forcible annexations and indemnities. They share the view of the Russian delegation which condemns the continuation of the War purely for aims of conquest. The statesmen of the Allied (Teutonic) Governments, in programmes and statements, have emphasized time and again that for the sake of conquest they will not prolong the War a single day." Some of the clauses were answered evasively or left for consideration by a General Conference. The following German statements were official and explicit:

1. It is not the intention of the Allies (German) to deprive of political independence those nations which lost it during the War.

2. The Allied Powers have frequently emphasized the possibility that both sides might renounce not only indemnities for war costs, but also for war damages.

3. The return of Colonial territories forcibly seized during the War constitutes an essential part of German demands, which Germany cannot renounce under any circumstances. Likewise, the Russian demand for immediate evacuation of territories occupied by an adversary conforms to German intentions.

By the close of the year the negotiations centred around this latter point. Germany asked Russia to take cognizance of the proclaimed independence of Poland, Lithuania, Courland and portions of Esthonia and Livonia, and that general elections be held in those districts to determine their future status before evacuation took place. It was obvious that under military occupation elections would be a farce, but the Russians eventually acceded to the terms. Peace by Dec. 31 was assumed as certain, so proclaimed by the Bolsheviki, and rejoiced over in Petrograd, in Berlin and in Vienna, but no Treaty had been actually signed and the Congress had adjourned.

The Struggles and Successes of France in 1917.

The French people, during this year, still had to endure the loss in resources and production from its richest industrial section; it faced and overcame difficulties from the internal treachery of Boloism and the machinations of disloyal Socialists and political leaders like Caillaux; it was struck a heavy blow by its long-time ally and friend, Russia, in the threatened withdrawal of army support and repudiation of the Russian bonds so largely held by French peasants. Yet the country stood four-square to these and other storms of war and proved once more the wonderful endurance of its people. As President Poincaré put it in an inter-

view (Jan. 19): "We are condemned to continue the War until we—our gallant Allies and ourselves—can obtain the reparation and guarantees rendered indispensable by the aggressions of which we have been the victims, by the sacrifices to which we have subjected ourselves, and by the losses which we have suffered." The restoration of Alsace-Lorraine was declared an essential of peace. On Mar. 20 M. Briand resigned the Premiership as the result of Gen. Lyautey's retirement from the Ministry of War because of public discontent with aviation and other war conditions; Alexandre Ribot formed a new Government in which M. Viviani was Minister of Justice, M. Painlevé, of War, M. Thomas, of Munitions, Admiral Lacaze, Minister of Marine. All sections of opinion were represented and, on May 22, the Premier announced a re-organization of the Army command. In reading a telegram from the Russian revolutionary Government, which declared that Russia would "never forget the elation with which France entered the War on our side," he deprecated dangerous Peace sophisms as to no indemnities or annexations, and declared that indemnities for the ravages of France and Belgium were a requirement of both law and equity and that "the same reparation should be required for all small nations that have been crushed."

During these early months the Pacifists, pro-Germans and extreme Socialists were very active in France with M. Joseph Caillaux —a cold, brilliant, sinister figure in French politics—as the pivot upon which national trouble seemed to turn. A pro-German peace policy was promulgated by *Le Bonnet Rouge*, a Parisian Socialist journal, which was prosperous without apparent basis, and was the alleged organ of M. Malvy, Minister of the Interior, and M. Caillaux. It told the soldiers that in the end neither German nor French victory mattered; M. Malvy, while a Minister, encouraged the anarchists by failing to make arrests when strikes were deliberately organized with a view to hampering military action and munition manufacture; pamphlets were largely circulated along lines of Russian anti-war advocacy and Generals Pétain and Nivelle had to protest vigorously to the Government against similar propaganda carried on in the Army; finally, Almeryda of *Le Bonnet Rouge*, who was a confessed anarchist as well as a suspected German spy, died mysteriously in prison and M. Duval, Manager of that paper, was found with $30,000 in his possession after a visit to Switzerland.

Then came the discovery of Bolo Pasha's intrigues, involving the expenditure of $1,680,000 of German money received *via* New York for the purchase of *Le Journal* of Paris, from Senator Humbert, and other purposes; the proven association of Bolo with M. Caillaux, an ex-Premier of France, on the one hand, and with Von Bernstorff at Washington on the other; the alleged connection of Bolo, Caillaux *et al* with the plots of May and June, 1917, which almost paralyzed the French Army and promised, for a brief space, to anticipate the Italian *débâcle* of later months. There was also the alleged receipt of large sums of German money by M. Turmel of the Chamber of Deputies and the charge that Leymarie, head

of the French Secret Service under M. Malvy, had received moneys and exacted blackmail in connection with German propaganda plots. Léon Daudet of *L'Action Française* charged M. Malvy, who, as Minister of the Interior, had since 1914 been in charge of the Secret Service and the Press Censorship, with having betrayed to the Germans plans for the costly June attack upon the Chemin-des-Dames position and on Oct. 15 he wrote in his paper that:

> There was something rotten somewhere which delayed the victory of the Allies. This something was German money employed within the Allied countries. There was the Bolo Pasha fund for corruption of the press, the Von Bülow fund for diplomatic intrigues, and the Hohenlöhe fund for promoting crimes and sedition. The last-named fund, in my opinion, was by far the most important. It was employed to promote the plot, carefully prepared for months, which broke out in both the Army zone and the rear formation in May and June of this year. This plot nearly attained the results hoped for by the German Governments.

A little later (Nov. 24) Gustave Hervé in *La Victoire* boldly charged M. Caillaux with being the centre of a campaign for a dishonourable and ruinous peace; with consorting, during a recent visit to Italy, with notorious "defeatist" and neutrality leaders there; with being a devoted friend and protector of Bolo Pasha and of Almeryda, the late Editor of *Le Bonnet Rouge:* "You said, sir, that when you found the man who brought against you something besides insinuations and twaddling gossip, who dared accuse you outright, you would prosecute him at the Assizes as a slanderer. I am your man, sir, prosecute me. I will produce my proofs and witnesses before a jury." In the Chamber of Deputies on Dec. 11 General Dubail, Military Governor of Paris, asked authorization for proceedings against M. Caillaux for (1) an attempt against the safety of the State by acts of a nature tending to compromise the alliances concluded between France and foreign Powers; (2) for treasonable relations with the enemy, and (3) for conducting an unpatriotic and treasonable peace propaganda.

In a letter to the Premier General Dubail stated that during recent investigations "it has been discovered that in possession of nearly all the accused were a great number of letters emanating from Joseph Caillaux, which do not leave any doubt upon the relations existing between him and the persons accused." Much of this correspondence was with Bolo Pasha and was written after that person had been charged with high treason. Current discussion and the trials of Bolo and Caillaux which followed revealed a perfect web of intrigue and sedition which included Malvy and reached out to General Sarrail and the Eastern Army. Malvy had to retire, General Sarrail was recalled and the Ribot Government on Sept. 7 was compelled to resign, partly, also, because of refusal to allow French Socialists to attend the Stockholm Conference. For a time M. Painlevé was Premier and Minister of War, with a policy thus stated on Sept. 18; "The re-acquisition of Alsace-Lorraine, reparation for the damage and ruin wrought by the enemy, and a peace which shall not be a peace of constraint or violence."

M. Ribot was Minister of Foreign Affairs. On Nov. 16 Georges Clémenceau, the stormy petrel of French politics, eloquent and vigorous, critic and wrecker of many Ministries, journalist and radical, became Premier and promised a War-Government of effective force. To the Deputies on the 19th he said: "Too many criminal attempts have already resulted on our battlefront in the shedding of French blood. Further weakness would be complicity. We shall be without weakness, as without violence. All the accused before courts-martial—that is our policy. No more pacifist campaigns; no more German intrigues; neither treason nor semi-treason. War, nothing but war. . . . If Germany to-morrow expressed the wish to enter into the society of nations, I would not agree for Germany's signature cannot be trusted. You ask what my war aims are. My aim is to be victorious." A vote of confidence followed of 418 to 6.

It was announced that there would be no elections until the War was over—as there had been none since it commenced. On the eve of the November Allied Conference M. Clémenceau said to the press: "Solidarity and discipline will give us peace, peace through victory, the just peace. With us there is no question of 'German organization,' under which the soul of a man is smothered. We are free peoples. In full independence and by the untrammelled exercise of our reason we agree to all the sacrifices that are necessary." As to Russia the new Government, through M. Pichon, Foreign Minister, stated on Dec. 28 that "the Allies' representatives are all unable to recognize a Government which made an armistice without consulting its Allies, opened negotiations for an immediate peace, summoning all belligerents to reply immediately whether they accepted these negotiations, and threatened to declare void all foreign financial obligations created by previous Governments."

The return of Alsace-Lorraine to France was insisted upon during the year with reiterated vigour. The enforced seizure of these Provinces in 1870, the steady effort to Germanize them, the repeated statements of German leaders, from Bismarck down, that they were necessary for strategic reasons and as a *glacis* between the two countries, could not be forgotten—aside from the ruthless occupation of new territories in the present war. These latter regions added to the others meant absolute economic domination for Germany and, if all were recovered, for France. S. S. McClure gave statistics in his *Obstacles to Peace* as to this situation and pointed out that: "If Germany were to hold the parts of France now in her hands and retain Alsace and Lorraine, Germany's iron production would be 41,307,143 tons, and that of France only 9,014,760 tons. But if France wins, drives the invaders out of the country, and recovers Alsace and Lorraine, her iron production would be 42,850,265 tons and that of Germany only 7,471,638 tons." There also was said to be in Alsace 3,000,000,000 tons of Potash worth about $35,000,000,000. Alsace was said to have furnished 2,000 officers to the French armies in the War; its official population was German

and its people French—though a part of them spoke a German dialect. In Lorraine a smaller part of the people were French and in both Provinces a considerable German population had been planted in the past 40 years. A racial, social and general boycott had been maintained for years by the French against their aggressive conquerors.

M. Ribot in his first declaration as Premier (Mar. 21) had declared that "we shall wage war with the firm resolve to recover the provinces formerly wrested from us and obtain reparation and guarantees to prepare a durable peace." The Chamber of Deputies on June 5 declared by Resolution (453 to 56) that "the War imposed upon Europe by the aggression of Imperialist Germany necessitates the return of Alsace-Lorraine to the mother country, together with the liberation of invaded territories and just reparation for damage." M. Painlevé, in his first statement as Premier (Sept. 18) insisted upon the return of these Provinces; M. Ribot as Foreign Minister on Oct. 12 declared that "our soldiers have made up their minds we shall gain the victory, we shall regain Alsace-Lorraine." There was, early in the year, an alleged diplomatic effort, through Prince Von Bülow in Switzerland, to detach France from her alliance by the cession of these Provinces, but a little later Herr Von Kühlmann declared publicly that such a restoration of territory was out of the question.

Meantime the War had progressed with the French, during this year, on the offensive. The Germans were driven out of a considerable region of France with the aid of the British armies but the wreck and ravage wrought by the retiring enemy were beyond description. Roye and Péronne, Nestle, Mametz, Montauban, Lassigny, Arras and Albert, and many more centres of one-time happy and artistic life were once more French—but they were French ruins. The victories of Moronvillers, Verdun and Malmaison were splendid proofs of strength and courage. During April and May sedition had developed and there was a situation approaching demoralization in a part of the Army and amongst a part of the people. Recovery came with the organizing efforts of Pétain and the strong hand which Clémenceau showed as Premier and, by the close of the year, France once more stood like a rock facing the storms of war.

As to men France was not exhausted in 1917, though its limit of possible reserves appears to have been reached. M. André Tardieu, Commissioner to the United States, reported to the Secretary of War at Washington on July 30 that "the strength in men, now present in the zone of the armies alone, shows the maximum figure reached during the War. This figure, which amounts to a little less than 3,000,000 men, exceeds by over 1,000,000 the number of men actually in the said zone at the beginning. We are certain, with the resources of our metropolitan colonial depôts, to be able to maintain that number up to its present level for a long time to come." Constantly decreasing casualties were alleged and it was stated that at this time the French armies held 574 kilometres (344 miles)

of the front, the British 138 (82 miles), the Belgians 27 (16 miles). Regarding artillery, etc., M. Tardieu stated that they were amply furnished with "75s" since the beginning of the War: "The number of these guns has constantly increased; it is adequate to our needs. As for the heavy artillery, we had in August, 1914, 300 guns grouped in regiments, in June, 1917, we had 6,000 of them, mostly modern. Our output in munitions was arranged in August, 1914, for 13,000 shots of '75s' a day. It is now arranged for 250,000 shots of '75s' and 100,000 shots of heavy guns."

It may be added that the French maintained the secret of their famous "75s" from friend and foe alike, and that Germany spent men and money and wrung dry the elements of science in vain efforts to discover it. In March the 1917 class recruits were called out by legislation; in April General Foch and five other Generals were retired, General Lyautey, late Minister of War, was sent to Morocco as Commander, and Gen. Pétain, the hero of Verdun, became Commander-in-Chief in succession to Gen. Nivelle. The latter event arose out of the partial failure of the April offensive under Nivelle when a considerable advance was made with St. Quentin and Laon menaced but not taken. In December General Sarrail was succeeded at Salonika by General Guillemet and French troops were sharing with Italian in the British advance to Jerusalem. During 1917, to sum up, the French had made many gains and though not always reaching their objectives were not at any time actually defeated—600 square miles of territory and 300 villages and five large towns were reconquered, and more than 62,000 prisoners, over 1,400 cannon and thousands of machine guns taken from the enemy. Mastery of the air was held for a time and strategical conditions greatly improved. In Aviation France won special fame and such names as Guynemer, Heurteaux, Brocard, Dorme, Nungesser, Navarre, Pégoud, Lenoir, Chaput, and many more were amongst the "Aces" or French laureates of the air. Guynemer, in particular, who was killed in September, brought down 53 enemy planes in less than two years.

As to French internal conditions during this year—apart from the 7,000 square miles held by the Germans—there was mingled sorrow and optimism, depression and determination, of feeling. As in all the Allied countries there were treason-mongers and plotters, but the spirit of the nation rose above them and "carried on." Women were everywhere in war-work and duties from nursing to manual labour. In Paris the luggage at stations and docks was handled by women, railway crews were composed of women; in one of the larger munition factories there were 9,000 women working and in it 30,000 shells were turned out daily. Although France was deprived of 50 per cent. of her resources in coal, 90 per cent. of her iron-ore, and 80 per cent. of her iron and steel manufacturing establishments by the German invasion she had since created and developed an enormous industry which not only supplied her own forces but contributed a great output to the aid of her Allies—including all kinds of supplies to the Belgians, shells to the Serbian

army, rifles and artillery to the Russians, and to the Roumanians all kinds of war material from field guns to gas masks. French technical experts and specialists were sent to Russia to aid production; raw materials were supplied to Italy, together with a number of batteries of heavy artillery and many shells. Helmets, trench-shields, trench mortars, aluminum and chemical corps were also furnished to Italy with a corps of aviators for the protection of Venice and, at the close of 1917, when the Italian retreat occurred, a large French force and much armament were rushed to that Front. In fact not the least of the wonderful things accomplished by this nation, facing a ruthless enemy on its own soil, was the scientific industry which it evolved — from the rochambite used at Verdun to the mobilization of laboratories, plants and technical appliances, photography, electricity, wireless and the aeroplane. There was in 1917 a great lack of coal—which at one time was $75.00 a ton—and much privation and suffering as a result; meat and vegetables were costly, sugar scarce and butter and eggs luxuries; bread was high-priced and the War bread unpalatable, with wheat supplies very short during most of the year; cattle were scarce and in July the supply of oats exhausted; the new harvest was expected to leave three months at least for which wheat must be imported.

Financially, the basic wealth of the country maintained its credit and responsibilities. According to a statement by M. Tardieu to the United States Government (elsewhere quoted) there had been expended 82,647,000,000 francs from the beginning of the War to July 30—or about $16,000,000,000. From other countries (chiefly Britain and the United States) she had borrowed $1,500,000,000 and to her Allies had loaned $1,000,000,000. In July the Chamber of Deputies approved a graduated income tax under which wages, agricultural earnings, salaries and pensions were taxed 3¾ per cent; commercial and manufacturing profits 4¼ per cent; revenues from investment 5 per cent. Exemptions and deductions reduced these rates for the smaller incomes. A new War Loan—preceding ones had realized 2,200 and 2,000 million dollars respectively—was floated at the close of the year with over 10,000 million francs, or about $2,000,000,000 subscribed. At this date it was estimated that the War had cost France $20,000,000,000, of which $8,000,000,000 had been expended in 1917.

As to American relations there was great rejoicing at Paris when that country joined the Allies and President Poincaré on Apr. 5 sent a despatch to President Wilson describing the United States as faithful to its ideals and traditions. As months passed and American loans, supplies, aviators, nurses, Red Cross helpers and, finally, soldiers, reached France the import of the new alliance became obvious. In September the American Red Cross Council voted $1,000,000 to aid the families of French officers and soldiers who might need help and by the close of the year there were 200,000 Americans on the French and British fronts. On the other hand France freely granted supplies and munitions and artillery to the American troops and helped greatly in their training.

Italy: Its Difficulties and Disasters in 1917.

Italy faced the crisis of existence as an historic nationality during this period. Unsuspected difficulties were developing in its military ranks from the first of the year but were held in check by the victories of the summer and the sweep toward Trieste; known problems of German propaganda were seething throughout the country but were kept more or less beneath the surface. Baron Sonnino, the Foreign Minister, told the Deputies (June 21) that the Government's war aims were frontiers which would guarantee the independence of a pacific State, with reparation for the Belgian iniquities and the unification of an independent Poland. Italy, at this time, was essentially a democratic country, the King, the first citizen of his nation as well as its hereditary sovereign. The Court was democratic, the King and Queen helpful, in a myriad ways, to their people. The August offensive was a reply to the Papal Peace note; an intimation that Trieste, though Austria's chief sea-port, was demanded, as well as the Trentino which Austria would, at this time, have been willing to surrender. It was the greatest Italian effort of the War and the army was, apparently, in good shape and had been strengthened largely during the spring of 1917; it was provided with a greatly increased number of heavy guns, warm clothing and supplies, and an excellent Aerial service; it was supported by the visits of Generals Foch and Robertson to Count Cadorna, by the help of France and Britain in various forms and by improved engineering and transport corps. In March, when preparations were under way, a semi-official statement was made:

> In order to secure the supplies for this new army, beginning, perhaps, with scarcely 500,000 men, and now estimated at 3,000,000, the nation has put in operation a total of 2,179 factories, employing 468,940 persons, of whom 72,324 are classed as skilled workmen. There are, further, 1,181 minor projectile factories, employing 35,000 persons, To these totals must also be added a countless number of uniform and clothing factories in every part of the land. The War, so far, has cost Italy about $4,000,000,000, of which sum a little over one-third has been obtained through war loans subscribed by her own people. The national savings banks show a decided increase of deposits to a total of 2,200,000,000 lire, or $440,000,000. In addition, there are deposits in private banking institutions amounting to $1,125,000,000.

Italy had also been maintaining an army in Albania which connected with the Anglo-French expedition at Salonika; she had helped to blockade the Adriatic ports of Austria, and in the Anglo-French expedition to the Dardanelles; she aided in the transportation of troops and material thither and sent a contingent to Palestine. Yet at the beginning of the War Italy's army was not an effective one in the German modern sense of the word; her industrial resources were limited, and not easy of development; she produced no coal and no iron, and the output of her steel works was small. Public opinion was not then and was not in 1917 all it should have been and the country was permeated with German agents, money, influence and Pacifist talk. Meanwhile, however, the army had driven back the great Austrian offensive of 1916, had fought for two years amid clouds, and on the sides and tops of mighty moun-

tains, had captured and held lofty regions in altitudes varying from 5,000 to 11,000 feet.

In May, 1917, a minor but important offensive was made against the hills fronting on Gorizia; Dosso Faiti was taken but a check received on the slopes of Monte Hermada. Positions on the Carso were also stormed and taken and many prisoners captured. The greater offensive of the end of August resulted in a sweeping success. The Isonzo was crossed, Monte Santo and the whole of the Bainsizza Plateau captured, further territory taken and from Monfalcone the gallant Italian troops were looking down upon the promised land—Trieste. Then, in apparent confidence, General Cadorna proceeded to meet the stiffening Austrian defence by solidifying his conquests but without the preparation of any rear positions to fall back upon in the event of reverse—the omission which had made Dunajec such an immense defeat to the Russians and Verdun such a tragical possibility to the French. For a couple of months this process of strengthening his gains was continued by Cadorna amid rumours of a great German-Austrian offensive and then, like a roar of thunder in summer skies, came a sudden onslaught by the enemy upon an unexpected point and the whole Italian Army was in retreat with the announced capture on Oct. 28 of 100,000 men and 700 guns.

The official Italian announcement was significant and startled the Allied world with fears of something worse even than the Russian *débâcle:* "The failure to resist on the part of some units forming our 2nd Army, which in cowardice retired without fighting, or surrendered to the enemy, allowed the Austro-German forces to break into our left wing on the Julian front. The valiant efforts of other troops did not enable them to prevent the enemy from advancing into the sacred soil of our fatherland." Within a few hours Gorizia had fallen, Cividale was captured, Italian territory invaded and Udine captured, the results of many months of arduous fighting lost, Venice seriously menaced and even Lombardy threatened. After the first shock of surprise the strategic part of the retreat was ably managed—first to the Tagliamento River line and then to that of the Piave. The 1st Army was away to the North, the 2nd had been above Gorizia, the 3rd below Gorizia—all were eventually brought into strategic line with the Piave, broken in artillery and spirit and *morale,* but still available for defensive purposes.

For the moment Venice was safe though subject to air raids, deserted by many of its people and stripped of its wonderful art treasures—pictures, carvings, glass-ware, statuary and ivories—as far as they could be moved. So with Treviso, Padua, Verona, Vicenza and other places. The feeling which ran through Italy at this time and swamped sedition, as it gradually re-inspired the soldiers, was embodied in the words of Gabrielle D'Annunzio, the poet-aviator (Nov. 20): "Austrians to walk in the piazza of San Marco! I cannot think of it. It is agony. It is the ultimate horror, not alone for the fact of it, but for all that it signifies. It must never be. Now, if ever, we Italians must experience the resurrec-

tion of our great qualities. We must make a great and immortal gesture, one which shall thrill the world. Rather than devote those stones to the tread of Austria, let us fire the city. Let that beauty, that inspiration, perish in a fire whose glow shall illuminate the pages of our history for all time. Better that than to surrender it."

By this time, about 280,000 prisoners had been captured by the Austro-Germans and 2,500 guns. There followed vigorous appeals to Britain and France for help and equally powerful efforts to make that help prompt and effective. British monitors and airmen and money already had aided in the Isonzo victories; British and French troops, artillery and aviators, were now rushed by various routes and on every train to the Piave front. For a while the Italian line trembled in the air; the fate of Italy hung in the balance and perhaps the whole fate of the War. Speedily, however, the population grew sterner in its patriotism, slowly the troops regained their *morale*, steadily the Allied re-inforcements tightened the wall of resistance, surely the long line grew stronger, the spirit firmer, the guns more numerous and the country, as a whole, was saved for the time from the fate of Serbia and Roumania. In this result the coming of British and French troops had a great share. They disproved the Germanized charge in Italy that the Allies cared nothing about that country and its splendid efforts; they showed the United States and other Allies that Italy needed much which they must give, and give quickly; so far as lack of munitions was the cause of the *débâcle* the situation was greatly aided. General Cadorna was replaced by General Amando Diaz; the great guns of the Allies, when they got into action, worked wonders and for the moment made the Piave secure; rest and time gave the Italian soldiers opportunity to discuss the heroism and leadership of a retreat in which the central figure was General Boriani, with his Alpine infantry and Bersaglieri.

Meanwhile, changes in public opinion were marked by the fall of the Boselli Cabinet, and the accession of Vittorio Orlando to office on Oct. 30. Sig. Orlando had great capacity but was little known outside of Italy; a member of the Giolitti, Salandra and Boselli Governments he was what is usually called a "safe man," and had, also, the honour of four sons in the Army. Baron Sonnino was retained as Foreign Secretary, General Alfieri became Minister of War, and General Dallolio, Minister of Munitions. Italy thus started upon a new era of war-action backed by the Allies with, it is true, some of its territory and people in enemy hands but with a powerful line of defence and a new determination to rout out the large number of slackers and uncalled young men crowding the cities and towns—only those up to 36 having been summoned as yet to the colours.

What was the cause of Italy's great defeat, its bitter collapse in the hour of victory, its failure to realize a splendid opportunity? In the main it was the same cause which smashed Russia as a combatant, which disrupted the Roumanian campaign of 1916, which almost broke France in the spring of 1917—the silent force of German

gold, the clever manipulation of German "friends" and spies and dupes. A shortage of munitions there was owing to labour troubles engineered by friends of Germany, a shortage of food and coal in the country was also a natural reason for discontent and a result of the paralysis in transport facilities. But the immediate and direct cause was the undermining of loyalty, faith and courage in a part of the 2nd Army and its instructed belief that peace would come if the Austro-Germans were allowed through. Gen. Cadorna realized this propaganda too late; yet it was known or felt very widely. As in Spain, Portugal, Greece or the United States, Germans were everywhere in Italy and German influence had long been utilized in politics and finance, in the dissemination of false news and views, in the promotion of rivalries, class and religious antagonism, international suspicions. The head and front of this movement was Sig. Giolitti—Premier before the War and in original control of the Parliament which still was sitting at Rome. It was with him that Von Bülow and Burian had worked to delay Italy in the War; it was around him that all the pro-German, Pacifist and extreme Socialist agencies of the country centred; it was he who benefited politically by the peace propaganda and he who, without showing his hand too openly, indirectly controlled a Parliament of doubtful loyalty and influenced a Government which, in 1917, was not over-efficient.

There were many things to aid the German propaganda—out of which Austria was carefully kept. Many Italians had been educated in Germany and there were many German professors at Italian Universities who had not become Italian subjects and who remained skilful agents of the Kaiser; German science, professional methods and financial interests had permeated the trades and business of the country; German commercial travellers, before the war, were specialists and men of ability and apparent means, speaking Italian like natives; the Libraries and book-sellers were important factors in the propaganda and the German Government aided the former with the gift of books and official reports; during the War many commercial agents remained as journalists or visitors to weave their webs of intrigue; the Banca Commerciale and its connections—associated in peace days with the Deutsche Bank of Berlin—gave credit to these and other spies, discounted notes and helped in filtering German money into many parts of Italian life. An illustration of pre-war methods was the Imperial Institute of Archæology, which came into existence in Rome in 1911—a magnificent institution opened by the Kaiser. With its staff of German experts, its artists and its library it had a great influence in commerce and society.

There were curious complications of national opinion. The Vatican was in Italy but it was not Italian; the Church was inclined to be international rather than national. Many of the States or Kingdoms had great racial and political diversities. Rome lived largely in the past and as a city was kept much in the dark, by a rigid censorship, as to the seriousness of the situation; Milan was warm-blooded in the War, optimistic and patriotic; Turin

was the headquarters of Giolitti in the old days and of indifferentism in the new, the centre of great food scarcity, the scene of violent riots; other cities were indifferent, divided in opinion or full of intrigue, with Socialists, Neutralists, Pacifists, Clericals, Teutophites, in bewildering varieties of opinion. It was an easy ground for analysis by the Bureau in Berlin to which the Government had appointed various clever students of Psychology and devoted to the study of mental, moral and political phenomena in Allied countries. As in Russia and France work was carried on in the Italian lines and behind the lines.

A religious incident was that of Mgr. Von Gerlach, retained by the Pope for some time after the War as his Private Chamberlain, and who, after leaving the country, was tried in June, 1917, for espionage and found guilty—though the Court proclaimed the Vatican free of all suspicion. According to the London *Times* he was known to have been in close touch with Herr Erzberger, the German Catholic leader, and to have succeeded Herr Baumgarten as leader of the anti-war propaganda in Italy after war was declared. The verdict of the Court stated that subornation of the press was his chief task but that he also acted as a channel for communication to and from the headquarters of the German espionage organization for Italy, which had been established in Switzerland under the direction of Baron Stockhammer. In the Roman Parliament on Dec. 20 Sig. Giolitti was described as the Caillaux of Italy and the Vatican charged with still having pro-German officials within its gates. The charges evoked a brief denial from Giolitti and a plea for unity in the face of the enemy. The end of the year saw the country more united and earnest in its war-spirit than at any time since its entry into the struggle.

As to the rest Italy, at the close of the year, had over 600,000 workers in munition factories; her trade was entirely changed in its course and instead of taking $150,000,000 in imports from Germany and Austria and sending only $100,000,000 in return she was obtaining everything from France, Britain and the United States; her shipping was not in a favourable state and out of 1,300,000 tons at the beginning of war 500,000 tons had been lost; official reports received at Washington on Oct. 10 indicated dangerous scarcity of food accompanied by a reduction in the year's product of grains, and London *Times* correspondence showed the causes to be lack of Government food control, failure to stimulate production and short supplies from abroad; on Nov. 5 *Il Popolo Romano* declared that 100,000 tons of new shipping and 17,000,000 quintals of wheat were required at once, while imports of 800,000 tons of coal were needed for munitions, railways and war industries. It may be added that, up to Dec. 31, 1916, Italy spent $2,783,075,040 through its War Department, and $156,198,335 for the Navy. The total war loans raised up to June 15, 1917, were $3,000,000,000, chiefly at 5 or 5½% interest and the expenditures in two years of war were $3,850,000,000.

The Lesser Nations; European Neutrals and the War.

The historic rivalries and interesting alignments of the Balkans must be left with only a brief reference to Greece and Roumania. The year's record in Serbia was simply one of crushed suffering and the silent effort of a conquered people to endure until the end came — renewed independence or national death. With Greece it was different. If King Constantine and his consort could hold out until the German victory which they expected, was won, Greece would share with Bulgaria the fruits of success; if Venizelos and the *Entente* won in the struggle for freedom, then Greece again would be a factor in the new adjustments. Documents published* after the dethronement of Constantine left no doubt as to his personal attitude. His reply to the Kaiser's invitation of August, 1914, to join him in the War was significant: "After mature reflection I cannot see how I can be of service by the immediate mobilization of my army while the Mediterranean is at the mercy of the Anglo-French fleets, which would be able to destroy the Greek fleet and mercantile marine, occupy the islands, and prevent the concentration of my army, which, through the lack of railway communication, can only be made by sea. It is for this reason that I believe neutrality is necessary, a neutrality which would, moreover, be *useful to Germany.*" Of various telegrams from Queen Sophie, one urged her brother, the Kaiser, to take the offensive on the Macedonian front and hoped for Greek co-operation. On Jan. 10, 1917, she telegraphed that there was a serious fuel and ammunition shortage caused by the *Entente* blockade and added: "May the infamous swine receive the punishment they deserve." In another message she declared that "the Greek artillery will be destroyed if in danger of falling into the hands of the *Entente.*" She also kept the Kaiser informed of the actions and intentions of General Sarrail, Commander of the *Entente* forces in Macedonia.

It was this sort of thing and the deceitful course of Constantine which made the Allies' policy so varied and at times ineffective—coupled with the Czar's objection to any action which might precipitate republican institutions in the Balkans or remove his cousin from the throne of Greece. As joint signatory with France and Great Britain to the 1830 Treaty, which guaranteed Greek independence under control of the three Powers, he had, of course, much to say. Meantime, German propagandists were in constant touch with the King and his ministers, the Queen and her associates; at Paris and London there were continuous worry and friction over the difficulties daily presented by the tortuous policy and diplomacy of Athens. To crush Greece would not only antagonize the Czar but destroy the Venizelist hopes for a free and democratic country and place the Allies in a situation where Greece and Belgium would be made interchangeable terms. To advance from Salonika with an armed and treacherous Greece behind was practically impossible and early in 1917 documents were made public by the Venizelist press which proved that Fort Rupel had been instructed in March-April, 1916, to surrender to the Teuton-Bulgar invaders and that

*NOTE.—*White-Book* distributed at Athens on Aug. 18, 1917.

the King was responsible for a similar surrender of a division of Greek troops in August following. On June 12 the prolonged diplomatic struggle between this monarch and the Entente Allies was finished. M. Jonnart, on behalf of France and Britain and, presumably, Russia compelled the King's abdication in favour of his second son Prince Alexander, and on the 16th issued an Allied Proclamation as follows:

> France, Great Britain, and Russia desire the independence, greatness, and prosperity of Greece. They intend to defend the brave little land they have liberated, against the united efforts of the Turks, Bulgarians and Germans. They are here to checkmate the manœuvres of the hereditary enemies of the Kingdom. They will put an end to the repeated violations of the Constitution, of treaties, and the deplorable intrigues which led up to the massacre of soldiers of the Allies. Yesterday Berlin was in command of Athens and was gradually leading the people under the yoke of the Bulgarians and Germans. We resolved to re-establish the constitutional rights and unity of Greece. The Protecting Powers, therefore, demanded the abdication of the King. They have no intention of tampering with the constitutional prerogatives; they have other aims, namely, to assure the regular and constitutional progress of the country.

M. Zaimis resigned the Premiership and on June 27 M. Venizelos became once more the popular ruler of Greece; revelations were continuous as to the Germanized policy of the late King and many of the political leaders; the army grew steadily in numbers and Greece promised to become a useful ally of the Entente Powers.

As to Roumania it presented one of the great tragedies of the War. A rich, prosperous, contented people, ambitious but not aggressive, governed cautiously by M. Bratiano as Premier, and, upon the whole, feeling its way wisely through the turmoil and tumult of the Balkans during many months of war, it suddenly and without obvious public reason, had leaped into the struggle during 1916. At the end of that year its capital and its Wallachian soil lay in the hands of the German conqueror. An aftermath of the Russian revolution showed the reasons for this situation. Certain published official correspondence indicated that under the Czar's *régime*, though against his policy and knowledge, Stuermer, then Premier, and Protopopoff, an influential Minister, had deliberately sacrificed Roumania in order (1) to aid Germany and Austria in checking Brusiloff's drive through Galicia and (2) to force the Czar's hand in favour of a separate peace. On Jan. 1, 1917, the King issued a Declaration which was posted in every town still free from invasion: "The Roumanian Army is not conquered. It is unconquered in that which constitutes the sole value of an army, even in this age of cowardly, sterile technique, namely, in the consciousness of having generously offered itself in order to save the country and to secure the triumph of its race. Its long resistance does honour to its flag." The famous Oil-fields had been destroyed as far as possible to prevent the enemy from using them and Berlin statements estimated the damage at $80,000,000. With the establishment of the new capital at Jassy and the possession, alone, of the Province of Moldavia, the Roumanian Government, its soldiers and its people were cut off from Europe, except *via* Russia, with a territory not fruitful

in food supplies and without military necessities—the richest of its resources being in the enemy's hands. Re-organization followed, however, under General Berthelet and with such Allied assistance as was possible.

The small defensive army was increased by about 50,000 wounded restored to health, by 60,000 new recruits and by men from the rear or those of hitherto exempted ages or conditions. Equipment was the greatest difficulty but France supplied arms, artillery, clothes and machine guns which were paid for by an English loan of $200,000,000. Serious work of all kinds was undertaken though, as the year advanced, German propaganda for peace and Russian propaganda for revolution began to attack the vitality of the soldiers' patriotism—fortunately without permanent effect. Then came the Mackensen offensive of August, the gallant resistance of the Roumanians, the second Russian betrayal in the refusal of Bolsheviki-crazed troops to stand by their Allies and the final success of the Roumanians. In December came the third Russian betrayal of this hapless people and their enforced participation in peace negotiations with the Austro-Germans.

By August of this year Portugal had improvised an army where one hardly existed before. It put 130,000 men on active service, of whom 40,000 were in France, while 20,000 men were being trained at home to complete the two divisions on the Western front. Portuguese-African troops, aiding in the conquest of German colonies, totalled 30,000 men. To France 6,000 men were sent to work at munitions while England and France were paid for the maintenance of the troops on this front. The Republic had its share of internal troubles and a revolutionary rising in December resulted in Dr. Sidonio Paes becoming Prime Minister, while President Machado was deposed and sent out of the country and Costa, the ex-Premier, and Soares, Foreign Minister, were imprisoned on a battleship—revolutions in Portugal, as in South America, often taking the place of general elections. A statement was issued from Lisbon on Dec. 18 declaring that: "The foreign policy of the new Portuguese Government rests and will continue to rest on the maintenance of the alliance with England, in hearty co-operation with the other Allies."

Meanwhile the small Neutral States of Europe were having a hard time. Germany had in 1914, told them, through Belgium, that weakness and honour combined did not pay, that principle in war was to be ridden rough-shod by expediency, that international morals were a matter of national strength. The Scandinavian countries of Norway, Sweden and Denmark suffered particularly during these years—in humiliation of spirit, in loss of lives and shipping, in disunion of national forces. To some extent they came together in self-defence and by stern necessity were forced into that closer union which long had been the dream of their sages and a few statesmen. There was also another side to the situation. Even before the War militarism and the doctrines of Treitschke had found strong place amongst the upper classes of these countries and the ties of German and Scandinavian aristocracy and social life had been drawn fairly

close. Social relationship in these years did not count on the Allies' side as it did on that of the Teutons; it was not used in the same effective though underhand way. The monarchs of the three Scandinavian countries were closely related. Christian X of Denmark and Haakon VII of Norway were brothers, Gustav V of Sweden was their cousin and all were cousins of King George on his mother's side, while King Haakon was also brother-in-law to the British sovereign and King Gustav's eldest son, the Crown Prince of Sweden, was the Duke of Connaught's son-in-law. Yet one German Queen in Sweden exercised more influence than all the British relationships!

The masses of the people were by nature democratic, by many associations of the past friendly to England, by others hostile to Prussia. The press was, in part, bought up by German influence or gold; the War brought pressure upon the politicians which caused many curious developments in public policy. As it progressed German military successes and the closeness of these countries to the German economic system tended to increase pro-German feeling just as the Submarine issue and natural sympathy with the fate of a little nation like Belgium drew many in the other direction. German spies and agents swarmed in Copenhagen, Christiania and Stockholm; their most common method was to talk peace and the economic and military power of Germany and, through Socialist influence, to try and re-act upon opinion in Allied countries.

The war-action taken by these Neutrals, whether under pressure or by inclination—the latter had most sway in Norway and Sweden —was in effect hostile to the British Alliance. The Swedish policy as to mails and its obvious antagonism to Russia over Finland and Aland were illustrations; the closing of the Danish straits by mines was, no doubt, a necessity because Germany would have compelled it; the mining of the only other passage for the Allies into or out of the Baltic—that of the Oresund—by Sweden was injurious to Russia, helpful to the naval operations of the Germans, and in contravention of an Italian treaty. All Scandinavia declined to take action upon President Wilson's invitation of February to sever diplomatic relations with Germany, but on the other hand it was united on Feb. 14 in handing to German ministers a protest against the creation of submarine war-zones. This Note affirmed that no belligerent had the right to prohibit peaceful navigation through zones, distant from enemy coasts which could be blockaded only in a legitimate manner. The Governments recalled the universally-recognized law on Naval blockade—namely, that a neutral ship cannot be captured if it is not making any attempt to violate the blockade, and that in the event of a ship being captured it must be brought before a prize court in conformity with the general regulations. It was pointed out that the measures announced would be still more opposed to the principles of International law if applied without distinction to all ships entering the zones described, and consequently to those not bound for enemy ports. At Stockholm on May 9-11 a Conference of the three Governments was held and the strictest neutrality re-affirmed.

Meanwhile, large Scandinavian supplies at high prices were going into Germany and the checking of this traffic was, for the *Entente*, one of the most difficult of the blockade problems. It was stated at Washington in June that Germany was receiving from Scandinavia and Holland imports of food-stuffs equal in calories to the total rations of 2,500,000 soldiers. The demand was so strenuous that it tended to strip the Scandinavian countries of their own supplies; they turned to the Allies and at this point the economic pressure of Britain and the United States, working together in 1917, changed conditions considerably. By the end of that year there was a great shortage in bread, potatoes and coal, gasoline and lubricating oils, and an insistent, natural desire for world-peace. There had been Cabinet crises in all Scandinavia and the incoming of the United States, the democratization of Russia, the continued German destruction of Scandinavian shipping—despite the severely-felt tightening of the Allied blockade—modified some, at least, of the pro-German sentiment. Still the situation for the Allies was a difficult one. Too heavy pressure would drive these countries into German arms; too little meant continued food and supplies for the German people. As a matter of fact the result of increasing embargoes made food exports from Scandinavia into Germany reach, at the close of 1917, the lowest point since the War began. On Nov. 28 another Conference was held at Christiania composed of the three Kings, their Premiers and Foreign Ministers.

During the year Norway suffered from the pro-German plots and destruction of ships under direction of Baron Reutenfels; at the same time Sweden appeared as the willing go-between in German schemes at Buenos Ayres and Mexico and other places of diplomatic or propaganda importance. The United States Government made public on Sept. 8 a series of despatches chiefly from Count Von Luxburg, German Minister at Buenos Ayres, to the Foreign Secretary at Berlin, which illustrated the character of the arrangement. They showed that the Swedish Minister of Foreign Affairs had for three years regularly transmitted these and other cables in German cipher under the guise of Swedish Government messages. These despatches, bearing the signature of the Swedish Minister and addressed to Swedish Legations in certain neutral countries, were transmitted by them to the German Government through the Swedish Minister at Berlin. In 1915 this was stopped on the surface by the British Government, or at least the promise made that it would cease; in 1917 the following amongst other despatches (according to the State Department at Washington) went through these same avenues of transmission from Von Luxburg to the Berlin Foreign Office:

May 19, 1917.—This (Argentine) Government has now released German and Austrian ships on which hitherto a guard had been placed. Government will in future only clear Argentine ships as far as Las Palmas. I beg that the small steamers *Oran* and *Guazo*, Jan. 31, 300 tons, which are nearing Bordeaux with a view to change the flag, may be spared if possible or else sunk *without a trace* being left.

July 9, 1917.—Without showing any tendency to make concessions, postpone reply to Argentine Note until receipt of further reports. A change of Ministry is probable. As regards Argentine steamers I recommend either compelling them to

turn back, *sinking them without leaving any trace,* or letting them through. They are all quite small.

Of course the Swedish Government did not know of these specific despatches or their contents, but they did not deny their transmission, and such action made the country a passive German ally. British opinion was expressed strongly as to this breach of neutrality and it was said that the Court, the aristocracy and the Army were all pro-German, that Queen Victoria, a daughter of the Grand Duke of Baden, was another Queen Sophie (of Greece), that the Universities and main business interests were also pro-German. As a matter of fact distinguished Swedish publicists such as Sven Hedin, Prof. Kjellen, Birger Mörner, Gustaf Steffen, Per Hallström and Harald Hjärne expressed open sympathy with Germany in their writings and most of the "intellectuals" of Sweden were with them. American opinion was indignant and was not mollified by finding, later on, that F. Cronholm, Swedish Chargé d'Affaires in Mexico, had transmitted, in the same way, communications from Herr Von Eckhardt, Minister in Mexico, to the Berlin Foreign Office. In November it was stated at Stockholm that the Swedish Legation at Petrograd had agreed to act for the Lenine Government in opening peace negotiations with Germany, while that Power answered the tightened American-British embargo upon Swedish imports by sending some small food shipments to Sweden. On the other hand the large industrial and Socialist population of Sweden chose in September an anti-Government majority for the Diet and made Branting, the Socialist leader, a possible successor to the Premiership.

Passing from Scandinavia to Holland showed dangers and difficulties there of a very similar character. The Dutch Government had ever before its eyes the fate of Belgium, the situation of Roumania; its general policy as to the continuous Submarine sinking of ships was one of protest and then silence. On Feb. 8, T. C. Van der Linden, the Premier, told the States-General that Holland, up to the present, had strictly conformed to International law, it believed that law remained law even when violated by others and especially upheld the principle of freedom of the seas. Accordingly, while maintaining an impartial standpoint in the War, Holland had energetically protested to Germany, both against obstruction to free navigation and against the employment of Submarines as being opposed to the principles of International law.

Upon paper these protests were strong; in practice they were powerless. Holland knew quite well that a logical aim of German militarism was the absorption of its racially-similar people and its many Colonies, and that the Pan-German party and such publicists as Bernhardi, Reiner, Bley, Tannenberg and Von Halle, were strongly urging such a policy. Little excuse would be needed, if power was available, to precipitate a German invasion. German propaganda was ever present in Holland, the Queen's husband was a German Prince, trade and financial interests with Germany had been, and still were, very powerful. The exports (metric tons) from Holland to Germany in 1915 and 1916 were 820,038 and 624,077 tons respec-

tively, and to Great Britain 89,204 and 52,589 tons respectively*. On the other hand the Dutch import of German coal was reduced from over 14,000,000 tons in 1914 to 4,800,000 tons in 1916 and still less in 1917. Dutch war-profiteers, also, benefited largely by German demands and a part of the press by German propaganda. Smoked meats, butter, cheese, eggs, vegetables and fish went across the border until Holland itself was stripped of food.

Meanwhile, Britain was pressing Holland to restrict these shipments and Germany was refusing essential coal and iron unless they were continued. A Dutch Commission visited the United States in September to try and mitigate the American-British policy in this respect; an agreement between the Dutch Bureau of Agricultural Exports and the British Government had already arranged the proportion of such exports from Holland as being 50% each to the two opposing nations. Yet it was claimed that in 1916 the excess of Dutch food imports over home consumption was sufficient to provision 1,200,000 soldiers for one year. It was alleged that the waterways of Holland had been used in the transport of German military supplies for Belgium and through two years of British protest and official correspondence Holland was urged not to permit the Germans to ship copper, sand, gravel, and other war materials over Dutch waterways. In October an agreement as to trade and financial matters was announced between Holland and Austria-Hungary; at the close of the year it was stated that during 1917 50,000 more men had been added to the Dutch army which in 1914 totalled 250,000 and was now probably half-a-million in number—a large force for 6,000,000 people to hold in leash!

Switzerland maintained its neutrality in 1917 with fear and difficulty and the added complication of a mixed population and a central position between the Powers at war. On Jan. 1 President Schulthess issued a statement that his country, though surrounded by four great nations at war, was faithful to its traditions and determined to maintain absolute neutrality: "The Swiss people, banded about their flag, are ready for every sacrifice to protect their independence, the integrity of their territory, their honour and national dignity. They are convinced that all their neighbours will respect their decision, but whatever happens, never will they allow a foreign army to invade their soil." From time to time German concentrations on or near the Swiss frontiers caused alarm but did not come to anything; more serious was the German failure at times to carry out pledges of monthly fuel delivery and the occasional closing of the frontier to exports from Switzerland or its imports of grain. In March Dr. Paul Ritter, Swiss Minister at Washington, and acting for Germany, came under suspicion in the United States for pro-German action in press propaganda; on Apr. 18 five large German battle-planes sailed over Swiss territory and notably Basle, and provoked anger by the repeated breach of neutrality thus involved. In June occurred the pro-German work at Petrograd of Robert Grimm, a Swiss Socialist, and the Peace moves of Herr Hoffman,

*NOTE.—J. C. Van der Veer, London Editor of the Amsterdam *Telegraaf*, in New York *Times*.

then Swiss Foreign Minister, which aimed at bringing Russia and Germany together, and aroused *Entente* anger. Hoffman's resignation on June 19 was regarded with satisfaction. He had long been a strong pro-German influence in Switzerland and the German-Swiss press greatly deplored his fall. Julian Grande, a N.Y. *Times* correspondent at Berne, declared on June 23 that all through his career "Hoffman has been a German agent."

In October a Swiss Commission, headed by Prof. W. E. Rappard of the University of Geneva, visited the United States in connection with the embargo on food, for neutrals who were helping Germany, and he pointed out that before the War, Switzerland imported 80 per cent. of her coal from Germany, the rest from Belgium and France. Of her pig-iron 55 per cent. had come from Germany, with most of the remainder from France; nearly 75 per cent. of her imported wheat came from Russia and Roumania. In short, about three-fourths of Swiss imports had been foodstuffs and raw materials, while three-fourths of her exports had been manufactured articles. He stated that the maintenance of their armies had cost the Swiss during this war $150,000,000 and that Germany had made extraordinary efforts to gain Swiss sympathies.

Spain, of all European neutrals, suffered most from internal dissensions and, in 1917, the issues of monarchy and republicanism, pro-Germanism and pro-Ally principles, moderate Liberalism and Socialism, Conservatism and Catholic Church interests, were mingled together in wild confusion. Count Romanones, the Premier, was a warm friend of the Allies and a moderate Liberal. On Feb. 7 his Government protested strongly against the Submarine zone policy. At this time the Spanish Court, the Clergy and the Army were believed to be decidedly pro-German, while business interests, as in many other neutral countries, and the people generally, were considered anti-German. This condition, however, was modified by such elements as a partially pro-German press, a continuous German propaganda, the influence of many Germans living in the country and the divided views of Catholic priests who were not all German in opinion; a part of the Hierarchy, in fact, were pro-Ally and notably so the Archbishops of Tarragona and Saragossa. In March unrest was everywhere, strikes and sedition very general, with methods of strong suppression employed for a time. In May Senor Antonio Maura, head of the Conservative party, came out with a Manifesto against Britain and France and the declaration that Spain's proper place was beside Germany and Austria. He took the rather shrewd line of pointing out that Gibraltar, held by Britain, and Tangiers, owned by France, were originally Spanish possessions, and that "until those nations give an earnest of their regard for Spain by surrendering these territories, they cannot expect the friendship of Spain."

No doubt the new alignment of the United States had something to do with such bold expressions of view; there was little love for America amongst Spanish leaders. A change of Government followed and Edouardo Dato, ex-Premier, came into power. On Sept. 23 an interview with Count Romanones was cabled to London

in which he claimed that the Liberals of Spain must be and were with the British Allies. King Alfonso, though by inheritance an Archduke of Austria was believed to be pro-Ally but he was in a difficult position and had parties to hold in loyalty who were very far apart in opinions. These parties were divided into groups which favoured one or the other war alignment—the Duke of Alba, for instance, a great Conservative personage, was with the *Entente;* while Rodrigo Soriano, a republican leader, was an open German supporter, and Alcada Zamora, a leading member of the Dato Government, was also pro-German. The country was prosperous in many ways with the rich, however, growing richer and the poor poorer and a pressing shortage in food supplies. The following table gives a general view of European Neutrals in certain essential data:

Country	Area Sq. Miles	Population	Army and Navy
Denmark	15,300	3,000,000	85,000
Netherlands	12,600	6,200,000	300,000
Norway	124,000	2,400,000	110,000
Sweden	172,800	5,600,000	600,000
Spain	195,000	20,400,000	1,180,000
Switzerland	16,000	3.800,000	540,000
Total	535,700	41,400,000	2,815,000

South America and the War; Central America and Mexico.

Influenced by the Submarine issue and by the action of the United States, Brazil, Ecuador, Peru, Uruguay and Bolivia, in South America, severed relations with or declared war against Germany during 1917. So with Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua in Central America, while the tiny republics of Panama, Cuba and Haiti declared war on Germany. The declaration of new war zones in January and proclamation of unrestricted Submarine war upon neutrals as belligerents, naturally stirred up these countries, and as they were so far away from the scene of war it was not a difficult matter to take hostile action. The countries mentioned, with Chile and the Argentine, comprised the most resourceful and best-governed regions of this half-continent.

Their products consisted largely of cotton, coffee, chocolate, sugar, tobacco, wheat and maize; their pastures were capable of producing the best beef in the world, their virgin forests teemed with precious woods, in the earth were immense quantities of gold, copper, silver, saltpetre, tungsten and coal; as nations the United States, just before and during the War, had commenced to seek bases for co-operation and exploitation amongst them; everywhere Germany also had been busy with political agents and commercial representatives, while Britain still held the bulk of their external commerce—though in the year of June 30, 1917, South American exports to the United States had grown to $542,212,820 or an increase of 143% over 1914. Pan-Germanism was a factor, but still a nebulous one, and during the War was simply a finger-post to future possibilities. Mr. Justice Ford of the New York Supreme Court was one of those who preferred the Monroe Doctrine and Pan-Americanism to sharing in the European War, and he pointed out on Jan. 18, in an address, that:

The Latin Republics produce the things we need and they need the things which we produce. They possess undeveloped resources in field, forest and mine which invite American capital now flowing in ever increasing streams to the four quarters of the globe. They have 60,000,000 inhabitants and a foreign commerce which in the year before the War amounted to $2,385,000,000. With the 21 American republics united for its defence, no foreign Power or combination of Powers would dare challenge the Monroe Doctrine and the peace of the hemisphere would be assured.

South American countries so far had only flirted with these schemes; they were a little fearful of the ambition and pushfulness of the United States; the war conditions of 1917, however, threw all such issues into the melting-pot. Jealousies and anti-United States feeling remained but were greatly modified. Gradually, too, a perception of Germany's far-reaching plans and world-politics, its aggressions and ambitions in the Americas, as well as Europe, began to permeate the complex public mind of these nations. The United States, after its entry upon the War, published much war literature and circulated widely a hostile conception of German policy and and these arguments were pressed home by the Submarine issue, the Mexican and Argentine diplomatic revelations. On Dec. 4 a Black-list of 1,600 firms in Central and South America was announced by the United States Government and merchants forbidden to do business with them except under license.

Trade conditions were very similar in most of the South American countries. The German banks in several of them had increased their help to German customers after 1914 instead of curtailing it; Germans could not leave for purposes of enlistment as so many of the British had done, and their lines of business grew and prospered under war conditions; pernicious weaknesses in the British blockade system—chiefly concessions to United States neutrality and inadequate inspection of South American mails—enabled German firms to long continue their trade with Germany; the German South American Institute at Aix-la-Chapelle continued its propaganda and its policy of (1) control of news service and information for the South American press; (2) safe-guarding and advancement of German trade; (3) cultivation of scientific and artistic relations and the popularizing of German Kultur amongst the people by means of Spanish and Portuguese publications; (4) promotion of German civilization and language study. These and other German influences were everywhere.

Meanwhile Argentina in particular was in a state of heated discussion over Submarines; Pacifists and war advocates talked and rioted in Buenos Ayres during April with much net damage to German institutions and buildings; its Government endorsed the war action of the United States as being caused "by violation of the principles of neutrality, consecrated by rules of International law, which have been regarded as definitive conquests of civilization." When the United States Government made public (Sept. 8) the Luxburg telegrams* it created a great sensation in Argentina and elsewhere—especially the "sink without trace" advice, the reference to the Argentine Foreign Minister (July 7) as "a theatrical person" who had shown "insane cunning" in thwarting the writer,

*Note.—See preceding Section relating to Sweden.

a statement of Aug. 4 that the "President holds with us" and on July 7 that in South America the people "under their veneer are Indians"; the statement of Aug. 24 that "public opinion is becoming unpatriotic" or anti-German.

On Sept. 25 the Chamber of Deputies at Buenos Ayres, by 53 to 18, directed President Irigoyen to break off relations with Germany and the Senate took similar action by 23 to 1; nothing serious was done, however, and German influence over Hypolite Irigoyen scored again. It had done so in the embargo on wheat exports a year before when there was an abundant supply in the country; now the excuse was that Germany had promised compensation for the previous sinking of the *Toro*, and on July 24, through Herr Zimmerman, had instructed Von Luxburg to make a general exception of the Argentine in Submarine action. At the close of the year there were angry demonstrations in the capital against Germany, the President, and the pro-German paper *La Union*—in connection with a further batch of Luxburg telegrams made public at Washington. Amongst these was a reference to a secret agreement of Argentina, Bolivia, and Chile against United States Pan-American policies. Meantime Von Luxburg had been given his passports but was allowed to remain in the country—there being obvious difficulty in returning to Germany.

The Republic of Chile owed its original naval and military, political and intellectual, institutions largely to France and England; in 1917 there were about 10,000 Germans in this country of 3,250,000 people and their work of commercial and general penetration was remarkable. A group of German officers, under General Korner, had re-organized and commanded the Army; German banks were established and German commercial firms were largely increased in number; the Chilean Government from time to time arranged for the coming of military instructors, learned Professors, or civil and railway engineers, from Germany. None-the-less, London remained the commercial and financial centre for Chile. When war came the German propaganda was active but in the end ineffective—though many branches of a German-Chilean League were formed with headquarters at Valparaiso. Brazil, the largest of these Republics, held a segregated settlement of Germans totalling about 500,000, controlling the Rio Grande and Santa Catarina Provinces with much influence, also, in Parana and Sao Paulo. They were progressive and prosperous, well-organized municipally after the German pattern, with up-to-date methods in agriculture and stock-raising. They held about 12,000 square miles—an area equal to that of Alsace-Lorraine and Saxony; they had tried to build a state within a state, and had carefully preserved their language, customs and institutions. Up to 1917 Dr. Lauro Müller, a native of German descent, was Foreign Minister of Brazil.

On the other hand the rest of the country was inclined to be pro-Ally; there were over a million Italians in the Republic and the native Brazilian was of Portuguese origin so that his inherited bias was toward England and her Allies; public feeling against Germany was keen at the announcement of its unrestricted Submarine policy

and again at the sinking of the *Parana* on Apr. 4. This was followed on the 11th by the breaking off of relations with Germany and the eventual seizure of 49 interned German and Austrian ships with a tonnage of 253,800 and a current value of $50,000,000. Scattered attempts at rebellion followed in the German States but were quickly suppressed, Dr. Müller resigned his office and was replaced by Senor N. Pecanha and, on June 4, the Brazilian Ambassador at Washington presented a Note declaring the revocation of Brazil's neutrality. On Oct. 26 a state of war was proclaimed in the Chamber of Deputies by a vote of 149 to 1, and in the Senate unanimously.

The publication at this time of Von Luxburg's despatches created special interest in Brazil because of his reference on Aug. 4: "I am convinced that we shall be able to carry through our principal political acts in South America, the maintenance of open market in Argentina and *the re-organization of South Brazil.*" Meantime the country had recovered from the financial and war collapse of 1914, had resumed cash payments on its National Debt and steadily increased its total trade following the initial reduction of the first war-year. At the close of 1917 prosperity was again present, despite high prices—sometimes because of them. Strict regulations were at this time promulgated as to relations of Germans in Brazil with enemy subjects elsewhere, while the Note addressed by the Brazilian Minister of Foreign Affairs in reply to the Pope's Peace proposals was explicit in its declaration that:

> The nations which are more directly interested in these questions are the only ones competent to declare whether honour, by arms, has been safeguarded in this war. Only these nations shall decide whether, after confidence in treaties and in international loyalty has been destroyed, there will be a new force or a spirit of order which will guarantee to us peace, and whether out of all the difficulties, suffering, and miseries of this war a better world will not arise.

Of other South American countries it may be added that Uruguay—probably the most progressive of all these Republics—endorsed Brazilian policy and in a despatch to its Minister at Washington, published on June 17, stated "its very earnest desire to see the American countries, in collective and actual co-operation, adopt a joint policy which may achieve a solidarity beneficial to all," and urged that "the principles and interests involved logically demand a close union of action, so that any act perpetrated against one of the countries of America in violation of International law, as universally recognized, shall constitute an offence against all of them." On Oct. 7 the Chamber of Deputies approved rupture of relations by 74 to 23 votes. As to Peru, *El Commercio* of Lima was one of the strongest of pro-German papers. On Mar. 7 it admitted editorially that it had been receiving money from the Germans to support and spread their propaganda in Peru. The editorial added that this matter concerned the business office of the newspaper and not the editorial end. On July 28, however, President Pardo stated the real opinion of his people in a message to President Wilson, approving his stand for the principles of peace and justice and liberty. On Oct. 7 the German Minister was handed his passports.



Major Thain Wendell MacDowell, v.c., d.s.o., b.a.,
Canadian Infantry, Maitland, Ontario.



Major Okill Massey Learmonth, v.c., m.c.,
2nd Battalion, C.E.F., Quebec. Killed in action.

Canadian Winners of the V.C.

The ramifications of the Mexican schemes of Zimmerman and Bernstorff found a place in Cuba as well as in Colombia and Venezuela and no doubt had an influence in the Gomez rebellion; but the little Island-republic was none-the-less the first of these lesser American States to ally itself with the United States. On Apr. 7, by a unanimous vote, the Congress of Cuba had adopted a Resolution declaring war against Germany and this was at once proclaimed by President Menocal. Guatemala, Central America, despite the severance of diplomatic relations, remained a centre of German intrigue with a paper called *German Echo* as the source of a wide propaganda; Paraguay was a South American country which did not go beyond stating, over the Submarine issue, that the United States was "forced into war for the rights of neutrals."

Mexico was, of course, in North America but affiliated in so many respects with the peoples and institutions of the South and so little with those of the North that its natural place for consideration is here. In these years it was under the influence of a sort of military Bolsheviki with every man's hand against the other's, with many revolutions, typically South American in character, and with a people of mixed races living in starved ignorance of the outside world. By 1917 the party and Government of General Carranza loomed out of the local chaos with some measure of stability; all possible forms of administration had been tried ranking from brutal military governments, without organization of any kind, such as those of Zapata or Villa, up to one of democratic appearance, but headless, which proceeded from a certain Convention. Madera, Huerta and Carranza were the outstanding figures and in 1917 an elaborately written constitution was worked out for the United States of Mexico, and came into operation on May 1.

Its terms forbade slavery, organized free and secular education and expressly prohibited formation of religious schools and the holding of real property by churches. Places of public worship were to be the property of the State and all Convents, Church buildings, residences, etc., confiscated and vested in the nation. A point to which the United States and Great Britain took special exception was the following clause: "Only Mexicans by birth or naturalization and Mexican companies have the right to acquire ownership in lands, waters and their appurtenances, or to obtain concessions to develop mines, waters or mineral fuels in the Republic of Mexico. The nation may grant the same right to foreigners, provided they agree before the Department of Foreign Affairs to be considered Mexicans in respect to such property, and accordingly not to invoke the protection of their Governments in respect to the same, under penalty, in case of breach, of forfeiture to the nation of property so acquired." As a whole the new Constitution was very much more detailed than the basic document of 1857 which had first proclaimed the independence of the Republic of Mexico.

Early in the year the Mexican-American Joint Commission was dissolved as having, after five months of Conference, failed in its object of settling differences between the United States and Mexico; these differences of military occupation and action were settled a

little later by the United States entering the war and automatically withdrawing from Mexican complications. On the other hand new issues were raised by the operations of German agents in Mexico, the propaganda of false stories about the United States and its war-aims, the reports of alleged German submarine bases or wireless plants on the Gulf of Mexico, the movement of German Army reservists and officers from the United States to this new haven of refuge and plots, the alleged close relations of Dr. Krum Zeller, a German resident and agent, with General Carranza, the statement that Maximilien Klaus, another German, was in charge of the Carranza ordnance factories, the pro-German attitude of Rafael Zubaran, the minister sent by Carranza to Germany, and of Luiz Cabrera, his Minister of Finance, the known activities of Count Von Bernstorff in Mexico. Then came the publication by the Washington Government of the extraordinary letter written by Dr. Zimmerman, German Foreign Secretary, to Herr Von Eckhardt, German Minister at Mexico City, and transmitted through Von Bernstorff:

> Berlin, Jan. 19, 1917: On the first of February we intend to begin Submarine warfare unrestricted. In spite of this, it is our intention to endeavour to keep neutral the United States of America. If this attempt is not successful, we propose an alliance on the following basis with Mexico: That we shall make war together and together make peace. We shall give general financial support, and it is understood that Mexico is to reconquer the lost territory in New Mexico, Texas, and Arizona. The details are left to you for settlement. You are instructed to inform the President of Mexico of the above in the greatest confidence as soon as it is certain that there will be an outbreak of war with the United States, and suggest that the President of Mexico, on his own initiative, should communicate with Japan suggesting adherence at once to this plan; at the same time offering to mediate between Germany and Japan. Please call to the attention of the President of Mexico that the employment of ruthless Submarine warfare now promises to compel England to make peace in a few months. (Signed) Zimmerman

American comment need not be considered here, nor the denials of the Mexican Government as to any practical consideration of this proposal; Herr Zimmerman's defence of the attempt was that it was perfectly legitimate and similar in character to an alleged preceding effort of the United States to align South American countries against Germany—meaning, apparently, the Pan-American policy of Washington. The incident and the war declaration increased German activities in Mexico and, according to a despatch in the New York *Tribune* on Mar. 2, there were 3,000 active workers then "using money, threats and promises to array Mexicans of every faction against the United States." There was infinite variety in the rumours, assertions and stories as to German influence upon Carranza, Villa, Obregon and other revolutionary leaders, as to unpunished attempts by rebels to set fire to the great oil-wells at Tampico upon which British fleets greatly depended for oil supply. It is certain that hardly even a moral support was accorded the United States, though for the first time in four years a Mexican Ambassador—Ignacio Bonillas—was received at Washington. Absolute neutrality was proclaimed and no reference made to the justice or otherwise of the American action: though on Feb. 11, 1917, Gen. Carranza, as Chief Executive of Mexico, had proposed

to the United States and other Neutrals that they should urge Peace upon the Powers and if refused stop all supplies to belligerents. As the year went on the German journals increased their propaganda and were aided by a wealthy German merchant named Lubeck, while Von Eckhardt remained as German Minister; in November the Associated Press correspondent was deported, despite United States protests, and there were continuous allegations of German efforts to tamper with the oil-fields. On Sept. 13 the Washington Government made public further German correspondence *via* Sweden, which involved Von Eckhardt and showed that on Mar. 8, 1916, he had written to Herr Von Bethmann-Hollweg, German Chancellor, a letter which showed important side-lights upon the preceding Argentine-Swedish revelations. In it he asked that Herr Cronholm be recommended for an Imperial German decoration in return for "information from a hostile camp."

Japan and China in the World-War.

Japan originally entered the War under a treaty which limited its prescribed action to Eastern interests and territories but had been read in a broad spirit so far as naval co-operation was concerned. The latter was freely given by protection to Allied troopships and supply ships in both the Pacific and the Mediterranean, by patrolling the Indian Ocean from bases in the Straits Settlements, by protecting British interests along the Pacific-American coasts, in helping to fight Submarines in many waters. During 1917, and especially because of the Russian collapse, unofficial discussions were had in France, Italy and England as to a Japanese expeditionary force in Europe. A leading obstacle lay, as was pointed out by Maoshi Kato, a London-Japanese journalist,* in transportation: "To send half a million of troops to the Western front by sea would require a vast transport tonnage. Where is this tonnage to be found? A few divisions, for purposes of *morale*, would never do, for we Japanese are not the people to be contented with half-measures." Another difficulty was the tremendous prosperity which had come to the country as a result of war conditions in munitions, supplies, shipbuilding and varied collateral industries; still another lay in the Oriental indifference of the people and the curious fact that every care was being taken to safeguard German property, rights and commercial privileges in Japan where, though the country was at war with Germany, commercial relations were maintained despite an official request from the British Government on July 1, 1915.

There had been a willingness to aid Russia by men as well as with money and munitions, but the Czar's Government did not desire such help or else could not handle it and the Revolutionary Governments did not quite know what they wanted. Yet 1,000,000 or more troops might have been made available under terms and conditions and would perhaps have turned the tide of war in the East; as late as October a Japanese credit of $33,000,000 was given the Kerensky Government—making a total to all the Allied Governments of about $550,000,000 since the War began—according to a

*NOTE.—*English Review* for December, 1917.

speech by Baron Megata in the United States on Oct. 31. A 1917 incident in connection with Russia was the publication of the Treaty with the Czar in the previous year which guaranteed the independence of China so far as other Powers were concerned.

It marked a growing dominance of Japan in China which already had been proven by its civil and military advisers to the rulers at Pekin, its official efforts to obtain financial aid for China, its education of thousands of Chinese students in Japanese institutions, its intervention in Chinese internal reforms. German influence at this time in China was also considerable and during the year a sustained propaganda, directed from Pekin, had done its best to create misunderstandings in Japan as to England and British policy. From Chinese headquarters a stream of pamphlets and leaflets along this line—printed in English, German and Japanese—poured into the hands of the editors, professors and publicists of Japan as they also reached everywhere in China. It was only partially effective, however; the Terauchi Government was confirmed in office at the Elections, and at the close of the year, the Emperor Yoshihito opened Parliament with this statement:

> The European war is becoming more and more important. It becomes us to devote our efforts toward more effective co-operation with the Allied Powers. We expect the Alliance to secure the full fruits of victory and to obtain objects with which we heartily sympathize. We are prepared to co-operate to the fullest extent of our ability while maintaining peace in the Orient. In consequence of present conditions we have ordered our Ministers to present plans having to do with the necessities of national defence.

Meanwhile, relations with the United States had taken a new and better turn. Early in the year Viscount Kaneko, a political leader, came out in favour of an economic alliance with the United States in respect to China; Dr. Kazutami Ukita, historian and Editor of the Taiyo magazine, expressed similar views and stated that Japan, Great Britain and the United States would in future dominate the Pacific ocean; American and Australian opinion assumed a Japanese ambition to establish a Monroe Doctrine for the East. The interjection of the German-Mexico plot evoked from Aimaro Sato, Ambassador at Washington, the following statement on Mar. 1: "With regard to the alleged German attempt at inducing Japan and Mexico to make war upon the United States, the Japanese Embassy desires to state most emphatically that any invitation of this sort would in no circumstances be entertained by the Japanese Government, which is in entire accord and in close relations with the Allied Powers, on account of formal agreements and of common causes, and moreover, whose friendship with the United States is every day growing in sincerity and cordiality."

On Aug. 22 a Special Imperial mission from Japan arrived at Washington headed by Viscount Ishii and including Vice-Admiral Takeshita, Maj.-General Sugano, and others. In presenting his credentials to the President Viscount Ishii concluded as follows: "This is no ordinary war. It is an issue between common morality and an inhuman system of calculated aggression which would render all friendly intercourse impossible. The welcome fact that the

United States stand side by side with the Allied Powers is a guaranty of early victory, and His Imperial Majesty hails it as such with deep gratification." Addressing the United States Lower House on Sept. 5 the Envoy stated that Japan was doing in the War, and would do, everything that the resources of the country would allow. He also warned the House to be on guard against "the insidious treachery that has found hiding places in our midst, and for the last ten years has sown the seeds of discord between us."

There followed prolonged discussions between the State Department and the Mission with, as it afterwards appeared, the Chinese situation as the chief subject. Meanwhile Viscount Ishii, who was a cultured and able speaker, spoke at a number of banquets and functions; at Boston on Sept. 18, declaring Japan to be in the War on the side of America and the Allies "to win with you, to co-operate, to co-ordinate and to contribute." At Washington on the 21st he told the Press Club of German secret agencies at work in the East and the West: "Every prejudice, every available argument has been appealed to, and in all countries to-day fraud, deception, treachery and all the forces of evil are wearing disguises most difficult to penetrate. For more than ten years a propaganda has been carried on in this country, in Japan, and, in fact, throughout the world, for the one and sole purpose of keeping nations of the East and West as far apart as possible; to create distrust, suspicion and unkindly feeling, all in order that Germany may secure advantages in the confusion." The Envoy was warmly welcomed in New York and given several banquets, etc. He visited San Francisco and other points before sailing for home. Formal agreements in this connection were come to between the United States and Japan as to Chinese affairs and on Nov. 2 Robert Lansing, U.S. Secretary of State, wrote a formal review of the new understanding which Viscount Ishii, for his Government, promptly confirmed:

> The Governments of the United States and Japan recognize that territorial propinquity creates special relations between countries, and, consequently, the Government of the United States recognizes that Japan has special interests in China, particularly in the part to which her possessions are contiguous. The territorial sovereignty of China, nevertheless, remains unimpaired and the Government of the United States has every confidence in the repeated assurances of the Imperial Japanese Government that while geographical position gives Japan such special interests, they have no desire to discriminate against the trade of other nations or to disregard the commercial rights heretofore granted by China in treaties with other Powers. The Governments of the United States and Japan deny that they have any purpose to infringe in any way the independence or territorial integrity of China, and they declare, furthermore, that they always adhere to the principle of the so-called 'open door,' or equal opportunity for commerce and industry in China. Moreover, they mutually declare that they are opposed to the acquisition by any Government of any special rights or privileges that would affect the independence or territorial integrity of China, or that would deny to the subjects or citizens of any country the full enjoyment of equal opportunity in the commerce and industry of China.

In London on Oct. 12 Viscount Chinda, Japanese Ambassador, referred to this Mission as a brilliant success and about the same time a Special Finance Commission from Japan was in the United States studying war finance, methods and possible economic relations of a closer nature. As to this latter point it may be stated that

copper, coal and petroleum were the chief Japanese minerals in course of exploitation. The chief imports were flour, raw cotton, machinery, railway rolling-stock, rice and oil-cake, and the principal exports silk, cotton, copper, matches, straw-plait, sugar, coal, porcelain, bronze and lacquer-ware, with, of course, the recent addition, on a huge scale, of munitions and materials of war. War expansion had come, especially, in the sheet-glass industry, in paper and flour, cotton-spinning and raw silk exports; the country was converted from a borrower into a lender, with a widespread determination to capture the trade of the East wherever possible.

As to China it continued to find an increasing place in Western opinion and discussion. Its republican institutions, though nebulous in form and doubtful in strength, brought it more into touch with Europe and America, while its relations with Japan had a similar effect. On Jan. 23 Viscount Motono, Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs, made this statement in the Diet at Tokio: "Under the influence of ambition Germany took possession of Tsing-tau in 1898 with the object of preparing for the future occupation of the whole of China. This fact, which no one can dispute to-day, was one of the objects of the great pan-German propaganda and minute preparation for war." On Feb. 21 it was announced that certain disputes between China and Japan had been settled under agreements which involved the engagement of Lieut.-General Aoki as military adviser in China.

On Mar. 11 the Chinese Senate by 158 to 37 votes decided to sever all relations with Germany and the Lower House agreed by 331 to 87. President Li-Yuan-Hung was at first opposed to this policy but gave way eventually; Sun Yat Sen, the former President, also was opposed to war. The influence of United States action, however, was considerable in China and this was a response to President Wilson's appeal for neutral support in the Submarine issue. Other influences leading to this result were (1) an intimation from Japan that its Government would have no objection; (2) a promise from the *Entente* to grant certain concessions, such as the suspension of the burdensome Boxer indemnities for the period of the War; (3) the extension of the right to raise customs duties above the statutory 5% under existing treaties; and (4) the removal of foreign troops installed along the Pekin-Mukden Railway since the Boxer outrages. Without awaiting the formal declaration of war China seized the German merchant ships in her ports and interned the crews and put an end to the use of the country as a centre of Germany's eastern propaganda.

The event marked the loss of one more of Germany's economic bases with companies capitalized at $250,000,000 and a trade which had increased 120% in 8 years preceding the War. China had already sent 100,000 labourers to assist the Allies behind the Western front; an immense further supply now became available and was at once drawn upon by Britain, under new arrangements, for service in Mesopotamia and elsewhere. Then came three months of revolution and counter-revolution. Finally, the war party won and on Aug. 14 a Proclamation was issued, declaring war on Germany

and on Austria-Hungary, on the ground that Germany had not shown regret for her methods of Submarine warfare and thus compelled China to take action in the interests of humanity, and with the object of enforcing recognition of International law. Austria was included because she had shared the war policy pursued by Germany. The abrogation of all treaties, agreements, and conventions with these Powers was announced. Austrian shipping was seized, making a total, with German ships, of about 40,000 tons; financial obligations to Germany were cancelled and her extra-territorial privileges abrogated; the British King sent a despatch of congratulation to the President and, on Sept. 17, a plan to ship a trial division of 24,000 Chinese troops to France was announced—the actual transportation beginning early in the new year. On Nov. 12 the Chinese Government issued a declaration as to the United States and Japan agreement, which concluded with the statement that "the Chinese Government will not allow herself to be bound by any agreement entered into by other nations."

The Pope's Peace Proposals and President Wilson's Reply

The year 1917 was one in which Germany and her Allies stood to gain in any Peace by arrangement, or Peace without victory. They held much Allied territory in Europe and were acquiring more in Russia; they were fairly united in aim and policy and grew relatively stronger, as the year drew to a close, in both men and guns. In the first year or two of the War their rulers and leaders had promised the people large enemy indemnities to meet the cost and privations and losses of the struggle together with rich regions of Europe and the world for settlement and exploitation; these promises were not so assured in 1916 and 1917 and were often replaced by a vague repetition of the words "no indemnities and no annexations" as opposed to the Allied demand for reparation and restitution. Official language never adopted these specific words—though some politicians did; officially-aided propaganda used them freely.

If victorious the German demands would still be what they had been throughout the War—heavy money indemnities and the acquisition in one form or another of the conquered regions with, also, vaguely stated territories in Asiatic Turkey. If defeated the Peace programme would be helpful and in any case would divide and confuse public opinion amongst the Allies. In one respect the Pacifists of Germany and its Militarists were agreed; they would accept a Peace based on the existing war-map of Europe. To attain their aims the propaganda for peace was shown in a sweep of German articles after the 1916 Battle of the Somme and again in December; during the discussion of the official German appeal to Neutrals to obtain a Peace Conference and after President Wilson's Message asking for Peace terms or proposals; later, at certain stages of the War during 1917. The German part of the movement culminated in the Reichstag, on July 19, when a Resolution was presented and carried by 214 to 116 votes, with 17 not voting, which was discussed throughout the world and as to which the new

Chancellor, Dr. Michaelis, was non-committal. He declared that "we wish to conclude peace as combatants who have successfully accomplished their purpose and proved themselves invincible first. A condition of peace is the inviolability of Germany's territory. We must, by means of understanding and in a spirit of give-and-take, guarantee conditions for the existence of the German Empire upon this continent and overseas." The terms of the Resolution were as follows:

> As on Aug. 4, 1914, so on the threshold of the fourth year of the War, the German people stand upon the assurance of the Speech from the Throne—'we are driven by no lust for conquest.' Germany took up arms in defence of its liberty and independence and for the integrity of its territories. The Reichstag labours for peace, and a mutual understanding and lasting reconciliation among the nations. Forced acquisitions of territory and political, economic and financial violations are incompatible with such a peace. The Reichstag rejects all plans aiming at an economic blockade; and the stirring up of enmity among the peoples after the War. The freedom of the seas must be assured. Only an economic peace can prepare the ground for the friendly association of the peoples.
>
> The Reichstag will energetically promote the creation of International juridical organization. So long, however, as the enemy Governments do not accept such a peace: so long as they threaten Germany and her Allies with conquest and violation, the German people will stand together as one man, hold out unshaken and fight until the rights of itself and its Allies to life and development are secured. The German nation, united, is unconquerable.

The majority Socialists supported this Resolution but most of their 100 members in the Reichstag refused support to the minority Socialists' proposed additions of no annexations or indemnities, right of self-determination for all peoples, immediate initiation of Peace negotiations, agreement for general disarmament and compulsory arbitration. To Socialists and many who did not understand the German mind this seemed a Peace opening; to His Holiness the Pope it undoubtedly was an opportunity to press his cherished and natural ambition. The influence of the Vatican had been for peace from the beginning of the War though always in an academic and neutral sense. The Church had 23,000,000 adherents in Germany to 39,000,000 Protestants; in Austria 80% of the population was Catholic and in Hungary 51%. It had taken no official attitude as to the causes of the War; the Hierarchy in most of the countries involved had not opposed the national will or antagonized the national point of view. The German and Austrian Hierarchy had gone further and had never shown anything but sympathy with the Teuton aims of the moment; it had made no response to the appeals of the Belgian Hierarchy led by Cardinal Mercier; Cardinals Hartmann and Bettinger had, in fact, earned bitter protests for performing certain ecclesiastical functions in conquered territory; Herr Erzberger, leader of the German Catholic Party, had for a long time been an ardent supporter of the War.

The Pope had not protested officially or diplomatically against the German occupation of Belgium, though he did on Jan. 22, 1915, state publicly at the Vatican that "it belongs to the Roman Pontiff, whom God appointed supreme interpreter and vindicator of His law, to proclaim before all that no possible reason can make licit any violations of justice." Afterwards his Secretary of State—

Cardinal Gasparri—in reply to an inquiry from the Belgian representative at the Vatican, stated that "the violation of the neutrality of Belgium, carried out by Germany, on the admission of her own Chancellor contrary to international law, was certainly one of 'those injustices' which the Holy Father strongly reprobates."* This was the opinion and personal protest of the head of a great Church; it was not a formal protest to the Powers involved and requiring international consideration or reply. His Holiness also, late in 1916, "pleaded with the Imperial German Government," as Cardinal Gasparri put it, in respect to and against Belgian deportations. But this was all.

The difficulties of the Pope were, of course, very great. The intimate relations between the Court of Vienna and the Vatican were historic and well-known; the Church in Germany was very German in composition and character, despite the Kulturkampf and the anti-Church laws of Bismarck; the German Hierarchy would not have approved serious Papal interference with national objects; the Catholics of Belgium, though faithful to the Church, were small in number, while those of France were large in number, but not very faithful; the Catholics of Spain were largely pro-German, those of Italy pro-Ally but with many German sympathizers, those of Portugal stood, in the main, for the Allies; the people of Russian Poland were Catholic, the Catholic population of Britain was negligible in numbers though influential, that of Ireland and of Quebec was indifferent regarding the Pope's intervention in the War; the Catholics of the United States were influential but as yet war-neutral and in many cases were friendly to the Germanic cause. Roughly, there were 60,000,000 Catholics on the German side in the War and 115,000,000 on that of the *Entente*. His Holiness, therefore, had maintained neutrality as to principles involved, as to Church interests injured, as to national treaties and rights, as well as to ruthless war practices.

At the beginning of 1917 world-wide prayers for Peace had been ordered and a few months later there occurred the turn-over in Germany with Mathias Erzberger, the Catholic leader, in close touch with Swiss and other Catholics, planning for peace; a sounding of French Bishops as to chances in that respect; a political struggle in the Reichstag which forced Bethmann-Hollweg's retirement and the passage of the so-called Peace Resolution. In the Austrian Parliaments there was much trouble and friction and a strong national demand for peace, and it also was obvious that if Austria lost the War it would result in a break-up of the chief Catholic Power in Europe with the establishment of several Slav and anti-Catholic nations upon its ruins. At this juncture the Pope intervened and it so happened that the moment was most inopportune for the *Entente*. They were facing internal weaknesses caused by the Russian Revolution and a Socialist unrest which was aided by German propaganda everywhere; they were striving to conciliate anti-war and to a large extent pro-Catholic influences in Ireland, Quebec, France, Italy and the United States, which were injuring the fabric

*Quoted by the Archbishop of Toronto in a pamphlet issued early in 1918.

of war unity and hampering the combined, concentrated action so essential to war success; military operations were at the time fairly favourable to the Allies and, if Russia could be held true, ultimate victory seemed possible. Into this situation the Papal Peace Note, dated Aug. 1, was interjected. After a reference to his own perfect impartiality and earnest desire for Peace, to his rejected appeal of 1915 and the awful condition of war which was assuming "the appearance of a useless massacre" the Pope proceeded as follows:*

But no longer confining ourselves to general terms, as we were led to do by circumstances in the past, we will now come to more concrete and practical proposals and invite the Governments of both belligerent peoples to arrive at an agreement on the following points, which seem to offer the base of a just and lasting peace, leaving it with them to make them more precise and complete. First, the fundamental point must be that the material force of arms shall give way to the moral force of right, whence shall proceed a just agreement of all upon the simultaneous and reciprocal decrease of armaments, according to rules and guarantees to be established, in the necessary and sufficient measure for the maintenance of public order in every State; then, taking the place of arms, the institution of arbitration, with its high pacifying function, according to rules to be drawn in concert and under sanctions to be determined against any State which would decline either to refer international questions to arbitration or to accept its awards.

When supremacy of right is thus established, let every obstacle to ways of communication of the peoples be removed by insuring, through rules to be also determined, the true freedom and community of the seas, which, on the one hand, would eliminate any causes of conflict, and, on the other hand, would open to all new sources of prosperity and progress. As for the damages to be paid and the cost of the War, we see no other way of solving the question than by setting up the general principle of entire and reciprocal conditions, which would be justified by the immense benefit to be derived from disarmament, all the more as one could not understand that such carnage could go on for mere economic reasons. If certain particular reasons stand against this in certain cases, let them be weighed in justice and equity. But these specific agreements, with the immense advantages that flow from them, are not possible unless territory now occupied is reciprocally restituted.

Therefore, on the part of Germany, there should be total evacuation of Belgium, with guarantees of its entire political, military and economic independence toward any Power whatever; evacuation also of the French territory; on the part of the other belligerents, a similar restitution of the German Colonies. As regards territorial questions, as, for instance, those that are disputed by Italy and Austria, by Germany and France, there is reason to hope that, in consideration of the immense advantages of durable peace with disarmament, the contending parties will examine them in a conciliatory spirit, taking into account, as far as is just and possible, as we have said formerly, the aspirations of the population, and, if occasion arises, adjusting private interests to the general good of the great human society. The same spirit of equity and justice must guide the examination of the other territorial and political questions, notably those relative to Armenia, the Balkan States, and the territories forming part of the old Kingdom of Poland, for which in particular, its noble historical traditions and suffering, particularly undergone in the present war, must win, with justice, the sympathies of the nations.

The obvious points of this document were that (1) there was no recognition of any moral difference between the belligerents; (2) a proposal for arbitration and disarmament was made without any security suggested from the Powers who had wantonly opposed these principles and disregarded the obligation of treaties in the past; (3) Belgium and other invaded countries were to suffer their terrible losses without reparation or restitution; (4) vital issues, such as those of Trieste and Alsace-Lorraine, were to be left at the mercy

*Note.—Translation given in *The Lamp*, a Washington organ of Catholic thought.

of a Conference where organized militant autocracy would meet and might overcome or divide the unorganized peace-loving democracies of the *Entente*. Such were not the Pope's intentions and there could be no doubt of the purity and good meaning of his proposals; but such were the inevitable conclusions of the Governments which received the Note. The history of the Popes from earliest times had shown sincere love of peace and many interventions on their part had been made to promote the ideal; Benedict XV therefore was following in the footsteps of Leo the Great who had withstood the Huns of Attila, of Gregory I, Innocent III, and Gregory VII, of Leo IX, Leo XIII and many another. It is also obvious that the position of His Holiness was one of peculiar suitability for such a purpose and that the mass of information coming to him from Bishops in every corner of the world and every country of the War, gave him special knowledge.

Hence the influence wielded by this pronouncement and the politely concealed resentment of the *Entente* statesmen at what they considered proposals favourable to Germany—especially in the non-recognition of any difference between international wrong-doers and the sufferers, and in the reference of His Holiness to "freedom of the seas." In speaking of "reciprocal restitution" the New York *Tribune* (Aug. 17) said: "It comes down to this then, that after three years in which Germany has wreaked her will upon a helpless people, upon a people invaded in defiance of justice and right, that empty shell which is Belgium is to be evacuated by Germany—and this is all!" The President of the United States was the first, and the last, of the *Entente* nations to reply to the Papal Note. So exact and able in phrase and statement was this document (Aug. 27) that the other Allied Powers accepted it officially as representing their views. After words of courtesy and of equally strong reference to the stern facts of the situation, and the need for a Peace which should be enduring, President Wilson, through Mr. Lansing, Secretary of State, recapitulated the proposals of the Pope and proceeded as follows:

> The object of this war is to deliver the free peoples of the world from the menace and the actual power of a vast military establishment controlled by an irresponsible Government which, having secretly planned to dominate the world, proceeded to carry the plan out without regard either to the sacred obligations of treaty, or the long-established practices and long-cherished principles of international action and honour; which chose its own time for the War; delivered its blow fiercely and suddenly; stopped at no barrier either of law or of mercy; swept a whole continent within the tide of blood—not the blood of soldiers only, but the blood of innocent women and children also and of the helpless poor; and now stands balked but not defeated, the enemy of four-fifths of the world. This power is not the German people. It is the ruthless master of the German people. It is no business of ours how that great people came under its control or submitted with temporary zest to the domination of its purpose; but it is our business to see to it that the history of the rest of the world is no longer left to its handling.
>
> To deal with such a power by way of peace upon the plan proposed by His Holiness the Pope, would so far as we can see, involve a recuperation of its strength and a renewal of its policy; would make it necessary to create a permanent hostile combination of nations against the German people, who are its instruments; and would result in abandoning the new-born Russia to the intrigue, the manifold subtile interference, and the certain counter-revolution which would be attempted by all the

malign influences to which the German Government has of late accustomed the world. Can peace be based upon a restitution of its power or upon any word of honour it could pledge in a treaty of settlement and accommodation?

Responsible statesmen must now everywhere see, if they never saw before, that no peace can rest securely upon political or economic restrictions meant to benefit some nations and cripple or embarrass others, upon vindictive action of any sort, or any kind of revenge or deliberate injury. The American people have suffered intolerable wrongs at the hands of the Imperial German Government, but they desire no reprisals upon the German people, who have themselves suffered all things in this war, which they did not choose. They believe that peace should rest upon the rights of peoples, not the rights of Governments—the rights of peoples great or small, weak or powerful—their equal right to freedom and security and self-government and to a participation upon fair terms in the economic opportunities of the world—the German people of course included if they will accept equality and not seek domination.

The German attitude was one of approval as to the objects and general terms of the Papal Note; the Chancellor (Dr. Michaelis) in the Reichstag on Aug. 21, denied German initiative in the matter and warmly approved the Pope's action; in this he was supported by the Liberal, Conservative and Centrist Catholic parties and the Pan-German group; comments by the press were largely favourable —notably in that supporting Herr Erzberger. On Sept. 22 the replies of Germany and Austria were made public as addressed to Cardinal Gasparri. That of Germany was signed by the Imperial Chancellor, Dr. Michaelis, on behalf of the Kaiser-King and it warmly thanked His Holiness for the proposals made; stated that the Kaiser-King "since taking over the Government, has regarded it as his principal and most sacred task to preserve the blessings of peace for the German people and the world"; declared that "the German Army must safeguard peace" for the German people; referred to the Reichstag Resolutions of July 19 as proof of a practical desire for peace, and expressed sympathy for an ideal future in which the moral power of right should supersede the power of arms; and added generalities as to disarmament, freedom of the seas and arbitration.

The Austrian reply received the Papal suggestions with religious respect and national appreciation. It expressed cordial agreement with the moral and pacifist views of His Holiness, dealt generally, and not specifically, with his proposals, and declared that "we support Your Holiness' view that the negotiations between the belligerents should and could lead to an understanding, by which, with the creation of appropriate guarantees, armaments on land and sea and in the air, might be reduced simultaneously, reciprocally and gradually to a fixed limit, and whereby the high seas, which rightfully belong to all the nations of the earth, may be freed from domination or paramountcy, and be opened equally for the use of all." Compulsory arbitration was approved and the statement made that if this and the freedom of the seas principle were accepted all details could be easily arranged.

Catholic opinion upon this issue in the *Entente* countries was divided pretty much along the original lines of pacificism and war sentiment with a natural tendency in the Papal appeal to help the former feeling. The Rev. Father Vaughan, a brother of the late

English Cardinal of that name, declared (Aug. 24) that the Note had set the world thinking about Peace but he feared that the Holy Father did not fully recognize that "we cannot sheathe the sword until we have broken up militarism, until we have hauled down the flag emblazoned 'kultur and frightfulness'." On the other hand the American Federation of Catholic Societies at Kansas City on Aug. 28 noted with pride "the accord between the articles of agreement offered by the Supreme Pontiff and the tentative suggestions formerly made by the President of the United States." The London *Tablet*, the leading British Catholic organ (Aug. 18), drew attention to the distinction which made reciprocal restitution so difficult: "The German Colonies were captured in the course of lawful war; Belgium and French territory were seized by the Germans as the result of a brutal brigandage which was made possible only by the violation of an international treaty." It also criticized the "useless massacre" phrase as unfair to those who were fighting in self-defence or for human liberty and as obviously based upon a belief that the *Entente* could not win. *Freeman's Journal*, the Dublin Nationalist organ (Aug. 18) declared that "whatever the defects of the Pope's proposals may be, they do not mean a German peace for their acceptance by the Central Powers would be a confession of the bankruptcy of militarism as a force in European politics."

It cannot be said that the Pan-Germans or annexationists liked the Pope's proposals; to them the restoration of Belgium, Northern France and Serbia meant defeat and by the close of the year they controlled much public opinion in Germany. At Rome on Sept. 22, Cardinal Gasparri commented upon the situation created by the Papal Note. He declared President Wilson's proposal to reduce armaments and impose International arbitration by force through a society of nations to be a dream, and made this suggestion: "All inconveniences and objections could be avoided by suppressing Conscription, with the provision that it could not be re-established without a law approved by the people. . . . The suppression of Conscription would lead automatically and without any disturbance of public order to disarmament and the end of militarism." By the close of the year peace was further from the thought of German leaders than when the Pope presented the subject; Russia had revived their hopes, their confidence and their pride of power. So far as the intellectuals of Germany were concerned, the leaders of Pan-Germanism and Mittel-europa ambitions, they were garbed in steel and even the white mantle of a German Peace, worn by many in August, was discarded in December.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE WAR IN 1917*

Jan. 1—Germany and Austria-Hungary acknowledged the independence of Turkey as to old-time treaties and Conventions.

Jan. 2—New Kingdom of Hejas, in Arabia, recognized by Great Britain, France and Italy.

Jan. 4—Russians evacuated the Dobrudja.

Jan. 5—Germans captured Braila (Roumania).

Jan. 8—Focsani, Roumania, captured by Germans.

Jan. 9—Allies presented 48-hour ultimatum to Greece; Prince Golitzin succeeded M. Trepoff as Russian Prime Minister.

Jan. 11—Advance of British near Beaumont Hamel, France. New British internal War Loan floated, bearing 5¼ per cent.; 5th Austrian War Loan of $900,000,000 announced.

Jan. 17—German advance checked in Roumania west of the Sereth; Vadeni retaken by Russians. Greek Government accepted Allies' demands.

Jan. 18—Roumanian success between valleys of Casin and Susitza. Progress of British advance north of Beaucourt-sur-Ancre. Italians advanced in Albania.

Jan. 20—British air-raid on Bagdad. British successes in East Africa. German Government presented to the United States a defence of Belgian deportations.

Jan. 24—Surrender of a German force in East Africa.

Jan. 25—Repulse of Germans at Verdun.

Jan. 26.—Germans repulsed on Riga front.

Jan. 27—British advance on Somme front.

Jan. 29—Allied Conference in Petrograd; arrival of British Mission with French and Italian delegates.

Jan. 31—New German attacks at Riga for the most part repulsed. Russians advanced in Bukowina. Germany announced to Neutrals a campaign of unrestricted Submarine warfare.

Feb. 1—Russians regained positions previously lost on Riga front. Further advance of Russians in the Bukowina.

Feb. 2—British advanced on Somme front.

Feb. 3—The United States broke off diplomatic relations with Germany. Advance of British north of the Ancre. System of voluntary bread, meat and sugar rations introduced in Great Britain.

Feb. 6—Further advance of British on Somme front. National Service system inaugurated in Great Britain.

Feb. 7—British captured Grandcourt, south of the Ancre. German troops crossed the Sereth, Roumania. Further attacks repulsed by Russians. Duke of the Abruzzi resigned command of Italian fleet and was succeeded by Vice-Admiral Paolo Theon di Revel.

Feb. 8—Success of British on Sailly-Saillisel Ridge, right of Somme line; also a further advance from Grandcourt on both sides of the Ancre.

Feb. 10—J. W. Gerard, U.S. Ambassador, left Germany to return home.

Feb. 11—Enemy retreat at Serre Hill; British took trenches. Heavy fighting east of Gorizia; Italians repulsed Austrian attacks.

Feb. 12—British progress on the Ancre continued. Germany announced that Neutral shipping could no longer expect individual warning. The U.S. Government refused to discuss with Germany matters of difference owing to the Proclamation of Jan. 31.

Feb. 13—Denmark, Norway and Sweden presented an identic Note to Germany refusing to recognize the Submarine blockade as legal.

Feb. 14—The German Ambassador, Count Johann Von Bernstorff, sailed from New York for home on a Danish steamer.

Feb. 16—British issued Order-in-Council compelling vessels sailing to or from a Neutral country to call at a port in British or Allied territory.

Feb. 17—Further British success on the Ancre; German positions north and south of Miraumont captured.

*Compiled from various sources—the London *Times*, the N.Y. *Times*, *Current History*, the *United Empire*, journal and organ of the British Empire League, the American and Australian *Review of Reviews*, etc.

Feb. 19—The Australian Cabinet re-organized on a Coalition basis—William M. Hughes remaining as Premier.

Feb. 23—British forces crossed Tigris above Kut in Mesopotamia. Turkish position turned and enemy in retreat.

Feb. 24—German retreat on the Ancre continued; British occupied Petit Miraumont. British capture of Kut-el-Amara.

Feb. 25—British occupied Serre, Miraumont, Warlencourt and Pys, in France.

Feb. 26—British advance in France extended over an 11-mile front to a maximum depth of 2 miles; successful raids north of Arras.

Feb. 27—Further successes on the Somme; British occupied Le Barque and Ligny. Austro-German success in the Bukowina.

Feb. 28—Gommecourt and other places in France fell into British hands. Turks hotly pursued towards Bagdad.

Mar. 1—German intrigues in Mexico brought to light.

Mar. 2—Russians recaptured Hamadan (Western Persia).

Mar. 3—Marshal Arz Von Straussenberg appointed Chief of Staff in the Austro-Hungarian Army.

Mar. 7—The Irish Nationalist members in British Commons presented a Resolution calling for the immediate application of the Home Rule law.

Mar. 8—French recaptured most of lost ground in Champagne. German success against the Roumanians. Death of Count Zeppelin.

Mar. 10—Irles in France fell into British hands.

Mar. 11—British occupied Bagdad, after a brilliant 100-mile march up the Tigris.

Mar. 12—Revolution in Russia and abdication of the Czar; new Cabinet formed with Prince Georges E. Lvoff as Premier.

Mar. 13—British captured Grevillers and the whole of Loupart Wood in France.

Mar. 16—British advanced north of Péronne and in St. Pierre Vaast Wood.

Mar. 17—German retreat toward the Belgian frontier continued; British occupied Bapaume, Nesle, Chaulnes, Péronne and over 60 villages; Roye, Noyon and Lassigny taken by the French.

Mar. 18—Fierce German attacks in the Verdun region. British troops in Mesopotamia continued pursuit of the Turks up the Diala and occupied Bahriz and Bakuba.

Mar. 19—40 more villages fell into British hands in France; rapid French advance towards St. Quentin; capture of Guiscard, Ham and Chauny. Alexandre Ribot formed a new French Ministry based upon the old.

Mar. 20—14 Villages south of Arras cleared of Germans. First meeting of the Imperial War Cabinet.

Mar. 21—British advance reached points 10 miles east of the Somme; German resistance began to develop. Advance Russian forces crossed the border from Persia into Turkish territory, south of Baneh.

Mar. 24—French reached suburbs of La Fêre. British occupied Roisel, 7 miles east of Péronne. United States ordered withdrawal from Belgium of its Minister Brand Whitlock, and the members of the American Relief Commission.

Mar. 25—German torpedo-boats bombarded Dunkirk. British success on Diala River, 60 miles north-east of Bagdad.

Mar. 26—British took Lagnicourt, north-east of Bapaume. French captured further enemy trenches west of Monastir, Serbia.

Mar. 27—British victory at Wadi-Ghuzzeh, 5 miles south of Gaza, Palestine. Further British advance north-east of Péronne.

Mar. 31—British gains along the whole line between Arras and St. Quentin. Deli Abbas, north-east of Bagdad, occupied by British.

Apr. 2—Numerous villages, including Croiselles, on the Arras-Bapaume front, occupied by British. Russian and British forces established touch in Mesopotamia.

Apr. 3—German victory over Russians on the Stokhod.

Apr. 4—Further Allied success in the West. French patrols reached suburbs of St. Quentin.

Apr. 5—The Germans launched an attack north-west of Rheims in order to relieve pressure on St. Quentin.

Apr. 6—President Wilson signed joint Resolution of Congress declaring war against Germany.

Apr. 7—British naval raid on Zeebrugge. Cuba entered the War.

Apr. 9—Opening of the Battle of Arras; British attacked between Lens and St. Quentin and Canadians captured Vimy Ridge.

Apr. 10—Further successes on the Arras front.

Apr. 11—Moncy, 5 miles from Arras, captured. After temporary withdrawal on the Diala (Mesopotamia) British attacked Turks and drove them back to Deli Abbas.

Apr. 12—British assault on German position near Arras resulted in capture of 7 towns and the piercing of the famous "Hindenburg line," with 13,000 prisoners taken.

Apr. 13—Bolivia severed diplomatic relations with Germany.

Apr. 14—Allied air raid on Freiburg as reprisal for sinking of Hospital ships.

Apr. 15—Austria made semi-official overtures to Russia for peace.

Apr. 16—Great French offensive on the Aisne. British approached Lens, despite German counter-attacks.

Apr. 17—Further French successes between Soissons and Rheims. Turkish advanced positions on 6-mile front captured north of Wadi-Ghuzzeh (Palestine).

Apr. 18—Turks defeated by British at Istabulat, Mesopotamia.

Apr. 20—Further French gains in Champagne. Turkey decided to sever diplomatic relations with the United States.

Apr. 21—The British Mission to America, headed by Arthur J. Balfour, arrived in the United States.

Apr. 23—Fresh British offensive launched along the Scarpe, France. Samarra, 68 miles north of Bagdad, captured.

Apr. 24—British advance along the Scarpe continued. Engagement on the Shattel-Adhaim (Mesopotamia) and Turks retreated to the Jebel Hamrin range. The French Mission to the United States, headed by ex-Premier Viviani and Marshal Joffre, arrived at Hampton Roads.

Apr. 25—British advanced in Macedonia in neighbourhood of Doiran.

Apr. 26—German naval raid on Ramsgate.

Apr. 28—British attack east of Vimy Ridge; Arleux taken. The Republic of Guatemala broke off relations with Germany.

Apr. 29—General Pétain appointed Chief of Staff to General Nivelle, French Commander-in-Chief. Enemy counter-attacked in Macedonia.

Apr. 30—Lieut. Baron von Richthofen, German aviator, brought down his 52nd enemy airplane.

May 1—Evacuation of Mush (Armenia) by Russians announced.

May 3—New battle along British front in France east of Arras; Fresnoy captured.

May 4—French captured Craonne, north-west of Rheims. Severe fighting in the neighbourhood of Bullecourt.

May 5—Further French success north of the Aisne.

May 7—Heavy German counter-attacks on the heights of the Aisne.

May 8—German counter-attacks cause British to withdraw from Fresnoy.

May 9—Further French successes on the Aisne, British captured Bulgarian trenches south-west of Doiran.

May 10—North Sea engagement; 11 German destroyers chased into Zeebrugge. Italian Mission to the United States arrived in New York. General Ruszky removed from command of Russia's armies.

May 11—Severe fighting near Lens. British Government raises the age for voluntary attestation from 40 to 50.

May 12—Heavy bombardment of Zeebrugge by British ships and aeroplanes.

May 14—Zeppelin L-22 destroyed by naval gunfire in North Sea. British captured village of Rœux in the Scarpe Valley. Italian offensive launched from Tolmino to the sea. Russian Army Headquarters estimated that Germany had withdrawn 600,000 men from the Russian front and sent them to oppose the French and British offensives.

May 16—General Pétain appointed Commander-in-Chief of the French forces, with General Foch as Chief of the General Staff. British advanced on a three-mile front in Macedonia.

May 17—British completed capture of Bullecourt, where fighting had taken place since May 3.

May 18—Austrian counter-attacks on the Isonzo repulsed with help from British heavy artillery.

May 19—Further section of the Hindenburg line, on front of over a mile, taken by British north of Bullecourt.

May 20—British advanced between Bullecourt and Fontaine. French success on the Moronvilliers front. Italians gave ground on the Vodice and south of Gorizia.

May 21—Hindenburg line from a point east of Bullecourt to Arras in British hands, with slight exceptions.

May 25—Enemy air-raid over south-east coast of England.

May 26—The offensive on the Isonzo front Italy's greatest effort in two years of war; 22,500 Austrian prisoners taken since May 14.

May 27—Italians crossed the Timavo River and approached within a mile of Duino, their immediate seaport objective.

May 28—The Brazilian Chamber of Deputies voted in favour of revoking neutrality and authorizing the seizure of German ships.

June 1—The fortress of Kronstadt, defending Petrograd, taken over by the local Workmen's and Soldier's Council.

June 3—United States Mission to Russia, headed by Elihu Root, arrived at a Russian (Pacific) port.

June 4—General Alexis Brusiloff appointed Commander-in-Chief of Russia's armies.

June 5—German naval bases at Zeebrugge and Ostend bombarded by British warships. 18 German aeroplanes dropped bombs on coast east of London. The French Chamber of Deputies declared that Peace terms must include restoration of Alsace-Lorraine to France and reparation for damage done to occupied territory An Austrian counter-attack on the Carso Plateau, near Jamiano, inflicted severe losses on the Italians; the Austrians claimed a total of 22,000 prisoners during the Italian offensive.

June 7—In the greatest mine explosion of the year the British blast away German positions on the Wytschaete-Messines Ridge, dominating Ypres from the south, and wiped out a bulge in the German line 5 miles across and 3 miles deep. Austrian counter-attack on the Carso Plateau stopped by Italians after three days; with reinforcements from the Russian front the Austrians recaptured one-third of the ground previously lost.

June 9—Major General Pershing and his Staff, on their way to France, received by King George V.

June 10—Italian efforts suddenly shifted to the Trentino front, where several Austrian positions were carried.

June 11—Lord Northcliffe, the British newspaperman, arrived in the United States to head a permanent War Mission along industrial lines.

June 12—King Constantine of Greece abdicated and was succeeded by his second son Alexander.

June 13—Fourth German aeroplane raid over England within three weeks and the most destructive of the entire war.

June 15—Lord Rhondda is appointed Food Controller in Great Britain, succeeding Lord Devonport.

June 17—British evacuated positions in the Struma Valley region, on the Bulgarian front in Macedonia.

June 18—Haiti severed diplomatic relations with Germany. A Commission from Belgium to the United States received by President Wilson.

June 20—British re-took lost positions east of Monchy-le-Preux; Canadians repulsed attacks on new positions near Lens. Italians resumed the offensive in the Trentino and captured Austrian positions on Monte Ortigara.

June 22—Germans pierced French salient on a front of 1¼ miles along the Chemin des Dames.

June 24—French recaptured greater part of salient lost east of Vauxaillon.

June 25—British advanced on a front of 1½ miles south-west of Lens.

June 26—Canadians captured La Coulette and pushed beyond it toward Lens. French captured positions north-west of Hurtebise Farm. Austrians suffered severely in attempt to retake the Ortigara sector.

June 28—Canadians, in drive on Lens, pushed on half way through Avion.

June 29—British carried German line between Oppy and Gavrelle on a front of 2,000 yards. Germans near Verdun captured several French positions. Turks drove Russians across the River Abis Hirman on the Persian frontier.

June 30—British advanced a mile toward Lens over a front of 4 miles.

July 1—Russians, led by Kerensky in person, resumed their drive toward Lemberg and advanced on an 18-mile front. Heavy fighting around Avocourt Wood, Hill 304, and Dead Man Hill in France; British drew close to Lens.

July 4— Germans launched powerful offensive north of the Aisne on a front of nearly 11 miles but were repulsed. Germans attacked French positions on the left

bank of the Meuse with liquid fire but were driven back. German aeroplanes dropped bombs on Harwich.

July 6—84 French aeroplanes raided Germany, causing heavy damage at the Krupp works.

July 7—Fighting began near Pinsk; city reported in flames. Russians occupied German trenches in the Zlochoff region and near Koniuchy. British advanced east of Wytschaete in Belgium.

July 8—Russian offensive spread north and south of Halicz; Russians crossed the Bystritza River on both sides of the railway line running west from Stanislau to Kalusz and Dolina, and captured several villages and the town of Jezupol. Germans' attack in four sectors on the Chemin des Dames repulsed; French seized three strongly-organized salients on the west bank of the Meuse.

July 9—Turks re-occupied Panjwin, Khanikin and Ksar-i-Shirin on the Persian border.

July 10—Russians took Halicz; Austro-German forces driven across the Lomnica and Luvka Rivers.

July 11—Russians advanced on 100-mile front, pursuing the Teutons across the upper Lomnica River. Germans launched a strong attack against the British north of Nieuport and drove them back on the Yser River. Italians advanced on the Carso and occupied Dalino. 20 German machines raided London.

July 12—Germans stormed British trenches near Moncy and took many prisoners.

July 13—Russians pressed on in Galicia on a front of nearly 50 miles from Halicz to the foot of the Carpathians, capturing several important heights north of the Dniester.

July 14—Russians beat off attacks on Kalusz and captured Novicka.

July 16—Russians took eastern end of Lodziany.

July 17—Russians were driven out of Kalusz by German re-inforcements and lost Novicka, but re-took it. French captured German first and second lines on a wide front north-west of Verdun.

July 19—Germans penetrated Russian positions in north-eastern Galicia on a wide front near Zlochow.

July 20—Teutons made successful attacks on the Russian front, owing to mutiny of extremist Russian regiments, and occupied first-line trenches east of Bezrzany. Germans repulsed in France on the plateau before Craonne and Vauclerc, and between the Californie Plateau and Casemates Plateau.

July 21—Fighting resumed on the Roumanian front; Austro-Germans attacked positions near confluence of the Rimnik and Sereth Rivers, but were repulsed.

July 22 Russians continued to retreat in Northern Galicia, as mutiny grew, and yielded ground as far south as the Dniester; Babino, on the Lomnica, evacuated. Germans launched fierce attacks on the Casemates and Californie Plateau. German air-raid over Felixstowe and Harwich, England.

July 23—Russians pierced German lines north of Pinsk marshes but retreated further in northern Galicia and Germans captured Tarnopol.

July 24—Germans pursued Russians on a 155-mile front from the Baltic to the Black Sea, and crossed the Sereth River in the region of the Mikulice; Russians evacuated Stanislau; regiments on the Dvinsk-Vilna front abandoned the enemy's positions after capturing them, as sedition increased. French re-took all ground lost between Casemates and Californie Plateaux.

July 26—Germans pursued Russians and continued their advance in Galicia; Russians abandoned the Carpathian front as far as the Kirlibaba sector. Germans penetrated French lines from La Bovelle Farm to a point east of Hurtebise.

July 27—Russians retired from Czernowitz; Germans captured Kolomea. French repulsed 5 German attacks on the heights south and west of Moronvilliers; British captured La Bassée. German air-raid over Paris and hospital near the Front bombed.

July 29—Russians retreated over the Galician border at Husiatyn; Germans captured Kuty in the Carpathians.

July 30—Russians stiffened their line and held heights to the east of the River Zbrocz.

July 31—Roumanians took fortified positions on the right bank of the River Putna, north-west of Soveia. French and British smashed German lines in Belgium on a 20-mile front from Dixmude to Warneton, taking 10 towns and crossing the

Yser in many places; French on the Aisne captured German trenches over a front of nearly a mile.

Aug. 1—Russians began offensive in Galicia in the direction of Trembowla, but retreated in the south. Germans in Belgium re-took St. Julien from the British and gained a footing at Westhoek.

Aug. 3—Austrians captured Czernowitz and Russians evacuated Kimpolung in Bukowina. British re-occupied St. Julien and improved positions south of Hollebeke.

Aug. 4—Austrians crossed the Russian frontier north-east of Czernowitz; nearly all of Galicia was now wrested from the Russians.

Aug. 5—Russians resumed offensive tactics east of Czernowitz. Teutons occupied Vama. Canadians pushed forward south-west of Lens; British advanced at St. Julien.

Aug. 7—Russians took the offensive in Volhynia and captured 2 villages but evacuated two centres in Podolia. Austro-Germans began offensive against Russo-Roumanian armies in Moldavia and stormed Russian positions north of Focsani.

Aug. 9—French advanced south of Langemarck.

Aug. 10—British captured Westhoek Ridge and French extended their positions in the Bixschoote region; Germans won ground north of St. Quentin.

Aug. 11—Teuton attacks on the Sereth and Suchawa, in Roumania, repulsed; Roumanians retired south-west of Ocna.

Aug. 12—Austro-Germans in Moldavia captured Grozesni and the dominating heights.

Aug. 15—Austro-Germans seized the bridgehead at Baltaretu in Roumania and captured Stracani. Canadians took German positions on a 2-mile front east and south of Loos, including Hill 70. Text of Pope Benedict's Peace Note to the Belligerents was made public in England.

Aug. 16—Russians and Roumanians forced to cross to the east side of the Sereth and retired on the Moldavian border. British re-captured Langemarck and pushed on a half mile beyond in France.

Aug. 18—Austrians drove Russo-Roumanians from intrenched positions south of Grozesni.

Aug. 19—Italians began offensive from Tolmino. A French attack at Verdun resulted in the capture of important German positions over a front of 11 miles.

Aug. 22—Special Japanese Mission to the United States arrived in Washington.

Aug. 23—Heavy fighting near Lens. Battle on the Isonzo developed.

Aug. 24—French attacked on left bank of Meuse and Hill 304 and Camard Wood captured. Italian progress continued on the Isonzo and Monte Santo captured.

Aug. 25—Italians progressed on Bainsizza Plateau.

Aug. 26—British re-established lost positions near Epéhy and advanced half a mile, capturing strong positions. German attack on Ypres-Menin road failed. French attack on Meuse captured several positions.

Aug. 27—Isonzo battle continued with special intensity on Bainsizza Plateau.

Aug. 29—Italians continued their advance. Germans continued their offensive movement in Focsani region, Roumania.

Aug. 31—Germans attacked British near Epéhy; Italians advanced on Monte San Gabriele and the Carso; Serbians attacked in Dobropolie-Moglena sector of the Balkans.

Sept. 1—German attack on Riga began. Dwina crossed and Russians forced back. Naval engagement off coast of Jutland.

Sept. 2—Heavy fighting on South Carso advanced Italian line. German attack on Riga continued.

Sept. 3—German attack on British at Havrincourt failed. Riga captured by Germans.

Sept. 4—German aircraft bombed English East-coast towns. Heavy fighting on Bainsizza Plateau and Monte San Gabriele. Big Austrian counter-attack on Carso failed. German pursuit of Russian Army from Riga.

Sept. 5—German air-raid on London. German attack on Casemates Plateau repulsed; also on Californie Plateau. Fighting on Monte San Gabriele. Austrian attacks on South Carso repulsed.

Sept. 6—British pressure on Lens renewed and a line of German strong points attacked north of Frezenberg near Ypres. Heavy fighting on Monte San Gabriele. Russian retreat from Riga continued.

Sept. 7—German counter-attacks recovered ground north of Frezenberg. British advanced near Lens. Russian retreat from Riga came to an end.

Sept. 8—Heavy fighting on Monte San Gabriele. French and Russians commenced advance on Albanian border.

Sept. 10—Franco-Russian advance continued on Albanian border.

Sept. 11—Austrian attack on Italians on Monte San Gabriele failed.

Sept. 12—Russian Riga Army attacked and advanced. Franco-Russian advance on Albanian border halted.

Sept. 15—Korniloff surrendered to Kerensky and Russia proclaimed a Republic.

Sept. 16—Four Austrian counter-attacks on Bainsizza Plateau failed.

Sept. 21—Germans captured Jacobstadt on the Dwina.

Sept. 22—Ostend bombarded by British naval force.

Sept. 23—Big German counter-attack north-east of Langemarck repulsed.

Sept. 24—Germans attacked French positions north of Chaume Wood; beaten off with heavy loss.

Sept. 25—Powerful German attack on British positions between Tower Hamlets and Polygon Wood; Germans penetrated lines at two points. Two air-raids on London during the night.

Sept. 26—British advanced on 6-mile front east of Ypres.

Sept. 27—German counter-attacks against Zonnebeke unsuccessful. Heavy attacks on front from the Aisne to the Argonne failed to reach French lines.

Sept. 28—Australians repulsed counter-attacks east of Polygon Wood. Italians improved positions on San Gabriele and captured many prisoners.

Sept. 29—General Maude's attack on Turks at Ramadie, Mesopotamia, a complete victory. Air-raid on London.

Sept. 30—Three German counter-attacks on Ypres front were beaten. German attack north of Berry-au-Bac partially successful. Italians consolidated their positions in spite of Austrian counter-attacks. Air-raid on London.

Oct. 1—Five powerful counter-attacks east of Ypres. French aeroplanes bombarded the depôts of Roulers and Lorraine. German aeroplanes caused "serious material damage" at Dunkirk. German air-raid on south-west coast of England.

Oct. 2—German attack on positions north of Verdun checked; in later attack north of Hill 344 a footing was gained.

Oct. 3—German attacks north of Menin road and between Tower Hamlets and Polygon Wood broken down.

Oct. 4—British attacked near Ypres; greater part of Poelcapelle captured. Great Allied air-raid on enemy camp in Macedonia.

Oct. 9—British and French attacked in Belgium; capture of Poelcapelle completed; St. Jean de Mangelaere and Veldhoek taken with many fortified positions. Counter-attacks south of Ypres-Staden railway forced back advanced troops. Belgian troops took Mahenge in East African highlands.

Oct. 10—French advanced east of Draebank and captured Papegoed, Belgium.

Oct. 11—German attack north of Hill 344 (Verdun) repulsed after momentary success.

Oct. 12—British attacked on Ypres front. Many strongholds captured. Germans landed on Oesel Island, Riga region.

Oct. 13—Several German attacks on French positions in the Hurtebise-Chevreux sector. Temporary footing gained. Arensburg was occupied by the Germans.

Oct. 16—Whole of Oesel Island in German hands. Nancy bombed by German aeroplanes.

Oct. 17—Naval battle in the Gulf of Riga. Russians pressed back into Moon Sound. Germans landed troops on Dago Island. Nancy bombed by German aeroplanes.

Oct. 18—Moon Island (Riga) capture completed by Germans.

Oct. 19—Air-raid over London.

Oct. 21—German troops landed on Russian mainland at Verder. British aeroplanes bombed Saarbruck.

Oct. 22—Advance of British and French troops on either side of the Ypres-Staden railway north-east of Ypres. Zeebrugge Mole bombed by British airmen and also Melle railway sidings near Ghent.

Oct. 23—French captured Malmaison fort, Vanin's Quarries and the villages of Allemant and Vaudesson.

Oct. 24—Austro-Germans attacked Italian lines and captured, through treachery, many positions between Plezzo and Tolmino.

Oct. 25—Germans retreated on Ailette front and French advanced to Oise Canal. Teutons continued success against the Italians. British captured several villages on Struma front, Balkans. Brazil declared war against Germany.

Oct. 26—New British-French advance towards Houthulst and Passchendaele. French extended Ailette gains.

Oct. 27—French continued operations west of Houthulst Forest with success; several villages captured. Some United States troops reported in the trenches.

Oct. 28—French and Belgians took the Merckem peninsula, including the village of Luyghem. Gorizia captured by Austro-Hungarian troops.

Oct. 29—Germans gained slightly in sectors at Verdun. Italian retreat continued and enemy advanced rapidly.

Oct. 30—Canadians reached the outskirts of Passchendaele. Udine occupied by German-Austrian forces and Italian retreat directed towards the Tagliamento.

Oct. 31—Beersheba in Palestine captured by the British.

Nov. 1—Italians withdrew behind the Tagliamento.

Nov. 2—Germans retired along the Chemin des Dames as a result of French successes on the Ailette; French followed down slopes of Ailette. Turkish first-line defences before Gaza, Palestine, taken by British. Defeat of the Turks at Dur in Mesopotamia by British.

Nov. 3—French extended and consolidated gains on Ailette front.

Nov. 5—British line advanced slightly south-east of Poelecapelle. Austro-German forces crossed the Tagliamento. Allied success in East Africa; Belgians reached Liwale.

Nov. 6—Passchendaele captured, also Mosselmarkt and Goudburg. British in Palestine continued to advance. General Maude won victory at Tekrit on the Tigris.

Nov. 7—French attacked successfully German positions at Schonholz, Upper Alsace. Italians retreated to the Livenza. British captured Gaza in Palestine. Bolsheviki *coup d'état* in Petrograd.

Nov. 8—Austro-Germans attacked Italian flank in the Trentino.

Nov. 9—Italians fell back toward the Piave. Ascalon in Palestine occupied by British. Central Allied War Council formed.

Nov. 10—British attack north of Passchendaele; objectives gained. Italians reached the Piave in their retreat. British in Palestine captured Esdud.

Nov. 12—Turkish lines in Palestine pierced near coast and British continued to advance.

Nov. 13—German mass attack, aimed to recapture Passchendaele, failed. On Piave front Austro-Germans crossed at Zenson.

Nov. 14—Italians checked the Teutons at the points of crossing on the Piave. Germans occupied Feltre. British cut railway communications of Jerusalem.

Nov. 16—German attack on French in Belgium failed. Austro-Germans made desperate attempts to break Italian lines on Piave.

Nov. 17—Some Austro-German attacks withstood by Italians; Quero taken, however, and Italians retired to the barrier line at Monte Grappa. In Palestine, Jaffa, the port of Jerusalem, taken by British. Naval brush in the Bight of Heligoland; German forces retreated.

Nov. 19—Italians fought bravely on Monte Tomba and Monte Monfera. Further British successes in East Africa.

Nov. 20—Brilliant British surprise attacks on Cambrai front; Hindenburg line broken through. German attack on Verdun front held by French.

Nov. 21—British advance at Cambrai reached a depth of 5 miles. French troops captured German salient south of Juvincourt.

Nov. 22—British offensive towards Cambrai developed. Italian resistance still successful. Sabir, a Turkish post in the hinterland of Aden, captured by British.

Nov. 23—British offensive towards Cambrai further developed. German counter-attacks between Craonne and Rheims repulsed. Canadians captured spur between Moeuvres and Quéant.

Nov 24—British took Bourlon Wood and village.

Nov. 25—Germans regained Bourlon village but not Bourlon Wood.

Nov. 27—Colonel Tafel and his force taken by British at Nevale, East Africa.

Nov. 29—British advanced west of Bourlon Wood.

Nov. 30—German counter-attack at Cambrai broke down on north; on the south Germans penetrated into British lines and took many prisoners, tanks and guns.

Dec. 1—Last German force crossed Portuguese border from East Africa.

Dec. 3—Heavy German attacks on Cambrai line repulsed with, however, slight gains at La Vacquerie and east of Marcoing.

Dec. 4—Austro-Germans gained forward positions at Monte Seisimol, Asiago front.

Dec. 5—British evacuated Bourlon Wood and ground to south-east towards Noyelles, Cambrai. German attacks near Gonnelieu and La Vacquerie beaten off.

Dec. 6—Truce agreed upon for Russian front.

Dec. 7—Hebron, Palestine, captured by British. Ulster troops improved line at La Vacquerie. Monte Seismoil, Italy, captured by Austrians after fierce fighting.

Dec. 8—Jerusalem taken by British.

Dec. 9—British and French troops took up positions on Italian front.

Dec. 12—Heavy Austro-German attacks between Brenta and Piave with slight gains.

Dec. 14-16—Austrians took Monte Salarolo and Col Caprile.

Dec. 17—Armistice announced between Russia and Germany for 28 days.

Dec. 18—Austrians took Monte Asolone near Monte Grappa.

Dec. 20—Monte Asolone recaptured by Italians.

Dec. 22—British captured Nantieh in Palestine.

Dec. 25—Teutons captured Col del Rosso and adjoining heights on the Asiago Plateau.

Dec. 26—Chinese troops occupied Harbin and imprisoned the Russian Bolshevist force.

Dec. 28—British repulsed Turkish attacks near Jerusalem and advanced 2½ miles on a 9-mile front. Padua bombarded by Austrian aeroplanes.

Dec. 29—British drove back Turks north of Jerusalem and captured several villages.

Dec. 30—Germans penetrated British lines north of La Vacquerie and south of Marcoing.

Dec. 31—French, British and Italian troops successfully stormed Monte Tomba positions.

THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN THE WAR

Great Britain in 1917: War Policy and General Position.

During this year the British Empire faced periods of success and war-hope, of failure and war-pessimism. Vimy and Cambrai, United States accession and Russian chaos, German retreat in France and Italian reversals, the Submarine and the Aeroplane, were phases of this situation. Through it all Great Britain maintained a fairly even keel of action and policy, a splendid process of internal development along war-lines, an unique and continuous supremacy in war finance. At the close of 1917 the United Kingdom was to the Entente Allies what Germany was to the Teutons—the head and front of war-work and effort, the binding and unifying element in the Alliance, the pivot upon which finance, shipping, food supplies, munitions and armies turned. It was all done so silently, the censorship was so tight, the fundamental objection of the English character to anything even distantly resembling boastfulness was so effective, that public recognition of British achievements often was below the line of just appreciation in Canada and other Empire or Allied countries. On the other hand political controversies, occasional strikes, all the essential faults of a non-military nation facing stupendous technical odds, were well-known and discussed. Some of them still were in operation.

To have swept the seas of enemy ships, kept the Submarine in partial subjection, and carried on a world-trade in war supplies and transport; to have raised 6,000,000 men for war service and turned Great Britain into a great hive of war industry—technical, inventive, resourceful, efficient; to have maintained vast war operations for 3½ years and in 1917 to have won supremacy in the field and in the air of France, conquered Mesopotamia and part of Palestine and Persia and the last of the German African Colonies; to have maintained a sweeping blockade of Germany and her Allies and kept the German fleet bottled up while holding 15,000,000 tons of shipping in the teeth of the Submarine; to have buttressed the financial credit of the world behind British money and advanced 5,000 million dollars to her Allies and Dominions; to have beaten the ablest constructive operator in war chemistry, industry and engineering in the world at his own prepared game—in heavy artillery, in trench-mortar effectiveness, in forms and use of deadly gases, in such gas protection as the box-respirator, in aeroplane efficiency, in submarine defence and the creation of the Tank; to have organized Food supplies, production, military resources and Labour capacity at home; to have transported across various seas in 3 years of war 13,000,000 men and over 200,000,000 tons of munitions, supplies, food, etc.; to have strengthened industry by notable discoveries and especially by a process for obtaining potash and by an increase of 50% in steel manufacture; to have

helped production by such patriotic sacrifices of tradition, beauty, pleasure, as the slaughter of ornamental deer and the turning of the parks of noblemen's seats into sheep-walks or cultivated fields; all these and many more were remarkable war-products for a peace-loving and commercial nation of not more than 47,000,000 people. In January, 1917, the Boston *News-Bureau* issued a review in which it was stated that "all the seven wonders of the world fade on history's page when compared with the spectacle Great Britain presents to-day—a gigantic physical power and a trade and war-power combined never before dreamed of." Mr. Bonar Law, Chancellor of the Exchequer, stated certain details in a speech at Manchester on Nov. 7:

> In 1914 we lost 13,000 or 14,000 more prisoners than we took. In 1915 we lost 2,800 more. In 1916 we took 30,000 more than the enemy took from us, and this year already we have taken 45,000 more than they took from us. In the first year of war we lost 80 guns and took 25. The next year the position improved, and last year we took 169 and the Germans took none. This year we have taken 380 and lost none. Now we have an artillery service far better than that of any other belligerent. In aeroplanes we have made immense advances. The number of aeroplane engines turned out last month was exactly three times more than in October last year. We have secured air supremacy on the front. Last September we dropped 1,700 bombs upon places in the West from which enemy aeroplanes come. We did more damage to the enemy in that month than he has done in all the raids he has made upon England since the beginning of the War.

Up to the end of 1916 Mr. Asquith's Government had been responsible for much of good in a record of great national achievements; during 1917 that of Mr. Lloyd George had its testing time and, despite enemies and critics, did remarkable work. Its permanent War Cabinet, or inner circle of control, was composed of the Premier, Lord Milner and Lord Curzon, with two other members who changed in *personnel* and were not such outstanding figures. In a new and vital change this Cabinet was stretched to include Dominion Premiers or statesmen visiting England. The Premier was criticized by Pacifists and irreconcilable Radicals, by the *Daily News* and *The Nation*, for having such men as Milner, Curzon, Balfour, Carson and Cecil in his Government; he was denounced by the *Morning Post*, Austin Harrison, the *English Review*, and old-time Tories, for subservience to Lord Northcliffe and his press; from time to time he was keenly criticized by *The Times* and other Northcliffe papers for having kept some weak-kneed, Pacifist persons in posts of importance. Yet there could be no real doubt as to Mr. Lloyd George's democracy—it was fundamental and innate; if he utilized arbitrary methods and the services of men of a military type of organized mentality it was for necessary war objects and was essential to national success. His own driving force, personal energy and magnetism, his cheerful spirit and manner, were remarkable points in his administration of what was at this time the greatest position in the world.

The plans with which the Government commenced the year included (1) the maintenance and strengthening of British armies, (2) the keeping and obtaining of men and women sufficient for an ever-increasing production of food, munitions, shipping and the

essential national industries, (3) the organization of national material and money for war-work, (4) closer co-operation and co-ordination with Allied nations and their armies and Governments. This mobilization of the nation was carried out during 1917 as earnestly and faithfully—in the face of many obstacles and occasionally perverted politics—as it was possible for one man to do. As the months passed certain forces developed strength. One was an under-current, an under-ground movement of Socialism and anarchy which was nurtured by such influences as prevailed under Bernstorff in the States, Caillaux and Bolo in France, Lenine in Russia and Giolitti in Italy.

It was seemingly headless except where Pacifists like Snowden, Socialists like Ramsay Macdonald or discontented Party men like Henderson appeared above the surface; it showed itself in Labour troubles, in class agitation and appeals, in Peace or Socialist movements of the Bolsheviki type; it had intellectual supporters, such as H. W. Massingham and *The Nation*, who were absolutely disloyal and it had mob adherents of Hyde Park anarchy; it appeared in the Commons led by men like Ponsonby and Trevelyan, as well as in attempts to establish Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils of the Russian type; it hinted, for the first time in many years, at a revolution which would reach up to the Crown itself and H. G. Wells urged the organization of a Republic in *The Times* of Apr. 21. The same journal in September had a series of articles on "The Revolutionary Ferment" which were unique in their plain-spoken language.

The Government did nothing definite in this connection; it apparently believed, and correctly so, that the movement was not anti-war in itself and that only at times did it infringe upon war activities; it was obvious that the vast majority of the workers wanted strong war-action and the Stockholm Conference incident, the resolutions of Labour bodies, the attitude of Parliamentary labour, proved this even while undoubted unrest caused fitful strikes and ever-present disputes. The Pacifist movement was taken more seriously by the public and toward the close of the year it was stated that there were over 50 Peace Societies actively at work in Britain and that their output of pamphlets weekly ran up to a million. They had sufficient funds at their disposal to take space in practically every newspaper in the Kingdom when they wished to advertise their meetings, to spend enormous sums on the hire of halls, and their printing bill during the year was not less than $100,000 for pamphlets alone. There was strong and natural suspicion as to German money behind this propaganda and the Government was urged to take action. The Macdonald group of Pacifists were in 1917 working as the United Socialistic Council along Bolsheviki lines, while J. A. Seddon and Will Crooks led the loyal Labour ranks and were the popular men of the moment. In the Commons on July 26 a Ramsay Macdonald Pacifist motion was rejected by 148 to 19.

Mr. Lloyd George, during the year, made a number of speeches and each of them was forceful, significant, or effective. On Jan.

11 he made an eloquent appeal for the War Loan—to save the blood of heroes in what was essentially a war of equipment: "We are engaged in a War in which the stability of British finance is as essential for final victory as the superiority of the Allied forces by land and sea." He was impressed by the increasing extent to which the Allied peoples were looking to Great Britain: "They are trusting to her rugged strength, to her great resources, more and more. To them she looks like a great tower in the deep. She is becoming more and more the hope of the oppressed and the despair of the oppressor, and I feel more and more confident that we shall not fail the people who put their trust in us."

At Carnarvon on Feb. 3 the Premier was explicit upon one vital point: "The great task in front of us is the mobilization of all the resources of the Allies and their vitalization to the best purpose. Most of the misfortunes that have come upon the Allied cause have been due to the lack of cohesion, or of concerted action among the Allies. We have acted too much as if we were engaged in four different wars instead of one great common struggle." On the 23rd he dealt with the serious issue of shipping shortages, food supplies and essential production—the inevitable conditions of the increasing Submarine campaign. He stated that before the War British tonnage was just adequate; since that time there had been an enormous increase in the demand for tonnage. More than 1,000,000 tons of British shipping had been allocated to France alone, and a very considerable amount had been set aside for Russia and Italy, while a considerable amount, also, had been sunk.

As to the Submarine menace there were four sets of measures to be taken: (1) by the Navy; (2) the building of merchant ships; (3) dispensing with unnecessary imports and (4) production of more food. He stated that the Government proposed to guarantee a price for oats, potatoes, and wheat during several years and announced a minimum wage for farm labour representing an increase of 50% in prevailing rates. Brewing was to be cut down to 10,000,000 barrels annually with a similar reduction in the output of spirits—thus effecting a saving of 600,000 tons of foodstuffs. The importation of apples, tomatoes and fruits would be prohibited. The only exceptions made in fruit importations were oranges and bananas, though the amount brought in would be restricted 25 per cent. The same restriction applied to nuts. Canned salmon importations were reduced 50%. The importation of foreign tea, coffee and cocoa was prohibited, and even the amount of India tea was reduced. The importation of aerated, mineral and table waters was prohibited and that of paper curtailed by a further 640,000 tons annually. These drastic proposals were cheerfully accepted by Parliament and the public as being necessary and it was stated that the reduction in manufacture of malt and spirituous liquors had been already made from 36,000,000 barrels in 1914 to 26,000,000 in 1916; that the new food restrictions alone would save 900,000 tons of shipping; that the guaranteed prices of wheat would work out at $1.85 per bushel for the first year and grade down to $1.70 for the next two years and $1.40 for the last three years, with oats

running at $9.65 per quarter, $8.15 and $6.10 respectively, and potatoes at about $1.25 per bag of 90-lbs. The barred or restricted goods included rum, wine, linen, all fancy articles, books, and nearly all luxuries. Lord Devonport as Food Controller was to have full authority over supply and prices; the Board of Agriculture was given power to enfore production and control the raising of rents.

Speaking to an American Club in London (Apr. 12) Mr. Lloyd George welcomed the United States into the War with great optimism—especially as to the announced effort to build a thousand 3000-ton wooden vessels for the Atlantic! "The road to victory," he declared, "the guarantee of victory, the absolute assurance of victory, is to be found in one word—ships. In a second word—ships. In a third word—ships." At the Guildhall on Apr. 27 the Premier made the yearly historical and policy speech of the Government; at the same time he was honoured with the Freedom of the City of London. The speech was optimistic in tone and victory was declared to be "increasingly assured"; he would not say the War would last through 1918 but "we are taking no chances"; Allied equipment was superior—hence the black piracy of the Submarine unrestricted warfare; Empire unity was the policy of the future and Ireland was still a menacing prospect which must be "converted from a suspicious, surly, dangerous neighbour, to a cheerful, loyal comrade." Increased cultivation, decreased imports, additional shipbuilding, were essential.

In Glasgow on June 29 he received the Freedom of the City and delivered one of his greater speeches. Despite the Russian trouble he was still optimistic: "I am steeped every day—morning, noon and night—in the perplexities and difficulties and the anxieties of this grim business, but all the same I feel confident." As to the Submarine issue he was hopeful; it would become in due course "as great a failure as the German Zeppelin." To the King he paid high tribute as one of the hardest-worked men in the country; as to peace "this War will come to an end when the Allied Powers have reached the aims which they set out to attain when they accepted the challenge thrown down by Germany to civilization. These aims were defined recently by President Wilson." A word was said to the Pacifists: "You can have peace at the German price, but do you know what it would be? The old policy of buying out the Goth, which eventually destroyed the Roman Empire, and threw Europe into the ages of barbarous cruelties."

At London on July 21 the Premier described Belgium as: "The gatekeeper of European liberty; the highest, most onerous and most dangerous trust ever imposed on a people. Faithfully and loyally have the Belgian people discharged their trust to Europe. . . . It is our business to restore Belgium to a free and independent people—and not to a protectorate. The sceptre, the sword, the scabbard and the soul must be Belgian." To a London patriotic meeting (Aug. 4) Mr. Lloyd George was significant in his reference to peace: "The Kaiser and his new Chancellor talk glibly of peace but they stammer, they stutter, when they talk about

restoration. It has not yet crossed their lips in its entirety. But before we enter a Peace Conference they must learn that word to begin with." As to the rest he still was optimistic: "The last reaches of a climb are always the most trying to the nerve and to the heart, but they are the real test of grit, endurance and courage. . . . No one has any idea how near the top we may be." On Aug. 8, at a Serbian Dinner in London, he was emphatic upon another point: "What I said about Belgium, speaking on behalf of the British Government, I say here again, speaking on behalf of the same Government, of the same people, about Serbia; the first condition of peace is restoration, complete and without reservation. However long this war may last—and it is in the hands of God—British honour is involved in seeing that Serbian independence is complete." The developments of Pacificism and Socialism naturally aroused the Premier in these months and on Oct. 23 in London he sounded a warning note;

> The enemy on most of the battle fronts has organized with deadly care and ingenuity an offensive behind the lines. I know what I am talking about. See what has happened in France. They discovered it in time. Look out for Boloism in all its shapes and forms. It is the latest and most formidable weapon in the German armoury.

To a Deputation on Oct. 24 he referred to a local question of growing importance—the Old Age Pension system which he had himself started by spending £8,000,000 which had now grown to £18,000,000: "I hope the State will go on recognizing the obligations it owes to these people." Two days before he had dealt with the current War Saving campaign, the efforts of 120,000 workers to promote thrift and economy, the dangerous extravagances of an artificial war-prosperity. As to premature Peace efforts and policy he spoke strongly of what would follow success: "All the best scientific brains in all lands, stimulated by national rivalries, national hatreds, national hopes, would be devoting their energies for 10, 20 or 30 years to magnifying the destructive power of horrible agents of war." It would mean the death of civilization.

Toward the close of the year the Premier's public energies were devoted to explaining and popularizing the Supreme War Council plan; the unifying of international war interests and military action; the meeting of real distrust and dishonest suspicion of the only policy which could avert disaster and ensure success. His speech on this topic in Parliament on Nov. 19 was a rhetorical and national triumph; his deliberate references to the past dealt with several tragedies of the War—Serbia, Roumania, Italy, Russia—in language which pricked many a bubble of inflated optimism. In London on Dec. 20 he dealt with Lord Lansdowne's peculiar epistle and demand for Peace terms in assured words: "It is because I am firmly convinced that, despite some untoward events, despite discouraging appearances, we are making steady progress towards the goal we set in front of us in 1914, that I would regard peace overtures to Prussia, at the very moment when the Prussian military spirit is drunk with boastfulness, as a betrayal of the great trust with which my colleagues and I have been charged." On the 20th the par-

tially responded to the Lansdowne letter by a statement of Allied Peace terms which may be summarized as follows:

1. The complete restoration of national territory conquered by Germany and complete reparation for damage done.
2. Future disposition of territory taken by Russia or Great Britain from Turkey —Palestine, Mesopotamia and Armenia—to be left to the Peace Congress, upon the understanding, however, that they must not be returned to the "blasting tyranny of the Turks."
3. The future of the German colonies to be decided by the Peace Congress upon the understanding that the wishes of the inhabitants of these Colonies should be respected.
4. A guarantee that the provisions of a treaty of peace would be respected— preferably the democratization of the German Government.

These and other speeches, coupled with energetic national policy as to air raids, army increase and supplies, food restrictions and rationing, finance developments at home and abroad, Ireland and India, kept Mr. Lloyd George in his place of power with an ever-increasing public sense of his immense personal energy amidst national difficulties. The Ministers assisting him were constantly before the people in all kinds of ways; some failed in their work and were replaced, some differed in opinion and retired, others exchanged posts with a view to better suitability. On June 15 Lord Devonport gave up the arduous position of Food Controller and was succeeded by Lord Rhondda. On July 17 Sir Edward Carson retired as First Lord of the Admiralty and became a member of the War Cabinet without Portfolio; he was replaced by Sir Eric Campbell Geddes, a railway engineer of 42 years of age and much experience in work, Director of Transportation for a time and then Comptroller of the Navy, a civilian, a Major-General and a Vice-Admiral at one and the same time. The Rt. Hon. C. Addison was transferred from Munitions to the Reconstruction work; Rt. Hon. E. S. Montagu became Secretary of State for India in succession to Austen Chamberlain; Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill returned to office as Minister of Munitions. Mr. Chamberlain retired because of self-assumed and indirect censure in the Mesopotamian Report.

On Aug. 17 John Hodge, M.P., became Minister of Pensions, George H. Roberts, M.P., Minister of Labour, Auckland C. Geddes, Minister of National Service, and G. J. Wardle, M.P., Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade. Mr. Geddes was a brother of the First Lord of the Admiralty and a University Professor; the other three were Labour members of the Commons. When Arthur Henderson retired as Labour's representative in the War Cabinet (Aug. 11) he was replaced by George N. Barnes, M.P. Meanwhile Lord Northcliffe, as Special Commissioner to the United States, and as the outside protagonist of active and intensified war, wielded an influence as great as that of any Minister, while Lord Beaverbrook, the meteoric Canadian who, at 38, was made a peer of the realm, held a personal influence in public affairs which was less spectacular but very real in effect. H. H. Asquith as Opposition Leader was a mild critic of the Government just as he had been a conciliatory Premier. His war-aim was described at Ladybank on Feb. 1: "We have not, we never have had, the faintest desire for

the annihilation of the German people or of the German State. Destruction, widespread and terrible to contemplate, is an incident of all war, but our object in this war is not to destroy but to reconstruct on a deeper-laid and more enduring basis the wantonly-broken fabric of public right and national independence." For this solid safeguards were essential. Following the German unrestricted Submarine declaration he was explicit (in the Commons on Feb. 7) as to what was needed: "First, the closest co-ordination in the plans and operations of the Allies; and next, here at home, the completed and rounded organization and concentration of every resource, of money, of men and women, and everything within our reach or at our command. In that pursuit let there be no jarring voices, no party cross-currents, no personal or sectional estrangements."

He welcomed the United States on Apr. 6 as follows: "We have, in our heart of hearts, longed that the time might come when their strength would be joined with ours in a struggle so consonant to all that is best in our common instincts and traditions. That day has now dawned, and we believe that its sun shall not set until the two great English-speaking democracies can rejoice together over the triumph of freedom and right." At Leeds on Sept. 26 Mr. Asquith re-introduced the old-time radical doctrine of Peace without preparation for war: "It is immaterial by what methods, whether of preparation or precaution, or in what forms, naval, military, diplomatic or economic, the disturbing and disruptive forces of veiled warfare are allowed to operate. We must banish once for all from our catalogue of maxims the time-worn fallacy that if you wish for peace you must make ready for war." Dealing at London (in an interview on Nov. 10) with the Russian ideal of no annexations or indemnities, he was clear as to the vital need for restoring the lands and liberties of France, Belgium, Serbia, Poland and Roumania before peace could be concluded; at Birmingham (Dec. 11) he contended that the only "freedom of the seas" which could be restricted was that of Germany and its Submarine policy and asked what naval liberty Britain had ever curtailed or fettered.

An important Government development during these years was the appointment and operation of many Committees and Commissions (75 up to the close of 1916) for the purpose of inquiry, construction of policy, co-ordination of work, study of conditions, administration of industry and assistance to every branch of Executive government or Parliamentary action. In 1917 the most important bodies so created were the Committee on after-war Reconstruction with Mr. Lloyd George as Chairman and 20 Sub-Committees; a Board of Trade Committee re War Contracts, with Lord Buckmaster as Chairman, and an Advisory Committee to the Munitions Department with Sir Lionel Phillips as Chairman; a Committee to inquire into the Army Medical Service of which Sir Francis Howard was Chairman, and a War Cabinet Committee to investigate Wages and co-ordinate Labour issues, of which Mr. Barnes was Chairman. Other Committees were appointed to

deal with Fertilizers and with Farm Machinery, to advise the Board of Agriculture, to act as a Board of Fuel Research, to investigate Sugar Supplies and manage Fish Supplies, to assist the Board of Customs and Excise, to report upon Electric Power, to deal with Flour Control under the Ministry of Food, to control Oats imported from Overseas, to acquire and distribute Cured Fish, to report upon Poultry management and breeding, to investigate Labour Unrest and to deal with After-War Industries, to constitute a Cotton-Control Board and to deal with Commercial and Industrial Policy, to consider the production and distribution of Milk, to inquire into Wages of Munition Workers, to act as an Advisory Committee upon Iron and Steel Trades, to encourage Air Inventions, to advise the Minister of National Service on (1) Labour issues, and (2) Employment of Aliens. On Nov. 30 a Labour Committee was appointed with Sir Auckland Geddes, K.C.B., as Chairman to deal with wages, time-workers and co-ordination of issues. Most of these Committees or Commissions were unpaid, and the Chairmen were men of special standing or technical character.

An interesting British development of the year was the prominence given H.M. the King in the press and in public tributes by statesmen; by a recrudescence of republican theorists of the Wells type and adherents of violent Socialism. The King had set a great example during these war years in such things as liquor prohibition in his own household, the advocacy and practice of the strictest economy in all his establishments, the closest adherence to all Food regulations; he touched a popular chord on July 17 when a Special Privy Council was held to consider the adoption of a new family name for the Royal House and the announcement that the name of Windsor had been chosen. There was no longer to be a House of Guelph or of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, as it became with Prince Albert; it was to go the way of those of Hanover, Stuart, Tudor, Lancaster, York and Plantagenet; there was in future to be a British House and family of Windsor—to include all descendants of the late Queen Victoria in the male line. At the same time all living descendents were to discontinue and relinquish German titles or dignities. His Highness the Duke of Teck and his family were formally authorized to assume the surname of Cambridge and H.S.H. Prince Louis of Battenberg and his family of British citizenship that of Mountbatten; Princess Louis of Battenberg, at her own request, abandoned the rank and title of a Princess of Hesse and was to be known in future by the English title of Marchioness of Milford Haven. Other titles were as follows:

The Duke of Teck—Marquess of Cambridge.
Prince Alexander of Teck—Earl of Athlone.
Prince Louis of Battenberg—Marquess of Milford Haven.
Prince Alexander of Battenberg—Marquess of Carisbrooke.

The severance of the Monarchy from association with the German dynasty was a wise and popular step and helped to make H. G. Wells' letter to *The Times* (Apr. 27), urging the organization of Republican societies in British towns, fall as flat as did the long-

past republican utterances of Mr. Chamberlain in the days of his callow, political youth. There were echoes of the suggestion, just as there were disciples of the Bolsheviki to be found throughout Great Britain, but they did not reach the dignity of becoming a movement. On the 3rd anniversary of the War His Majesty sent to the United States, Portugal, France and Cuba and the Sovereigns of Italy, Japan, Serbia, Roumania, Belgium and Siam, a cablegram expressing "the unwavering determination of the British Empire to pursue the contest until our joint efforts are crowned with success and our common aims attained."

Meantime Labour had been doing its war-duty nobly as a whole; failing flagrantly as to its duty in specific forms and conditions. At Manchester on Jan. 23rd 26,700 delegates, representing 2,000,000 workers, met in the 16th annual Conference of the Labour Party—with their representative in the War Cabinet (Mr. Henderson) and five holders of other Government positions present. G. J. Wardle, M.P., presided and said in his opening speech: "For my part, hating war, suspicious of Courts and Chancelleries, and intensely desirous of peace, it did not take me very long to make up my mind, and I am as convinced to-day as I was at the outset, that there could only have been one greater tragedy than the War, and that would have been for Britain to have kept out of it." A bitter debate followed on the action of six members in joining and supporting the Government but they were endorsed by a card-vote of 1,840,000 to 307,000. Resolutions were also passed in favour of (1) an increased tax on unearned incomes rising to 15s. in the pound; (2) the high taxation of luxuries and direct taxation of land values; (3) the nationalization of the banking system and Universal Adult Suffrage; (4) increased pensions to sailors and soldiers.

A Resolution supported by P. Snowden, M.P., and other leaders of the Independent Labour Party—extreme Socialists and Pacifists —proposed approval of the "international solidarity of labour" and the calling of an International Socialist Congress; with speeches such as that of Bruce Glasier in referring to "our German comrades." It was rejected by 1,498,000 to 696,000 and the following motion accepted by 1,036,000 to 464,000: "This Conference declares that, seeing the invasion of Belgium and France by the German armies threatens the very existence of independent nationalities and strikes a blow at all faith in treaties, a victory for German Imperialism would be the defeat and destruction of democracy and liberty in Europe. It agrees that the fight should continue until victory is achieved, and that the Socialist and Trades Union organization of the Allied Powers should meet simultaneously with the Peace Congress."

All kinds of complicated issues developed during the year with much friction in different trades, with many strikes and still more threatened ones—a state, in fact, of continuous unrest. High prices and war-weariness had a natural influence in this, underground pro-German forces had an inevitable share, international Socialism and Pacificism still had deep roots in the soil, the tremendous influx



Lce.-Corp. Fred Fisher, v.c.,
13th Battalion, Westmount, Montreal.
Killed in action.



Sergt. Fred. Hobson, v.c.,
Canadian Infantry, Toronto.
Killed in action.



Pte. John George Pattison, v.c.,
Calgary, Alberta. Killed in action.



Pte. Wm. Johnstone Milne, v.c.,
16th Infantry Battalion, Moose Jaw.
Killed in action, Apr. 9, 1917.

Canadian Winners of the V.C.

of women into war-work and industry and labour organization had its place, continued and ignorant suspicion of employers was a factor as was the frequent selfishness of employers. Talk in all the strike movements was a great element; talk often took the place of work and, meantime, war-needs suffered and soldiers and sailors died. The strike of 50,000 aeroplane workers late in the year was an illustration. It was decided upon by a majority of seven votes out of 337; the cause was a trifling one not related to wages or principles. It did not last long but a period of precious time and production was wasted. On June 12 a Royal Commission on Labour Unrest was appointed and its Report of July 17 asserted that the leading cause of trouble was that "the cost of living had increased disproportionately to the advance in wages, and that the distribution of food supplies was unequal." Other reasons were the enforced operation of the Munitions and Military Service Acts, the want of housing accommodations, the Liquor restrictions, the payment of lower wages to skilled rather than unskilled labour, the dilution of labour, the surrender of trades union customs, industrial fatigue, inconsiderate treatment of women, etc. The recommendations made were unimportant.

The retirement of Arthur Henderson, M.P., as member of the War Cabinet, took place on Aug. 11 on the ground of alleged inability to act as Secretary of the Labour Party and hold Government office at the same time. The following statement was made in a letter from the Premier of that date: "Your colleagues were taken completely by surprise by the attitude which you adopted at the Labour Conference yesterday afternoon. You know that they were, in the present circumstances, unanimously opposed to the Stockholm Conference, and you had yourself been prepared to agree to an announcement to that effect. I was under the impression that you meant to use your influence against meeting enemy representatives at Stockholm. When you spoke to the (Labour) Conference you were not merely a member of the Labour Party but a member of the Cabinet, responsible for the conduct of the War. Nevertheless, you did not deem it necessary to inform the Conference of the views of your colleagues and the Delegates accordingly were justified in assuming that the advice you gave was not inconsistent with their opinions." So with cabled information, sent from the Cabinet to Mr. Henderson at the Conference, stating that the Russian Government disapproved of the Stockholm gathering.

He was succeeded by G. N. Barnes, M.P., and this Ministerial association of Labour with men of such supposedly antagonistic views as Lord Rhondda or Lord Devonport, was continued—for war purposes only. On Sept. 25 Mr. Wardle stated in an interview that: "Things are gradually settling down in the British industrial world, and I have no fear that there will be any great upheaval in labour circles. . . . Perhaps the most real cause of unrest is that there is too much centralization alike among employers and employees." All this unrest culminated in the organization in October of a new Labour Party composed of the Independent

Labourites, the British Socialist Party and the Fabian Society—mostly Pacifists, anti-war, pro-Socialistic persons, led by Ramsay Macdonald, Snowden, E. D. Morel and others of that type, with the following clause as a chief item in their programme: "Securing for workers by hand or brain the full fruits of their industry and the most equitable distribution thereof that may be possible on the basis of the common ownership of the means of production." A little later (Dec. 17) the main Labour Party issued a Memorandum on War-Aims which described the fundamental purpose of the British labour movement as making the world safe for democracy: "For this purpose, and in order to prevent war in the future, Labour relies on the establishment of a Super-National Authority, or League of Nations, an International High Court, an International Legislature, and compulsory arbitration between nations." It also asked for the democratization of all countries, the suppression of secret diplomacy, control of foreign policy by Legislatures, and concerted action for the limitation of armaments and universal abolition of compulsory military service. As to definite details the following war objects were stated:

Belgium. The restoration of complete independent sovereignty, reparation by Germany under an International Commission of the wrong done, and payment by Germany for all the damage that has resulted.

Alsace and Lorraine. The political blunder of 1871 is denounced, sympathy is expressed with the inhabitants, and it is asked, in accordance with the declarations of the French Socialists, that they shall be allowed, under the protection of the Super-National Authority or League of Nations, freely to decide what shall be their future political position.

The Balkans. A special Conference of Balkan representatives, or an International Commission, should deal with the problem on the basis of the freedom of the peoples to settle their own destinies.

Italy. The demand of people of Italian blood outside the Italian boundaries for re-union with Italy is supported, and it is recognized that arrangements may be necessary for securing the legitimate interests of Italy in the adjacent seas.

Poland, Luxembourg, etc. Each people to be allowed to settle its own destiny.

Turkish Empire. Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Arabia cannot be restored to the tyranny of the Sultan and his Pashas. If it is impracticable for the people to decide for themselves, the administration should be, by commission, under the Super-National Authority. Constantinople should be a free port and neutralized under the same administration.

African Colonies. All the present colonies of the European Powers in tropical Africa should be transferred to the Super-National Authority and administered as a single independent African State with its own trained staff.

The Stockholm Conference issue was a vital one for British labour and the War. This projected gathering of world-Socialists at Stockholm to talk terms of Peace was engineered from Berlin in order (1) to weaken the *Entente* by internal dissensions, (2) deceive neutrals and aid Pacifists in general by the pretended liberality of letting Germans take part in the proceedings, and (3) obtain all possible information through German delegates as to the position in Allied countries. On the surface it originated with a Dutch-Scandinavian Committee, headed by M. Branting, a Swedish leader who was supposed to be cordially disposed towards the Allies. The first invitation (early in 1917) for an International Socialist Conference was from this body and it was declined by French Socialists with

a narrow majority, by the Executive of the British Labour body, and by the Belgian and American organizations. Then the matter was taken up by the Russian Socialists under the influence of a Danish journalist named Borghjerg who represented Schiedemann, Ebert and Bauer—German Socialist leaders who had all supported the War up to this time.

The programme proposed by the Austrian and German delegates for consideration was announced on May 30 and included (1) no annexations and no indemnities; (2) the south Slavic lands and Austro-Hungarian crown lands to remain in the Dual Monarchy, but Socialists to support the efforts of their inhabitants to gain autonomy; (3) Finland and Russian Poland to be independent states and the people of Galicia to have autonomy under the sovereignty of Austria; (4) restoration of freedom of commerce on land and sea, modification of the protectionist system, the establishment of "international administration" for all maritime routes and inter-oceanic canals, internationally built and administered railways; (5) the prohibition of the capture or arming of merchantmen, abolishment of prize courts, reduction of the contraband list with exclusion of all raw materials for clothing or food, modification of the rights of blockade and "restriction of mechanical means which may be employed in maritime and air warfare"; (6) opposing the annexation of Belgium, favouring Serbia's independence and urging the arrangement of Balkan affairs without external interference.

The future of Alsace and Lorraine was not mentioned, nor the liberties of the Roumanians, Ruthenians or Bohemians, the Slavs of Austria or the Armenians and Greeks of Turkey. Representatives of the country which had smashed the Hague Tribunal and deified armed strength, now proposed a system which would destroy the naval and commercial strength of England and establish that of the Central Powers. Russian Socialists were easily influenced and some of them at once went to England, France and Italy to obtain support for a propaganda which was essentially German in its inception, character and results. On June 14 there was published a Manifesto from the German Majority Socialists—war supporters of the German Government—stating that it was no single nation's duty "to restore districts devastated during the War"; that while the independence of Belgium, Poland and Finland should be recognized so should that of Ireland, Egypt, Tripoli, Morocco, India, Tibet, and Korea; that "German Social Democracy demands for Alsace-Lorraine equal rights as an independent federal State within the German Empire."

Such was the proposed meeting over which the British Labour Conference of Aug. 11 fought for hours and for which Mr. Henderson lost his place in the War Cabinet. The Resolution ultimately before the gathering and which passed by 1,846,000 to 550,000 was as follows: "That the invitation to the International Conference at Stockholm be accepted on condition that the Conference be consultative and not mandatory." It passed because Mr. Henderson, a member of the inner Government circle, approved it and did not tell the Conference that the Cabinet was unanimously opposed

to such action and that the Russian delegates would not officially represent the Russian Government. His expressed views were (1) that British and Allied countries should explain their views to delegates quite ignorant of the real intentions of those countries; (2) that it was dangerous for Russians in current conditions of instability to meet the enemy delegates alone; (3) that the Conference could not be a binding one, nor could British labour align itself entirely with Russian Socialism; (4) that the Conference was inevitable and the Allied case so strong it should be presented; (5) that "it is not only wise, but imperative, that a country—that every country—should use its political weapons to supplement all its military organization, if by so doing they can defeat the enemy." The delegates were to number 24 and the Independent Labour Party and Socialists proposed to be separately represented.

G. H. Roberts, M.P., and G. N. Barnes, M.P., Minister of Pensions, both opposed representation—the latter declaring that "this war will end in such a manner as will be determined by the relative strength of the parties at the end of it." Ramsay Macdonald declared that "our German friends—our German Socialists —have got to work with us whether we like it or not. I ask you to let the past bury the past and to go to Stockholm." Another Labour Conference (Aug. 21) after prolonged discussion of the Henderson retirement confirmed this policy of representation by a vote of 1,234,000 to 1,231,000—a majority of only 3,000. At Blackpool on Sept. 2 the British Labour Congress reversed its former decision by accepting the Report of its Parliamentary Committee (2,894,000 to 91,000) which declared against an International Conference at Stockholm "at the present moment," but affirmed that "an International Labour Conference, subject to specified conditions, is a necessary preliminary to the conclusion of a lasting and democratic peace." It was definitely announced, also, that the Seamen's Union would refuse absolutely to work on any ships carrying delegates to a Stockholm Conference. The result was abandonment of the meeting for this year and the issue of a Manifesto by the Stockholm Committee proclaiming certain new conditions for Peace: "(1) The complete political and economic re-establishment of Belgium, with cultural autonomy for Flanders and the restoration of all contributions and requisitions raised contrary to international law; (2) solution of the Alsace-Lorraine question to be arrived at by a plebiscite; (3) the solution of the problem of Bohemia by means of reunion of the Czechs, in a single federative state, with Austria; (4) the political independence of Ireland within the Dominions of Great Britain and the independence of Turkish Armenia." Suppression of economic warfare also was proposed.

The financial position of Great Britain throughout the War was one of its most remarkable features. Whatever else these years had taught they disproved absolutely the fallacious opinions of M. Bloch, Norman Angell and others that war was impossible because of its cost. As *The Times*' financial writer put it on Aug. 4, 1917: "The financial power of the country, both absolutely and

relatively, has never been more triumphantly demonstrated than in its position at the end of three years of war. Alone among the belligerents it is paying for a large proportion of the cost of the War out of an enormously increased tax revenue. Huge as is the absolute increase of our National Debt, its service in interest is amply covered by the increase in revenue, while, in proportion to the national wealth, its total amount is still very far short of what the National Debt was in 1817, at the end of the Napoleonic wars, proportionately to the (then) national wealth."

About 25% of the yearly war expense was met by taxation—the total war loans up to March 31, 1917, being $16,145,000,000, with $5,475,000,000 during that period raised by taxes. Up to Mar. 31 £970,000,000, or $4,950,000,000, of this had been lent to British Dominions and Allies—$710,000,000 to the former. The big financial event of the year was the Victory Loan. There were two issues made in February without specified amount—(1) 5%, repayable 1947, or at option 1929, issued at 95, and (2) 4%, repayable 1942, or at option 1929, tax-free and issued at par. The Loan realized in its 5% issue £2,069,845,000 and in the 4% issue £51,384,000, or a total of $10,606,000,000, of which $5,000,000,000 were new subscriptions and the balance conversions. The total War Votes of Parliament, it may be added, up to the end of 1917 were as follows:

Dates	Amount	Per Day
1914-15	£ 362,000,000	£1,500,000 or $ 7,500,000
1915-16	1,420,000,000	3,836,000 " 19,180,000
1916-17	2,010,000,000	5,507,000 " 27,535,000
1917-18	2,450,000,000	6,000,000 " 30,000,000

In the 8 months of April-November, 1917, the Budget estimates of revenue were exceeded by £309,000,000 and of this £79,000,000 went as loans to Allies, 27 millions to Dominions and 90 millions for the purchase of food, raw materials and ships. Mr. Bonar Law's Budget for Mar. 31, 1917, was presented on May 2 and the chief changes were increases in the Excess Profits Tax, which was raised to 80% from 60% and the placing of excess profits from munition works on the same basis; an increase of tobacco duty by 1s. 10d. in the pound, and increased Amusement taxes. The Expenditures were £2,198,113,000 and the Revenue £573,428,000; those for 1917–18 were estimated respectively at £2,290,381,000 and £638,600,000. Where expenditures ran into the 10,000 millions of dollars it was difficult to grasp them but the Chancellor was able to tell the Commons that the situation was satisfactory, that want of money would not prevent a victorious issue for Britain, and that, financially, she could hold out longer than the enemy. The items of taxation for 1916–17 showed $350,000,000 from Customs, $280,000,000 from Excise, $155,000,000 from Estate Duties, $1,025,000,000 from Incomes, and $700,000,000 from Excess Profits. On July 24 the Chancellor stated that war loans to Allies and Dominions then totalled £1,171,000,000 or $5,800,000,000. It may be added that the British National Debt in 1775 was $644,000,000, in 1783 $1,250,000,000, in 1802 $2,600,000,000 and in 1816 $4,425,000,000—while the following table indicates conditions a century later:

Year of March 31	Revenue	Per Capita	Debt March 31	Per Capita
1913	$ 919,000,000	$19.98	$ 3,581,000,000	$ 77.85
1914	991,000,000	21.54	3,538,000,000	76.91
1915	1,135,000,000	24.67	5,563,000,000	120.94
1916	1,684,000,000	36.61	11,385,000,000	247.50
1917	2,876,000,000	62.33	19,508,000,000	424.09

As to the raising of more men for her vast armies Great Britain during 1917, was upon a Conscription basis but one restricted by the enormous and pressing needs of Agriculture, Munitions and Shipbuilding. Frederick Palmer, the War correspondent, estimated on Jan. 19 that Britain had 3,000,000 men in France but this must have included Labour contingents and all other services and reserves, as well as Infantry. *The Times'* Military correspondent (Jan. 15) considered another 60 Divisions or 1,000,000 men necessary during the year; in Parliament on Mar. 29 Mr. Bonar Law presented a Military Service Bill, which passed in due course, and gave the authorities power to order re-examination of men previously rejected for military service, and also of men who already had served and been discharged in consequence of wounds or illness. He stated that recruits had actually fallen short of the number expected by 100,000. The Chancellor estimated that this new enactment would reach 1,000,000 men, and that at least 100,000 men would be made available.

On Apr. 4 General Robertson, Chief of Staff, stated to a Labour Conference that: "Numerically Germany now is stronger than at any time during the War. She has recently made extraordinary efforts, has many more divisions in the field than last year, and has increased the number of her soldiers by about a million. We must meet this desperate effort and to meet it we must have men. . . . Our immediate needs are 500,000 men between now and July next." On June 17 it was announced that the need for men was so pronounced that the Government had to put an end to the arrangements made nearly two years before between it and the Labour unions under which members of unions, whose trade was accounted essential to maintaining national interests, were to be exempted from military service in preference to men who were not union men. The man who lacked the union card, though he might be engaged in the same occupation and just as skilled and useful a worker, had to make a convincing demonstration of his case before he could be exempted.

Sir Wm. Robertson told the London *Chronicle* on Aug. 6 that in this War it was a matter of nations, not armies—the psychology of peoples: "The armies in the field are only a part of this tremendous conflict. Behind them is the nerve of each separate nation they represent. It is a sifting of nations. It is a trial of character. It is a test of racial quality. The workmen and workwomen of each nation are engaged in the conflict. The forces in the field are only the hands of a vast body in which every muscle is being strained and tried." Hence the importance of the British armies being backed by the whole people and their Government—united and earnest. In reviewing the three years of war (*Times*, Aug. 5) Col. Repington declared that this was not

being done, that the armies were too small, and that the higher direction of the War had failed—the same view that Mr. Lloyd George frequently expressed though from a different standpoint. The newspaper critic was denouncing the Government; the Premier was criticizing, and wisely so, the lack of unified strategy amongst the Allies. Speaking at Manchester on Nov. 7 Mr. Bonar Law stated that Britain's Overseas force was 3,000,000—"a mightier never existed." By the end of the year, according to Sir Auckland Geddes, Minister of National Service,* Britain had 4,000,000 men enrolled in the army and 400,000 of a naval *personnel.*

The industrial development of Britain continued in marvellous fashion during 1917—hampered only by Labour troubles and shortages. The Woolwich Arsenal by this time had become another Krupp's with five square miles of area where more than 75,000 men were employed; with great guns and small guns, deadly lyddite and every kind of shell under construction; with myriad operations in steel and in every form of skilful war industry. The Munitions Department, under Dr. Christopher Addison, had increased even the product of Mr. Lloyd George's tenure of office and showed an amazing productiveness, economy and skill. On June 28 the Minister told Parliament that in high explosives the capacity for production was in March, 1917, 28 times that of March, 1915, that in machine guns (weekly) it was 20 times greater, that in small arms and their ammunition the output had become so abundant as to make assistance from outside unnecessary. In Tanks the supply of new designs was coming along excellently, in aeroplanes the production for May was twice that of December, the output of steel had increased from seven to ten million tons per annum since the War, in Overseas supplies there were 1,500,000 tons of shipment monthly with a loss of finished munitions coming across the Atlantic (from Submarines) of only 5·9%. As to Labour he gave these facts:

> At the beginning of this year we found that the aircraft supply programme would require at least 10,000 additional workers, many of them skilled, and what applied to aircraft applied to shipbuilding, gun manufacture, tanks, agricultural implements, and many more supplies. From 60 per cent. to 80 per cent. of the machine work on shells, fuses, and trench warfare supplies was now performed by women. More than 60 technical schools and colleges in Great Britain were used in this work. They had trained more than 32,000 workers in these places. There were, also, five special industrial factories engaged in training. There were 30,000 skilled workpeople employed away from their homes as War Munitions volunteers. There were also over 40,000 soldiers who had been released from the colours who had similarly placed themselves at the disposal of the Ministry, and, in addition, more than 30,000 Army Reserve munitions workers had been placed on work of construction in the steel trade and elsewhere.

The Minister stated that a total saving of £43,000,000 had been effected in cost over similar production in the previous year; that plants were now available for supplying the country with all it required in potash, scientific instruments, optical glass, machine tools, sulphuric acid, super-phosphates and tungsten—most of them imported before the War; that a scheme was under development

*Note.—Speech in Commons, Jan 13, 1918.

for the production of nitrates and home supplies of oil; that there had been discovered and utilized "a component of a new type of gun ammunition possessing great advantages for certain purposes over any previously produced"; that an efficient Salvage Department had been established at the Front "for the salvage, re-shipping to this country, reforming and re-issue of a large number of parts of munitions." During this period contracts for War Supplies came under control of a Special War Office Department, which dealt with tenders, costs, requisition of output, control of raw material, and up to July, 1917, had handled purchases of $3,500,000,000, of which $1,000,000,000 were for the Allies. The annual value of purchases at this time was $1,750,000,000. The following table of War Office contracts from Aug. 4, 1914, to Jan. 1, 1917, was published in the London *Times* of Feb. 27:

Boots	34,524,000	prs.	Gloves, woollen	8,382,000	prs.
Drawers (all kinds)	29,270,000	"	Socks, worsted	63,565,000	"
Barathea	2,360,000	yds.	Vests, woollen	9,401,000	No.
Bedford cord	2,305,000	"	Blankets	21,175,000	"
Whipcord, drab	6,064,000	"	Cloth for Jackets	42,330,000	yds.
Flannel for Shirts	105,102,000	"	Cloth for Trousers	23,687,000	"
Duck, tent (cotton)	38,060,000	"	Cloth for Great Coats	21,558,000	"
Cotton, grey	11,041,000	"	Hospital and Miscell'n's.	7,244,000	"
Jean, cotton	46,853,000	"	Drill, khaki	61,386,000	"
Cap Comforters	13,326,000	No.	Flannelette, cotton	23,344,000	"

Since the War began 400,000,000 lbs. of bacon and 167,000,000 lbs. of cheese, 260,000,000 tins of jam, 500,000,000 rations of preserved meat and 40,000,000 horseshoes had been purchased. The leather industry had been re-organized with an enormous current production and officially-watched economies in making and in price. As to preserved meats the War Office stated (July, 1917) that they were obtained from packers in South America, the United States, Canada, and Australia. Until November, 1916, contracts were made on competitive tenders, or by negotiations with contractors and preference in placing contracts had been given as much as possible to Canadian and Australian products. In the Commons on Mar. 1 the Financial Secretary stated that 1,500,000 pairs of Army boots were being made monthly, that 25,000,000 gas helmets, 250,000,000 sandbags, 105,000,000 yds. of khaki cloth and 115,000,000 yds. of flannel had been manufactured to date, and he illustrated the wide nature of war-work by stating that 62,000 cooks had been trained during the past year and 3,000 acres of vegetable gardens organized in Mesopotamia. Not less remarkable was the efficiency of the Railways which in the first year of war carried 2,686,000 soldiers from one point to another and 542,000 horses, while shipping to France 900,000 tons of food, forage and fuel, 17 million gallons of petrol and 5 millions of oil, with 491,000 mail bags; in later years the totals were increased at least two-thirds.

As the year 1917 passed the expansion of the Munitions Department absorbed much of the war industry of the nation and employed 2,000,000 people; it looked after the manufacture and supply of aeroplanes and R.F.C. material and controlled the great national arsenals, explosive and shell factories with over 20,000 work-shops; it assumed control of petrol engine production and the duty of supplying tractors and agricultural engines for the Board of Agriculture

—at the rate of 1,000 a month; it latterly arranged to supply fertilizers for farmers and food-stuffs for cattle; it discovered a formula to replace German lenses and other high-power glasses. A Materials Economy Committee watched over designs and the best use of materials; rationing was adopted for a number of metals, so as to make stocks go farther; an organization for collecting scrap metal was set up. As to trade it continued to expand from $6,110,000,000 in 1914 to $6,675,000,000 in 1915 and from $7,765,000,000 in 1916 to $7,343,000,000 in 11 months of 1917. British exports actually grew from 2,150 million dollars in 1914 to 2,530 millions in 1916.

The economic changes in Britain at this time were enormous. Despite huge taxation, profits were still great; high prices were accompanied by high wages, bigger incomes, better salaries; determination to "carry on" and prosecute the War to an end did not prevent extravagance in private life and public methods; the unprecedented cost of the War and expenses of $30,000,000 a day did not create any appearance of financial distress or general poverty; despite the work of the War Savings Committee and urgent appeals from every source of authority, the need for economy was not understood by the great mass of a people earning unaccustomed wages or, in the middle class, finding sudden affluence in place of moderate incomes. In this respect Britain was behind Germany where the blockade had long since compelled economy and thrift; in another vital respect it was away ahead of Germany—the payment of a substantial proportion of war costs out of yearly revenue. In other directions the State control of national supplies and distribution had almost eliminated the middleman; producers and consumers were brought together in a most remarkable way; the merchant class were actually fighting for life with independent trade eliminated for them in more than 20 leading products. So pronounced was this condition as to constitute an economic revolution if made permanent after the War; meantime, it weakened one of the most important classes in the community. They had been, indirectly, the home market for the manufacturer; they complained in these years, with a degree of truth, that Food Service Control officials were inefficient, untrained and ignorant in a business way and that they helped high prices and food scarcity rather than the reverse; they claimed also that the merchants of the City of London and other centres were trained in their business through many generations and should have been more considered. Food officials, however, had no easy task and in dealing with a people so accustomed to individual liberty as the British no policy—born in heaven or on earth—could have been popular. From the downfall of the Asquith Government had come a Food Controller in the person of Lord Devonport, once a dock labourer and grocer's clerk, now a millionaire in the business represented in Canada by Sir Joseph Flavelle. He warned the nation, the Submarine alarmed the people, and he put them, early in 1917, on voluntary rations; prices at once rose, the food profiteer and hoarder came to the front, a Director of Food Economy —Kennedy Jones—tried to evolve order out of a chaotic public

opinion. He covered the country with advertisements and Food conservation became a great issue. Then came Lord Rhondda as Controller—a coal king, Director in countless corporations, a shrewd and determined man. Consumption grew less, production grew greater, "back to the land" became a fashionable call, tennis-courts were turned into potato patches and life in Britain became subject, also, to Controllers of Drink, Coal, Shipping, Railways and Tobacco. Thrift was in 1917 a great fact, though by no means universal; national savings increased by about $1,000,000,000 over what they were before the War.

Details in this development included Lord Devonport's fixing of definite maximum prices for tea, coffee, butter, cheese and lard in March—after the Premier's announcement of restricted imports; the claim that voluntary rationing up to this time had saved 10% of the country's meat consumption; the fixing in April of maximum prices for wheat, barley and oats and the enforcement of meatless and potatoless days and restaurant rations for meat, bread and sugar; the passage in May of the Corn Production Bill, under which the British farmer was guaranteed a minimum price of 60s. per quarter of eight bushels for wheat grown this year, 55s. for the harvests of 1918 and 1919, and 45s. for the following three years, with provision of minimum wages for agricultural labourers and regulation of rents; the immense powers given to Lord Rhondda on his appointment (June 15) included the right to take over the food supplies of the country and to adopt strong measures to check all speculation in the necessaries of life; the statement of the new Controller that his sympathies were with the consumer and that his first efforts would be to reduce the price of bread.

On July 26 he stated that he would press for the imprisonment of food profiteers and would fix prices of articles of prime necessity on a basis of pre-war profits; all flour mills were taken over by the Government and the flour sold at a uniform rate to bakers with a maximum retail price for bread; on Sept. 3 an Order regulating meat prices came into force with a general fall of 2 pence a pound; during these latter months of the year attempts to sell at prices higher than those authorized were severely punished; toward the close of the year Sir Arthur Yapp, the new Director of Food Economy, had added all cereals other than bread and butter, margarine, lard, oils and fats to the voluntary rations; in December sugar was issued under the card system, potatoes were authorized to be used in the making of bread, the killing of calves and heifers and sale of veal or lamb forbidden, the sale of ice cream and water-ices prohibited.

Akin to war-economy in money and food was the work of women. They proved in these years as efficient and patriotic as men, they were in everything and did everything that physical powers would permit and sometimes more; in the first months of the War 200,000 were engaged at munitions, in May, 1917, there were over 1,000,000; in the Hospital world, through the organization of the British Red Cross Society, and the Order of St. John, the nucleus of trained women was early supplemented by a steady stream of part-trained

or untrained girls and over $30,000,000 raised by voluntary contribution; the organization of Hospital supplies was entirely managed by women—thousands of whom gave a certain number of hours weekly; they were, during 1917 in particular, called to help in all kinds of farm work and grappled successfully with the engineering trades; they helped in tramways and motor-buses, in Government offices and hotels, in theatres and banks, in stores, offices and industries; to a total of 1,071,000 they replaced men and were added to the 3,272,000 women workers employed in July, 1914. The net result of all these combined economic influences was the saving of England in the Submarine issue up to the end of 1917; not, however, the provision of all that she really needed or enough for her Allies abroad. Incidents of the year included expressions of indignation in various quarters as to the continued existence, influence and partial operation of German banks in London, the holding of a protest meeting late in March, and demands made by Resolution that the Government should (1) annul all licenses to alien enemy banks and withdraw all instructions for the continuation of business; (2) close these banks forthwith, leaving the Official Liquidator to deal with any outstanding balances; (3) appoint forthwith a Commission of business men with full powers to examine, analyze and report upon the affairs of the banks for the three years immediately preceding the War. Then came the plot to kill the Premier by means of poisoned darts and the conviction on Mar. 10 of two women and a man with severe sentences of penal servitude; the purchase in January of the *Pall Mall Gazette* by Sir Henry Dalziel, proprietor of *Reynold's Newspaper* and leader of the "Ginger group" of politicians; the organization of a new National Party in England with the purpose of promoting war victory, social reform, industrial union, national defence and Empire unity, with Lord Ampthill, Brig.-Gen. Page Croft, M.P., Lord Duncannon, Lord Montagu of Beaulieu, amongst the leaders; a vigorous appeal by Viscount Grey for Proportional Representation and a general growth in the movement; proposals of sweeping reform in Educational policy by Mr. Hayes Fisher, President of the Board of Education, and inclusion of some of them in legislation.

The principle of Women Suffrage was adopted in the Commons on June 19 by 387 to 57 votes, and a notable Franchise Bill which included this reform and also the Proportional principle—the latter being struck out, however, in Committee—one-day Elections, and other important changes, passed through Parliament but did not become law until 1918; this Act increased the electorate from 8,000,000 to almost 16,500,000 and of these latter 6,000,000 were women; the political recrudescence of Lord Haldane was attempted and the Manchester *Guardian* published his Peace negotiations with Germany prior to the War; Sir Arthur Lee gave to the nation his splendid historic seat of Chequers as an official residence for the Prime Minister; a tremendous tightening in Britain's blockade of Germany was involved in the proclamation of Oct. 2 prohibiting the exportation to Sweden, Norway, Denmark and the Netherlands of all articles except printed matter and personal effects accompanied

by their owners; War Savings Committees were created everywhere and by May, 1917, there were over 35,000 working Associations devoted to this object with over 3,000,000 members—all organized under a National Committee; the fact was important that Great Britain in 1917 not only lent her Allies a total of $5,000,000,000 but placed at their disposal a merchant shipping of 2,000,000 tons and provided large coal and steel supplies for France, Russia and Italy.

The British Army and Navy in the War: Submarines and Aeroplanes.

The British Army was a great one in 1917; it had need to be in its friendly rivalry with that of France, in its bitter conflict with that of Germany. It numbered, according to Lord Northcliffe, 2,200,000 on the Western front at midsummer; it totalled a little later, according to the Prime Minister (Commons, Oct. 29) 3,000,000 on all fronts; it had casualties of 500,000 in 1916 and not less than that in 1917; it was represented at Salonika by, probably, 200,000 men, in Mesopotamia by 300,000, and in Palestine by 200,000 more; it took, in the War up to July, 1917 (according to General Maurice) 739 German field-guns and lost 96; a Parliamentary statement of Dec. 5 showed prisoners of war in British hands totalling 127,102 Germans, 2092 Austrians and Bulgarians and 43,105 Turks; British prisoners in German hands totalled 44,475 at the close of the year; on March 7 an official statement showed 518,741 persons on the British Pension list.

British Forces held about 125 miles of the 450 miles on the Western front and included in March, 1917, five armies which may be described as follows: 1st Army in the Sector around Ypres commanded by Gen. Sir Herbert Plumer; 2nd Army, facing La Bassée commanded by Gen. Sir Henry Horne; 3rd Army, in the Sector around Arras commanded by Gen. Sir E. H. H. Allenby; 4th Army, north-east of Albert and along the Ancre under Gen. Sir Hubert Gough; 5th Army, before Péronne and across the Somme commanded by Gen. Sir Henry Rawlinson. Later on Gen. Sir Julian Byng took charge of the 3rd Army and Gen. Allenby succeeded Sir A. Murray in Egypt and Palestine, while Sir H. Plumer went to Italy and Lieut.-Gen. Sir W. R. Marshall replaced the late Gen. Maude in Mesopotamia. The Chief of the General Staff was Lieut.-Gen. Sir L. E. Kiggell and the Adjutant-General Lieut.-Gen. Sir G. H. Fowke. The policy of F.-M. Sir Douglas Haig as Commander-in-Chief was, in this year, a succession of offensives, which may be listed as follows:

Apr. 9—Attack and capture at Vimy Ridge on a 12-mile front.

June 7—Attack and capture of Wytschaete Ridge on a 10-mile front, and capture, also, of Messines, Zonnebeke and Pilken Ridges.

July 31—Attack on both sides of Ypres on an 18-mile front.

Aug. 16—Renewed attack north-east of Ypres on an 8-mile front and at Hill 70 on a 3-mile front.

Sept. 20—Attack on 8-mile front east of Ypres—Frezenberg and Veldhoek also being captured.

Sept. 26—Advance resumed and Zonnebeke and Polygon Wood captured.

Oct. 4—Advance along the 8-mile front between Langemarck and Hollebeke.

Nov. 21—Advance on front of 32 miles to within three miles of Cambrai, with the capture of many villages and the breaking of the German 1st and 2nd lines—followed by a surprise defeat and the holding of only a part of the gains.

The vital point or result of the battles in the earlier offensives of 1917, variously called by the names of positions on the long line of conflict such as Arras, the Ancre, Vimy Ridge and Messines, was to deprive the Germans of the advantages of ground gained as the result of their initial aggression in 1914; to precipitate, in co-operation with the French, and compel, a German retreat in the Valleys of the Oise and Aisne and in the Somme region during which Roye, Bapaume and Péronne were re-occupied with 300 other towns and villages and 850 square miles of territory; to dominate from higher ground, though not yet to conquer, such centres as Laon, Lens and St. Quentin. From the ridges conquered in these battles or acquired later in the year, British troops were in most cases able to look down upon the fields of Flanders or valleys of Northern France; the central fact of the struggles was the overwhelming and awful force of the British artillery; the conflicts around Ypres in July-October gave the British possession of many famous battle-points of recent years —St. Julien, Langemarck, Hill 60, Hooge, Westhoek, Hollebeke, Sanctuary Wood, Inverness Copse, Glencorse Wood, Polygon Wood, etc.; Tanks and aeroplanes were effective elements in success and, in Sir Julian Byng's victory and defeat at Cambrai the former played an important part in success which was afterwards more than neutralized by the German capture of 100 or more. Had Gen. Byng been supported with sufficient reserves, and if the accident or surprise or whatever it was, had not happened, his initial success would have appeared a stroke of genius and the results might have included the forced evacuation of much of Northern France.

British victories on the Western front, however, were inconclusive. The advances attained certain valuable points but did not go as far as was hoped—the pivotal mining region still remained in German hands. Elsewhere it was different. In Mesopotamia, which Prince Von Bülow once described as a land of "boundless prospects" and which the Bagdad Railway and the War were intended to make a German possession, the army movement of 1917 was carefully conducted with Basra as its sea-base; river transport up the Tigris was made efficient, food and other supplies were poured into the country; port and harbour facilities were created, roads built, gardens planted and improvements effected; motor cars and artillery and more men were brought in. Finally, General Sir Stanley Maude carried the British forces from victory to victory. Beginning in February he captured Kut-el-Amara and redeemed the previous British defeat, crossed the Tigris, marched on and drove the Turks steadily before him and captured Bagdad. To the mind of the East this was a great conquest. Bagdad was one of the most famous of Oriental cities, the centre of the largest and richest province of the Turkish empire with a population of 150,000, the base of Turkish supplies and operations in Mesopotamia and Western Persia, the historic seat of Oriental empires for a thousand

years from the days of Babylon, Judaism and the Tartars to those of the Turks. In entering the city on Mar. 11 General Maude issued a stately Proclamation offering liberty and racial unity which was carried on many wings throughout the East.

From Bagdad the Turks were pursued for many miles through a country destitute of food and supplies, toward the Euphrates and, at Ramadie on Sept. 29, the British defeated a Turkish army and captured 3,500 prisoners. The British campaign in Palestine was originally directed from Egypt with a view to co-operating with the Russian advance toward the Bagdad Railway and the British armies in Mesopotamia. The 1916 movement was hampered from various causes; in 1917, under Gen. Sir E. H. H. Allenby, the success was rapid and the strategy brilliant. Beginning in November Gaza and Beersheba were captured and a Turkish army of 20,000 was defeated; Samaria, Askalon, Jaffa, Hebron and other famous places of early Christian life and Jewish history were taken in succession; then came the fall of Jerusalem, and General Allenby's forces, aided by Australian, French and Italian contingents, entered on Dec. 9 the home and original seat of Christianity—the Holy City which for so many centuries had rested under the dominance of Moslem conquerors.

In General Allenby's Proclamation to the people he was conciliatory to a degree and concluded it with a characteristic British touch: "Furthermore, since your city is regarded with affection by the adherents of the three great religions of mankind I make it known to you that every sacred building, monument, holy spot, shrine, traditional site, endowment, pious bequest or customary place of prayer of whatsoever form will be maintained and protected according to the existing customs and beliefs of those to whose faith they are sacred." From the beginning of this campaign to the close of the year the British captured 99 big guns and howitzers and a large stock of ammunition with lesser guns and supplies. On Christmas Eve Sir Edmund Allenby sent a message from the birthplace of Christianity to General Pershing, Commander of the United States troops in France, which will be historic in its terms: "The British troops in Bethlehem send to their American comrades a message of greeting and of hope that through the achievement of their common purpose the law of force may yield to the force of law, and peace and good-will reign at length on earth."

Meanwhile, in Persia, a British force of Persians and 1,000 troops from India under Sir Percy Sykes marched over 1,000 miles from Bunder Albas to Ispahan and Teheran, through a country of primitive communities and bandit conditions, with German agents everywhere; succeeded in establishing order amongst the tribes in a considerable portion of the country; organized the Southern Persia forces of the Shah in a sort of gendarmerie under British officers; and during 1917 held a part of the country safe from Turkish occupation and later through all the shifting sands of Russian success and collapse. Taken as a whole these military operations in Palestine, Mesopotamia and Persia saved Egypt and prevented a German-Turkish thrust at India. It was a melancholy fact that General

Maude died suddenly, in his hour of triumph, on Nov. 18. In Italy British troops helped to hold the Piave line against the Austro-German onslaught, while British artillery contingents had been brought from the Italian *débâcle* in the mountains without the loss of a gun.

The individual valour of British soldiers in these campaigns was almost inconceivable in volume and degree; the record of the winners of the Victoria Cross and D.S.O. and M.C. and other honours was replete with a heroism unequalled in history. The losses of the British aristocracy in the field continued large and a few of those who illustrated the fact of all classes sharing in the struggle were Major the Earl of Suffolk and Berkshire; Lieut. the Hon. F. Thesiger, heir to Lord Chelmsford, Viceroy of India; Lord Edward Seymour, brother to the Marquess of Hertford; the Rev. and Hon. M. B. Peel, M.C., son of the 1st Viscount Peel; Lieut.-Col. Lord R. Manners, son of the late Duke of Rutland; Lieut. the Hon. D. B. S. Buxton, son and heir of Viscount Buxton, Governor-General of South Africa; were a few of those killed in action during the year. Up to March, 1917, 60 Peers, 120 sons of Peers and 62 heirs to peerages had been killed in action. Lieut.-Com. A. M. Asquith, the ex-Premier's son, was seriously wounded, Lieut. C. J. Law, son of Mr. Bonar Law, Chancellor of the Exchequer, was killed in Palestine, Brig.-Gen. Walter Long, D.S.O., C.M.G., son of the Colonial Secretary, fell in action in France. Out of 662 members of the House of Lords 239 were in the Army or Navy and 213 members of the Commons out of 670.

Incidents of the year included the ever-increasing efficiency of transport and railways behind the Western lines; the immense supplies of automobiles, motors, motor-lorries, artillery, gun-carriages, war-trucks, ammunition waggons, traction engines, wireless facilities, motor-cycles, great and small guns, field pieces of every kind, which crossed to France in a steady stream and were planted behind the troops and its miles of shot and shell; the marvellous spectacle of the War machine behind the fighting lines—the veterinary camps, motor garages, mule corrals, supply and repair camps, hospitals, prisoners' cages; the fact stated at Washington by Col. T. H. Goodwin of the British Medical Corps (July 13) that up to date 195 British medical officers had been killed and 707 wounded; the collateral fact that in no other war had such marvellous sanitary and medical efficiency been shown and the statement of a Canadian—Col. G. G. Nasmith, C.M.G., in Winnipeg on May 29—that "the army of Great Britain is more free from communicable disease than the civilian or military population of any other country in the world"; the conspicuous success of British armoured cars against the Senoussi in Egypt and at the Battle of Gaza in Palestine, the extraordinary construction of roads by the Engineer Corps after the devastation and ruin of the German retreats in France or after specific bombardments; the Japanese estimate of September that there were 300,000 automobiles being used in the War of which Britain had 30,000, France 80,000, Russia 40,000 and the Teutonic Allies 130,000.

It was a year of triumph for the Tanks—but not as effective as it would have been had the treachery of spies been avoided and the surprise of Cambrai averted. The inventor was Col. E. D. Swinton, C.B., D.S.O., the sponsor was the Admiralty under Winston Churchill, the medium of improvement was the Committee of Imperial Defence, the War Office was the final source of adoption and the Munitions Department was responsible for the manufacture. The first one completed was in February, 1916, and in August 50 of them had gone to France. In British Army Orders of July 28, 1917, Tank Corps were created with technical and working *personnel.* The new "land-ships" were of service in the Battle of the Somme when, according to Frederick Palmer, they saved the lives of 20,000 British soldiers; they were of great service at Vimy, Messines and other battles of 1917—both British and French; they struggled through Turkish hordes at Gaza and helped in overcoming Turk defences all the way through Palestine to Jerusalem and beyond.

The Navy continued its silent work during 1917; it fought no great battles and had no great enemy fleets to defeat; yet it kept the seas of the world clear of German commerce and ships and fought a never-ending day and night struggle with the Submarine and its floating mines. Its patrols were on guard in the North Sea through rough and fine weather alike, and if their ceaseless combing of the waters and watching of the enemy off Heligoland or Zeebrugge allowed a stray battle-ship to get through to the British coast a few times in a year, it was no more than the inevitable exception which proved the rule of devoted service and efficient, strenuous work. The Navy held this centre of sea-power in the North Sea and maintained the continuous blockade upon German coasts and shipping and trade; it safeguarded the supply routes of 9 military fronts, in three continents, for the Allies—the Western, the Eastern, the Italian and the Balkans in Europe, the Caucasian, Mesopotamian and Palestinian in Asia, the Egyptian and East African in Africa; its river gunboats and monitors aided the Italians at Pola and other Austrian points, helped the Allied armies on the East coast of Africa, supported the British army on the Tigris and the Persian Gulf; the East Indian squadron protected the Suez Canal and Red Sea and helped the Army in Egypt; electrically-controlled motor-boats did great service on the Belgian coast and an average of 80 ships weekly were intercepted and examined by British patrols; while about 4,000 ships, pertaining to the Royal Navy, coaled, provisioned and kept at sea year in and year out.

It had a strength toward the close of the year* of 430,000 officers and men, a tonnage of 6,000,000, a total of 3,300 vessels engaged as mine-sweepers and patrols and 570 ships of 1,750,000 tons continuously carrying troops and stores to all the theatres of war; during the War, up to the autumn of 1917, it had convoyed 13,000,000 men across the seas, 2,000,000 horses, 25,000,000 tons of explosives and supplies, 51,000,000 tons of coal and oil fuel, 130,000,000 tons of food and other materials, while 30,000 tons of stores and 7,000

*NOTE.—Speeches by Mr. Lloyd George and Lord Curzon.

men were carried daily to France. Back of the War-fleet was the splendid Mercantile Marine of Britain—from the great cargo liners to the cattle-boats and tramp schooners—that in thousands, week by week, carried supplies from every port in the world, faced storm and submarines and countless mines, fed and clothed and armed millions of British and Allied troops, brought dates and oil from Mesopotamia, wheat from the Americas, rice and cotton from India, rubber and cocoa from South America, wool from Australia. Of this Marine were the sturdy, tanned, hardy sons of the sea who manned the ships and did such invisible, and often unrewarded, service to their Empire—men who would be blown out of one vessel and ship into the next one that sailed from the nearest available port! Without such a body of sailors the battle-fleets would have been of small avail to an ocean empire and sea-separated allies.

The losses of the British Navy up to 1917, as given in Jane's *Fighting Ship*, a semi-official authority, was a total of 381,105 tons; that of Germany 331,336 tons. Yet the former was sweeping the seas continuously in face of mines and submarines and the latter was, upon the whole, safe in port. Meanwhile, according to this work, "a new Navy has been added to the British fleet of 1914, which in rate of construction, power of design, and novelty of type, far surpasses anything that could have been deemed possible two years ago." Another service to the Allies and the world was indicated when ex-President W. H. Taft of the United States asked at New York on Feb. 3: "What would be our situation to-day if the English Navy were not between us and Germany?" What, indeed, would have become of the $1,000,000,000 worth of war munitions and supplies sent from the United States to Great Britain and her Allies during the War, or of American ports, commerce, ships and transports after war was declared, had the Submarine won out against British naval strength?

Despite the services of the Navy there was inevitable criticism. On Oct. 29 Parliament tendered its thanks for "faithful watch on the seas during three years of ceaseless danger-stress," but Winston Churchill and the *Daily Mail* had led a campaign for an offensive instead of a defensive fleet, and Mr. Churchill put his argument as follows in *The Times* during July: "Are we really to be content to see this vast mass of about 200 (Allied) battleships, with nearly 2,000 of the greatest guns in the world, and perhaps 15,000 smaller guns, all equipped with the finest artillerymen which the resources of great nations carefully prepared in years of peace could produce, with enormous numbers of highly skilled, patiently-trained, competent, professional and technical ratings—is all this accumulation of deadly war energy to wait idly on the off-chance of the German fleet emerging from its harbour to fight a battle, until Peace, perhaps an unsatisfactory Peace, is declared?" In December Sir John Jellicoe retired as First Sea Lord and was succeeded by Admiral Sir Rosslyn Wemyss—whether this meant a change of strategy did not appear, though there was no doubt that the defensive policy of the Admiralty had been generally approved by British strategists and naval authorities. It was also endorsed

publicly by Admiral W. S. Sims, Commander of the United States Navy. Meantime, the fact of the immense amount of shipping and commerce destroyed by the 5 raiders which in 3½ years had escaped the British blockade—the *Emden*, the *Moewe*, the *Eitel Friedrich*, the *Karlsruhe*, and in 1917 the *Seeadler* with its $40,000,000 total destroyed, illustrated the real service the Navy was doing.

The other side of the Naval shield was seen in the Submarine issue. Prior to the War this arm of force was not taken very seriously and German naval statistics showed only 37 vessels ranging from 200 tons, with a range of 1,000 miles, a speed of 12 knots, and 2 torpedo tubes, up to vessels of 900 tons with a range of 4,000 miles, speed of 18 knots, 4 torpedo tubes and 4 guns. Early in 1917 estimates as to the number of German U-boats ran from 100 to 1,000 with a probable total at that time of 200 or 300. The New York *Journal of Commerce* put the figures at 200; the *Scientific American* of New York on Apr. 7 estimated that Germany could turn out 1,000 Submarines in a year and based its belief upon alleged knowledge as to the capacity of German yards; up to the declaration of unrestricted warfare it was claimed that from 100 to 200 Submarines had been destroyed and, on the other hand, 2,360,000 tons of British and 1,622,000 tons of Allied and Neutral shipping had been sunk. In 1916, alone, the Allied and Neutral losses had totalled 2,082,000 tons. This (United Kingdom) table indicates conditions:

	Entered (with Cargoes)			Cleared (with Cargoes)		
Year	British	Foreign	Total	British	Foreign	Total
1916.....	20,217,334	9,842,094	30,059,428	17,751,953	17,844,801	35,596,754
1915.....	22,861,738	10,862,166	33,723,904	20,380,530	19,148,832	39,529,362
1914.....	28,928,893	14,131,890	43,060,783	32,515,814	23,452,755	55,968,569

Such was the situation when Germany decided to risk war with the United States and to attempt the destruction of every ship from any country carrying food or supplies to or from the United Kingdom. As Dr. Stresemann, leader of the National German Liberals, put it at Hanover on Jan. 7: "The increasing importance of Submarines should raise the monthly toll of tonnage from a half to one million tons. This would not only strike England in her economic nerve, but would mean famine to the English population." On Jan. 31 there was issued a Memorandum from the German Government withdrawing its pledge to the United States not to torpedo merchant ships without notice, stating that it now had to fight with "all the weapons at its disposal," and describing the barred zones within which all ships would travel at their peril from Feb. 1, 1917. Dr. Helfferich, Vice-Chancellor, spoke at Berlin on Feb. 18 with hopefulness as to the result: "The British world-empire is now the object of powerful, merciless strokes by our Submarine navy, which has been increased in numbers and efficiency. And this will continue until the day dawns which every German heart ardently awaits. . . . If all do their full duty—and every German does his duty—then the year 1917 will bring the turning point of the age; will crush our British enemy on the seas and open

for the German nations the doors leading to a free, great future." The Chancellor, Von Bethmann-Hollweg, told the Reichstag on Feb. 27 that he was satisfied: "This success we shall be able to obtain partly by sinking and partly by discouraging neutral shipping—a success which has already happened in the widest sense."

During January, as a matter of fact, the sinkings of British, Allied and neutral ships were 333,000 tons, in February 470,000, in March (5 weeks) 600,000, in April 788,000, in May 540,000, in June (5 weeks) 758,000, in July 463,000, in August (5 weeks) 591,000, or a total in 8 months of 4,561,000 tons.* As against this Britain and her Allies had built about 1,500,000 tons of new shipping. Of British conditions the London *Times* (Oct. 12) published these figures for the period of Feb. 17–Sept. 28: Vessels of all nationalities entered at United Kingdom ports, 83,763, and cleared from them, 84,556; number of British ships of 1,600 tons and over sunk by mine or torpedo, 587; number of those under 1,600 tons, and including fishing craft, 367; during this period the British ships unsuccessfully attacked by Submarines totalled 511. The total of ships sunk from Sept. 28 as above to Dec. 31 included 163 of over 1,600 tons and 69 under that figure—including fishing vessels—and an average for the 11 months of 68 a month in the former and 39 in the latter category.

Mr. Lloyd George in the Commons on Aug. 16 stated that the net British losses since the inception of Submarine warfare averaged 250,000 tons of shipping a month, or 3,000,000 tons a year; that the normal peace construction of shipping was 2,000,000 a year, which in 1915 had fallen to 688,000 tons and in 1916 to 538,000 tons; that it was now increasing and in the first six months of 1917 was 484,000 tons and would, he hoped, total 1,100,000 tons, with 330,000 tons acquired abroad. The average figures of the war-years did not at this time show results of the unrestricted campaign but they were equal, in 1917, to all the sinkings prior to that period. Official British figures made the total of all losses—neutral and Allies also—to Oct. 1 run from 4 to 4½ million tons, which was very far indeed from the German hoped-for 1,000,000 tons a month. By the close of the year the total losses from Feb. 1 were estimated at about 6,000,000 tons with a British and United States construction of over 2,000,000 tons. Prof. W. M. Dixon of the University of Glasgow prepared the following list of neutral ships sunk by the Germans up to Apr. 26, 1917:

	Mined	Torpedoed	Total Ships Sunk	Total Ascertained Tonnage		Mined	Torpedoed	Total Ships Sunk	Total Ascertained Tonnage
Dutch.....	41	35	76	148,921	Greek.....	1	59	60	147,923
Swedish....	30	71	101	99,628	Argentine..	..	1	1	281
Norwegian.	54	382	436	987,816	Peruvian..	..	1	1	1,419
Danish....	20	94	114	123,385	Uruguayan	..	1	1	2,537
Spanish....	2	33	35	75,769					
American..	4	16	20	59,256					
Brazilian...	..	2	2	6,719	Totals...	152	695	847	1,653,654

On Oct. 10 the *Kölnische Zeitung*, an influential paper of Cologne, published an article entitled *The Race with Death*, which contained

*NOTE.—Figures compiled and published (Sept. 10) by C. H. Grasty, War Correspondent in London of the New York *Times*.

the following sentence: "If the dockyards of the *Entente* can build merchant tonnage faster than our U-boats can sink it, England wins the War." How far this was done can be approximately stated. Senator McCumber gave all available figures to the United States Senate after the close of the year and stated that the total shipping of Allied and Neutral countries afloat on Dec. 31, 1917, was 35,810,700 tons, as compared with 42,000,000 tons in August, 1914, or a decrease of only 6,000,000 tons, while half of the existing tonnage was carrying War supplies or had been expropriated for war-work. Hence the shortage in shipping. Following the declaration of unrestricted warfare Great Britain appointed a strong Committee on Mercantile Shipping and Sir Joseph Macleay as Controller of Shipbuilding; tremendous activity followed but difficulties in labour, strikes, building materials, etc., intervened to prevent all the hoped-for increase of construction.

Standardized ships were designed and the first one tried out in September, and on Oct. 11 Maj.-Gen. F. B. Maurice, Director of Military Operations, was able to say that: "Nothing the U-boats have done has delayed for a single hour our work in France; the British army was never better fed or supplied than to-day." On the other hand Great Britain was on limited diet with all manner of restrictions: Italian munition plants cried out for coal and the Italian and French navies were crippled for want of fuel; shipping on the Atlantic was quite inadequate to carry United States men and supplies and meet all Allied requirements A menace, not always thought of in this connection, also developed greatly from Mar. 9 when Sir Edward Carson had pointed out that "not only are Submarines used for sinking ships, but also for laying mines under the water, and they can follow your mine-sweepers as quickly as you sweep up the mines and they can lay new mines without your knowing or suspecting it. Do not underestimate the dangers or difficulties of that. Mines have been laid as far out as the Cape of Good Hope and Colombo and the Gulf of Aden."

As to the number of Submarines destroyed or taken Washington reported about 60 captured in the first six weeks of 1917; no official figures were issued as to this and even estimates did not appear in Britain but the New York *Times* in April put the variable total at from 7 to 25 a week. In the British Commons on Nov. 1 Sir Eric Geddes, 1st Lord of the Admiralty, stated officially that "between 40 and 50 per cent of German Submarines in the North Sea, Atlantic and Arctic Sea have been sunk; that last quarter the enemy lost as many Submarines as they lost in 1916; that U-boats are being sunk to an increasing extent, but the Germans are building faster than hitherto; that the net British loss of tonnage during the War is 2½ million tons; that in September overseas sailings of large ships were 20% in numbers and 30% in tonnage higher than in April." At the close of the year it was stated that the sinkings of Submarines for December was a record number and more than the German shipyards could turn out in a month. A vital point, however, was in the loss of German crews—the difficulties of training new ones and of obtaining men for such perilous work

Meantime, every method of invention and the skill and brains of many nations had been devoted to schemes for strengthening or destroying the Submarine. The British got a "detector" which gave warning of the approach of the under-sea boat; the Germans then were said to have invented a noiseless submarine. Automatic steel arms, reaching out and pushing the Submarine away from trap nets, was a German device; the British "mystery ships" were a source of much harm to the enemy for a time. Great Britain had 3,000 fishing boats, trawlers, drifters, fast motor-boats, patrol boats, etc., armed with guns and nets, fighting the Subs in the North Sea, while aeroplanes and destroyers and submarine chasers assisted. The United States specialists, as well as those of Britain, were in 1917 studying means of detection and destruction, methods of avoiding attack, *camouflage* of varied nature, smoke screens and protection of ships against torpedoes—Edison and Hudson Maxim and Marconi were all at work—and deep-sea mines and curtains; floats and drag-nets were freely employed, wireless and its adaptations were found very useful, while detectors and deflectors had a place. Great Britain armed her merchant vessels, sanctioned deck-loading, tried to accelerate construction and restricted imports. With it all in July, 1917, the United Kingdom had 14,000,000 tons in service with 7,500,000 tons devoted to import trade and the balance to war-duties, while Sir Eric Geddes, on Dec. 13, stated that there was a distinct downward trend in mercantile losses and an upward trend in shipbuilding. The finally published figures of ship losses and construction were as follows:

	Losses			Mercantile Ship-building Output		
Year	United Kingdom	Foreign Allies	Total	United Kingdom	Foreign Countries	Total
1914.....	468,728	212,635	681,363	675,610	337,310	1,012,920
1915.....	1,103,379	621,341	1,724,720	650,919	551,081	1,202,000
1916.....	1,497,848	1,300,018	2,807,866	541,552	1,146,448	1,688,000
1917.....	4,009,537	2,609,086	6,623,623	1,163,474	1,539,881	2,703,355
Total.....	7,079,492	4,743,080	11,837,572	3,031,555	3,574,720	6,606,275

Aviation was the other great discovery or invention of the War up to and during 1917. It had so many elements of good in it as well as of war-evil that all nations and interests were concerned in its development. In the War itself the Air-raids on London, the killing and wounding of civilians and women and children, and the justifiable talk of British, French and Italian reprisals, illustrated one side, while the high and chivalric code of fighting amongst British aviators, the splendid courage and devotion to duty, the winged romance of the all-too-short life of the air, brought out a singularly noble element in the vast conflict. Before the War the British were absolutely unprepared in this respect; so far as considered by the public at all Aviation was merely a new sport. There was a Flying School on Salisbury Plain, aircraft had been used in the 1913 military manoeuvres, and a few men like Admiral Scott and the imaginative H. G. Wells saw the future importance of the aeroplane; but in relative standing Germany was first, France second and Britain third, with about 80 aeroplanes

*NOTE.—Officially issued by Government on March 21, 1918.

in the Royal Flying Corps to start the 1914 campaign with. In 1917 the aeroplanes ran into the thousands and the skilled aviators and mechanicians and pilots into the tens of thousands. It was no easy task directing this development and a training for young men of 18 to 25 years of age which included wireless telegraphy, photography, aerial gunnery, machine guns, artillery co-operation, flight theory and practice, rigging of aeroplanes, flying, etc.

With a steady improvement in machines from the 1914 day of the Farman to the Italian Caproni of 1917 there was an immense progress in aerial work. Between 1914 and 1917 the average speed rose from 60 to 90 miles an hour, high speed from 80 to 120 miles an hour, a fair height of climb from 4,000 to 10,000 feet, and a great height from 8,000 to 20,000 feet, a fair climbing rate from 200 to 600 feet per minute, and a fast rate from 400 to 1,200 feet per minute, a long-distance flight from 120 miles to 400, and big bombing raids from 12 machines to 50 and the load of bombs from 120 to 1,500 lbs. The character of the operations, the work done, the skill required and practiced, increased proportionately; British seaplanes operated in East Africa, flew over Syria to bombard Turkish railways in Egypt, dropped food into Kut-el-Amara, daily bombarded Bulgarian camps and transports, fought and flew wherever the Navy went. The Royal Flying Corps was everywhere in the Western and many Eastern war-fields and from time to time in 1917 dominated the Western front in particular and bombed continuously many German fortifications, war-works and industries, supply depôts and munition or aeroplane factories.

In Great Britain every class of manufacture, big and small, which was not making munitions, was making aeroplanes or their parts. New models were many, new devices varied, until the aeroplane became, practically, a fast motor with wings. The Aerial Coast Patrol of Britain was a great and vital organization, helping to locate and assist destroyers in fighting submarines, detecting submerged mines, searching for submarine bases, convoying troop and merchant ships along the coasts, attacking hostile ships and investigating others, protecting ports, conveying information and orders to shipping, serving as "eyes" to the Army and Navy, helping mine-planters and mine-destroyers alike. At the close of the year aerial tanks, or armoured aeroplanes, were said to be under construction by the Allies and large, all-metal battleplanes by the Germans. Britain, also, was making biplanes, carrying 19 men with 600 h.p. engines and over 3 tons weight in guns and ammunition. The Zeppelins had passed in great measure as a war-machine and the United States was said to be constructing 20,000 aeroplanes and training many men—the latter costing for each pilot about $6,000 with the sacrifice of at least one machine in learning.

In Great Britain there had originally been rivalry and a mixing of responsibility between the R.F.C. and the Royal Naval Air Service; the creation of an Air Board under Lord Curzon and then Lord Cowdray (Jan. 1, 1917) had done much to relieve this difficulty; the latter retired in the middle of November and was succeeded by Lord Rothermere after his brother, Lord Northcliffe, had de-

clined the post; Maj.-Gen. Sir David Henderson did good work as Director-General of Military Aeronautics but was replaced in October by Maj.-Gen. J. M. Salmond. Lord Northcliffe's refusal was based, according to a letter of Nov. 15, chiefly on alleged abuse of the Censorship, retention of men in the Government toward whom he could not entertain loyalty, and insufficient Government restrictions upon sedition-mongers. Meanwhile, there were many proofs of increasing efficiency in the Air Service. The Zeppelin raids were finally checked in the casualties following the Raid of Oct. 19 and although these and the Aeroplane raids which succeeded had done and continued to do much injury—more than was known abroad—the official figures of casualties in the 18 raids reported for 1915, the 22 in 1916, and 14 specified up to Oct. 1, 1917, were not very large. In 24 of these attacks there were 865 killed and 2,500 wounded but there were also many scenes of horror and destruction and suffering which these figures hardly indicate; and if the above average held good the total casualties were over 5,000.

As the British Aviation system developed and its numbers and efficiency grew the enemy casualties increased. One compilation of figures showed that in April-May, 1917, the Germans on the Western front lost 811 planes to the Allies' 619; for May-August inclusive the Germans admitted a loss of 271, the British claimed the destruction of 424 German machines, and the French claimed 197—or a total of 621. The Allies also alleged serious damage to 476 other planes in that period whose fate was not absolutely determined. Sir Eric Geddes stated in the Commons on Nov. 11 that in September the Royal Naval Air Service carried out 64 raids behind the enemy lines in Flanders, dropping 2,736 bombs. The casualties in men on all sides—in learning as in fighting—were very heavy. No totals were published but Capt. Albert Ball, D.S.O., M.C., the English hero of the R.F.C.—as Capt. W. A. Bishop, V.C., D.S.O., M.C., was of its Canadian membership—and the fighter of over 100 air-battles, lost his life during 1917; while Capt. W. Leefe Robinson, V.C., who destroyed the first Zeppelin in British air, was taken a prisoner. Other heroes of the air were so many and the gallantry of this arm of the Service so obvious and continuous, that further specific reference would be invidious. The French had a system of emphasizing distinction by placing an aviator in the class of "Aces" after he had destroyed five enemy machines and of then making his name public. Their list at the close of 1917 totalled 44 and represented 392 German machines actually brought down within the French lines; it was headed by Lieut. Nungessor with 30 to his credit, while 13 other Aces had been killed in aerial flights. German air casualties were, of course, heavy and German papers issued amongst officers were said in June to contain from two to ten deaths in the Flying Corps every day. The most notable in 1917 were Walter Hoehndorf, Lieut. Vosse, and Capt. Boelcke. Major Von Richthofen was the chief living German aviator of the year with an alleged 62 machines to his credit.

Air reprisals was a much-discussed subject in Britain during 1917. The French had to a limited extent been practicing them for some time and the immunity of Paris, with continuous attacks upon London, were supposed to illustrate the results. In April the bombing attack upon Freiburg was an Allied reprisal for the sinking of hospital ships and for a time it was effective. Then the air-raids on England daily or weekly developed scenes of horror —one of them described by Will Crooks, M.P., on June 9 as "the awful spectacle" at a school where 10 little children were killed and 50 others maimed and wounded in every conceivable form of suffering. The opponents of reprisals, including the Archbishop of Canterbury, many Bishops, Lord Derby, Sir Edward Clarke, etc., argued that if a thing was wrong or evil in the enemy it could not be justified as revenge or reprisal. The other side, headed by Hall Caine, Robert Blatchford, Lord Northcliffe, and aided by the Northcliffe press, declared that it was justifiable when serving as a preventative; that Germany was quite willing to hold its view as long as Britain held hers; that it was a duty to first protect British women and children and only afterwards those of the enemy; that reprisals had military importance in detaching enemy machines from the Western front to defend inland centres.

As the year drew to a close the popular demand for action developed strongly and the press, as a whole, pointed out that the Germans seldom raided Paris or other French cities because they knew that retaliation would be prompt and the damage repaid fourfold to German cities. On Oct. 2 the Premier declared in London that Germany would be bombed "with compound interest" and on the 4th General Smuts, as a member of the War Cabinet, told the Chambers of Commerce in London that "we are dealing with an enemy whose *Kultur* has not carried him beyond the rudiments of the Mosaic Law, and to whom you can only apply the maxim of 'An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth.' On that principle we are most reluctantly forced to apply to him the bombing policy which he has applied to us. I am afraid the Government has no longer any choice in the matter." The policy was duly carried out but only tentatively so up to the end of this year.

Ireland and Home Rule: The National Convention.

The year began with the usual confusion of thought in and about Ireland; it closed with a situation which was serious in the matter of increased sedition and vital in the subjects still under consideration by a great Irish Convention Ireland at this time was in a position to do much service to the Empire and to the cause of liberty in the War; the good it did was well done. It had sent most gallant contingents of Orangemen and Catholics to the front and Irish troops on Aug. 16, 1917, had greatly distinguished themselves in the Ypres area, while Major W. H. K. Raymond, M.P., had won his D.S.O. and the Legion of Honour before death caught him in action on June 7; it had sent five other M.P.s to the Front—J. T. Esmonde, J. L. Esmonde, S. L. Gwynn, W. A. Redmond and D. D. Sheehan; it had in 1917 met Britain's need of food by increasing

the soil cultivation 62% over that of the previous year, or from 2,384,000 acres to 3,034,000 acres; its output of food and drink-stuffs reaching Great Britain had increased from $165,000,000 in value before the War to $230,000,000 in 1915 and still more in later years.

Yet the country was unable to settle its own form of government or satisfy its people in a political sense—and discontent was rife; it needed improved housing, a re-modelled system of primary education and a new system of technical training, a better drainage system, revision of its railway and temperance laws, and a reformed financial system, but there was no organized Government to do or attempt these things. The War had not brought to its people any great munition industries—perhaps because they would not have been entirely safe there—nor had wages risen appreciably. Home Rule, which had finally passed the British Parliament in 1914, was held up so as to permit of united Party action in Great Britain with respect to War issues and under a clause which left its promulgation subject to Order-in-Council. And, according to John Dillon in a London interview on Mar. 19: "Reactionaries of the British Government have been blind to German influence in Ireland, blind to the fact that Germany has been trying all through the War to stir up Irishmen against British rule. German money has poured into Ireland to keep up bitterness against England."

A new development of an old condition had also come to Ireland in the progress of Sinn Feinism as the party of irreconcilable disloyalty, of anti-British prejudice and even hatred, of idealistic republicanism, of protest against everything constitutional or any reform proposed—except that of separation from the British Empire. It succeeded to the White Boys of 1762, the Right Boys of 1787, the United Irishmen of 1798, the Young Ireland of 1848, the Fenians of 1863-8. Yet there were Irishmen at home and in other parts of the world who supported the organization and its unlawful acts and who would not consider themselves disloyal to Ireland or, if living in Canada or Australia, as disloyal to the Empire. Prof. John MacNeill, and other leaders of the Sinn Fein, did not want self-government of the Canadian or Australian type; they wanted an Irish Republic and to obtain it would have had to wear out or conquer by force the opposition of England with its new armies of 5,000,000 men and to conquer by arms the richest and most industrious part of Ireland itself. This learned agitator waived all such considerations and put the proposal in the *English Review* of September, 1917, as follows: "The right and the wise thing for England to do is to consent freely, without grudge, if possible with generous cordiality, to the establishment of an Irish Republic unconditionally!"

As an organization Sinn Fein had developed out of conditions preceding the Rebellion of 1916 and the continued refusal of a majority of Young Ireland to fight in the War; out of the strong antagonisms created by Ulster's struggle against Home Rule and fear of Catholic domination; out of the English rejection of conciliation policies proposed by Mr. Gladstone, abandoned by Lord Rosebery, revised by Mr. Asquith and renewed by Mr. Lloyd George; out of

a mingling of racial and sectarian prejudices and of British inability to believe that it was safe to give full freedom to a people represented by the disloyal utterances of the *Green Book* of 1886 or the Rebellion of 1916. Out of all these and other things and because, also, of something naturally combative in the Irish character, the Sinn Fein organization, by the close of 1917, was said to have 250,000 members in 12,000 separate clubs or branches.

Disorder accompanied this evolution during the year and contempt for the law was general; no efforts of conciliation, such as the release of interned rebels from the previous year, had any effect nor did the opposite policy expressed in the arrest of about 50 members of the organization in Limerick and Galway on Feb. 22nd. Politically the protests of John Redmond and other Nationalist leaders were disregarded; Count Plunkett, a Sinn Feiner, was elected in North Roscommon (Feb. 6) and Joseph McGuinness, the successful candidate in May for South Longford, was in gaol for his share in the Rebellion. Prof. Edward de Valera of Dublin University was elected for East Clare in succession to the Major Redmond whose last words from the Front to his wife were as follows: "If I do not come back you know I will have done my best for Ireland and for everyone." De Valera, who defeated a Nationalist by over 2,000 majority had taken part in the Rebellion and was now released from prison; his policy was one of complete independence and an Irish Republic; a little later he ranked with James Larkin, Plunkett, Countess Markiewicz, Arthur Griffith (the founder) and John MacNeill, amongst the Sinn Fein leaders, and became, also, President of the organization.

According to the London *Chronicle* the organization at this time received much money from the United States and of this a considerable part came indirectly from Germany. By July drilling and arming were going on and seditious speeches being delivered over a wide Irish area with a freedom similar to the situation in 1916; De Valera and the Countess Markiewicz of Rebellion fame openly talked revolution and the acceptance of aid from any country which could send support to the cause of Independence; voluntary recruiting was, of course, dead and the British Government was afraid even to hint at Conscription, while Sir F. Fletcher-Vane, a British officer in Dublin during 1916, now joined the Sinn Feiners and urged a policy along "the lines indicated by the Russian Revolution."* As to definite objects Arthur Griffith, founder of five Sinn Fein papers which had been suppressed and Editor of a current organ, *Nationality*, told F. A. McKenzie and other press correspondents on Aug. 3 that:

1. We want complete separation from England. The Irish are a separate people, a distinct nation. The Canadians and Australians are not. We do not want, and would not accept, the status of a British Dominion.

2. It is for the Irish people to decide whether they will have a Republic or a Monarchy; to decide altogether their own form of government.

3. As to Ulster it is the rule of the British people that minorities submit to majorities; we would have Ulster minorities submit to the will of the majority.

*Note.—New York *Post*, Aug. 25, 1917—Letter dated June 23.

4. England will have very little to say about the matter. Everyone knows that England is defeated in the War already. We do not expect to get these things from her willingly, but she will have to give them. The Conference of the Powers will see to that.

Mr. McKenzie brought away from the interview a sense of the agitator's intense hatred of England. The movement was not actively militaristic; its members had enough of that for a time in 1916. It was bitter against the Nationalist Party and John Redmond personally; it depended, as speeches at a Convention in Dublin on Oct. 26 showed, upon the aid of Germany and Austria at a future Peace Conference; it demanded the same liberties as Poland and Belgium and Serbia wanted but did not admit that this was the very thing Britain was fighting for against autocracy and conquest. "It would break English law for Ireland's good but never the moral law," De Valera said in his Presidential speech at the Convention, where it was decided by Resolution that the members of the organization should be trained in the use of arms, though this training should not be compulsory. This Convention adopted a provisional constitution aimed at securing International recognition of Ireland as an independent republic and by it the platform of the Sinn Fein organization was approved with certain paragraphs as follows:

Sinn Fein aims at securing international recognition of Ireland as an independent Irish Republic. Having achieved that status, the Irish people may by referendum freely choose their own form of government.

This object shall be attained through the Sinn Fein organization, which shall in the name of the sovereign Irish people (a) deny the right and oppose the will of the British Parliament and the British Crown or any other foreign Government to legislate for Ireland; (b) make use of any and every means available to render impotent the power of England to hold Ireland in subjection by military force or otherwise.

Whereas no law without the authority and consent of the Irish people is or ever can be binding on their conscience; therefore, in accordance with the Resolution of Sinn Fein, adopted in the Convention of 1915, a Constituent Assembly shall be convoked, comprising persons chosen by Irish constituencies as supreme national authority to speak and act in the name of the Irish people and to devise and formulate measures for the welfare of the whole people of Ireland.

At the close of the year thousands of young fellows were playing at being rebel soldiers while those of greater youth were members of Mme. Markiewicz's Boy Scouts; these and others were showing open contempt for Courts of Law and the ordinary workings of the constitution as understood by British people everywhere. At the same time the coming of the United States into the War and the refusal of Irish-Americans, outside of extremist ranks, to approve Sinn Feinism, had its effect in moderating somewhat the expression of views and preventing an explosion—a process helped by the Irish Convention which had been created by the Lloyd George Government and which sat during the greater part of the year. In this body the Sinn Feiners refused to participate unless it were given a free hand to declare for a Republic or any other far-reaching idea; meanwhile Nationalists and Ulsterites tried to find in it a common ground. The former had won a great victory in obtaining the passage of a Home Rule Bill but the easily-understood, though possibly mistaken, action of the British Government in holding it

up during the War was a blow to the Party, a serious issue for John Redmond in personal popularity, a real help to Sinn Feinism.

Mr. Lloyd George spoke on the general issue in the Commons (Mar. 7) with clarity and conciseness but in terms which the Nationalists resented strongly through a speech from Mr. Redmond and by leaving the House in a body. The Premier described what he termed "the fundamental facts" of the Irish situation. One was that centuries of ruthless and often brutal injustice had driven hatred of British rule into the very marrow of the Irish race; another was that in the north-eastern part of Ireland the population was as hostile to Irish rule as the rest of Ireland was to British rule. These fundamental facts raised two questions. "The first is whether the people of this country are prepared to confer self-government on the parts of Ireland which unmistakably demand it!" The answer given by the Premier was an affirmative. "The second question is whether the people of this country are prepared to force the population of the north-eastern corner of Ireland to submit to be governed by a population with whom they are completely out of sympathy!" In his judgment and that of the Government, the answer was a negative.

On the 9th the Irish Parliamentary Party issued a statement in reply which was officially sent to the Premiers of British Dominions and Provinces and the President of the United States. In it they interpreted the Government policy as one of accepting an Ulster veto upon Home Rule; charged the Premier with changing his views as to the impossibility of excluding Ulster from the operation of the Bill; described their concession of County option for a limited period as the last one they could make; declared that "the action of the British Government since the formation of the Coalition in May, 1915, culminating in the Prime Minister's speech, has made the task of carrying on the constitutional movement in Ireland so difficult as to be almost impossible." Finally, they appealed to Irishmen everywhere and especially to the millions in the Dominions and the United States to "come to the aid of those (Nationalists) who have rescued Ireland from being made the cat's paw and tool of Germany and who are struggling against terrible odds to keep open the road to Irish liberty through peaceful, constitutional means." The Manifesto concluded with a demand for Home Rule on the basis of the Bill and as a principle for which the Empire and the United States were fighting in Europe.

Lord Northcliffe followed this up by an appeal to the New York *World* to obtain expressions of American opinion on the issue; and the result, as republished in *The Times* (Apr. 25-28), showed a great volume of Home Rule sentiment and a belief that the granting of it at this stage would strengthen the Empire and consolidate United States action in the War. Theodore Roosevelt, W. H. Taft, Charles W. Eliot, Cardinal Gibbons (who urged upon Ulster the lesson of the South), Dr. Murray Butler, Mayor Mitchel, Alton B. Parker, Col. George Harvey, Archbishop Ireland, were amongst those who responded. The War evoked another side in Irish-American opinion. The extremist view was voiced by the *Irish World* and stated

by such speakers as W. Bourke Cochran, who told the New York Society of Illustrators' banquet on Apr. 18 that "the European War is the most sordid in the history of the world"; that until the entry of the United States no belligerent nation could give a reason for being a participant; that to compare the aims and motives of the belligerents with those of savages in any past war would be, in substance, to humiliate and degrade the savages! It was proven by the German Embassy documents found in raiding Von Igel's rooms in New York; by the riot which arose in a New York mass-meeting of 32 Irish-American organizations when the Chairman refused to put a Resolution urging Mr. Wilson to demand the Independence of Ireland; by the pro-German work of J. A. O'Leary, John Devoy and Justice D. F. Cohalan, which was revealed in the Von Igel papers, and as to the latter voiced in the following "very secret" despatch from Von Igel to Von Bernstorff, which the U.S. Government made public and which was dated at New York, Apr. 17, 1916:

> Judge Cohalan requests the transmission of the following remarks: 'The revolution in Ireland can only be successful if supported from Germany, otherwise England will be able to suppress it, even tho' it be only after hard struggles. Therefore, help is necessary. This should consist, primarily, of aerial attacks on England and a diversion of the fleet simultaneously with Irish revolution. Then, if possible, a landing of troops, arms and ammunition in Ireland, and possibly some officers from Zeppelins. This would enable the Irish ports to be closed against England and the establishment of stations for submarines on the Irish coast and the cutting off of the supply of food for England. The services of the Revolution may, therefore, decide the War.' He asks that a telegram to this effect be sent to Berlin.

On Oct. 4 the New York *World* published a letter (Aug. 23, 1916) written by Von Bernstorff to the German Foreign Office, urging the use of influence at the Vatican to obtain the appointment of Daniel Cohalan, a cousin of the Judge, as Bishop of Cork. A little later (Oct. 23) Liam Mellowes, a Sinn Fein leader in 1916, Patrick McCarton, styled the First Ambassador of the Irish Republic to the United States, and Von Recklinghausen, a German subject and associate of these men, were arrested in New York (McCarton in Halifax) charged with trying to get to Ireland under false pretences and with papers found in their New York rooms showing various plot ramifications. The other school of Irish thought in the States —the school dominant and general in Canada, and with some weight in Australia—was illustrated by the meeting in Chicago on Dec. 18 of the Irish Fellowship Club, the largest Irish organization in the city, which announced the sending of $10,000 to Mr. Redmond as a first instalment of help—which totalled $100,000 from the States a few weeks later—and passed the following declaration of belief with practical unanimity:

> Any attempt to make distinctions between the Allies is futile, foolish or insincere. Any policy which promises aid to the cause of the Allies and at the same time singles one of them out for attack is self-contradictory. We are, therefore, compelled to regard any Irishman who at this time tries to embarrass the conduct of the War by any of the European Powers as trying to embarrass America.

Meanwhile, the great Irish event of the year had been taking place —a National Convention on which might hang the destiny of

Ireland, the hopes and tears of history. During a debate in the Commons on Mar. 22 all the speakers agreed that something must be done in Ireland and Mr. Bonar Law declared that the Government and country wanted a settlement, that the "Irish question was acting as a handicap in carrying on the War and that the Government had decided that, in spite of the risks, it is worth while for us, on our own responsibility, to make another attempt." On May 17 following the Government made public letters from the Premier to Mr. Redmond, Nationalist leader, and to Sir John Lonsdale, acting-Leader of the Ulster Unionists, explaining new Government proposals relating to Ireland to be included in a Bill which would depend for presentation to Parliament upon something like a second reading acceptance from both Irish parties. The measure provided for:

(1) The immediate application of the Home Rule Act to Ireland, but excluding therefrom the six Counties of North-east Ulster, such exclusion to be subject to reconsideration by Parliament at the end of five years unless affected by the second provision; (2) a Council of Ireland to be composed of two delegations, consisting, on the one hand, of all the members returned to Westminster from the excluded area, and, on the other, of a delegation equal in numbers from those of the Irish Parliament; (3) for a reconsideration of the financial proposals of the Home Rule Act, with facilities provided for dealing with Irish industrial development, housing problems and educational questions.

It was proposed that after the second reading this Bill and the Home Rule Act should be considered by a Conference of all parties. An "alternative plan" was suggested of assembling a Convention of Irishmen of all parties for the purpose of producing a scheme of Irish self-government. Mr. Redmond at once announced "vigorous opposition" to the proposed Bill but a readiness to recommend the Convention plan to his people. Wm. O'Brien supported this view and Sir John Lonsdale undertook to present the proposals to his Ulster Unionist Council—and they eventually accepted the Convention policy—while Lord Midleton, on behalf of Southern and Western Irish Unionists, approved the Convention idea. On May 21 Mr. Lloyd George announced that a Convention would be summoned at once to be composed of representative Irishmen in Ireland to submit to the British Government a constitution for the future Government of Ireland within the Empire. If "substantial agreement" were reached as to the character and scope of such a Constitution, the Government would accept responsibility for securing the necessary legislative sanction. The policy was almost universally welcomed in England and in the Lords (May 21) Lord Curzon hoped for a final solution of the issue, while Lord Lansdowne wished the Convention "God-speed." In the Commons on June 11 the Premier announced that the Convention would consist of 101 members, as follows:

Chairmen of County Councils and Boroughs; 8 Delegates from Chairmen of small urban districts.

4 Roman Catholic Bishops; the Primate of the Episcopal Church and the Archbishop of Dublin; Dr. John Irwin, Presbyterian Moderator.

Chairmen of Chambers of Commerce of Dublin, Belfast, and Cork; 7 Labour Delegates from the same Cities.

5 Nationalist delegates; 5 Ulster delegates; 2 O'Brienites; 2 Irish representative peers; 5 Southern Unionists; and 5 Sinn Feiners if willing to serve.
15 additional members to be nominated by the Government.

On June 15 all Sinn Fein or Rebellion prisoners were released as a token and hope of conciliation. Meanwhile, the Sinn Feiners had promptly announced they would take no part in the Convention—as did Wm. O'Brien on the ground that it was "an unrepresentative Assembly." At a protest meeting in Dublin on May 22 Arthur Griffith had limited his opposition to a time when rebel prisoners were set free but the Government's meeting of his condition did not change his attitude. The best-known of the 15 Government nominees to the Convention were Lord Dunraven, Sir Horace Plunkett, Lord Desart, Lord Granard, Lord MacDonnell, Sir Crawford McCullough; and of the 4 Nationalists Mr. Redmond and Joseph Devlin. Lord Londonderry was the chief of the 5 Ulster Unionists and Lord Midleton of the 5 Southern Unionists.

Of the 93 delegates present at the first meeting in Trinity College, Dublin, on July 25,were, also, the Duke of Abercorn, Sir Henry Blake and the Earl of Mayo; Bishop O'Donnell of Raphoe, Bishop Kelly of Ross, and Bishop Harty of Cashel; Archbishops Crozier of Armagh and Bernard of Dublin (Anglican). Mr. H. E. Duke, Irish Secretary, presided and Sir Horace Plunkett was elected as permanent Chairman. The proceedings of the Convention were private and it sat at intervals up to the close of the year and afterwards. Meantime, according to Arnold Bennett, writing on Nov. 8, all sections of Dublin Castle officials worked for the success of the Convention. He described Mr. Duke as perhaps the best Chief Secretary Ireland ever had—an English Conservative and convinced Home Ruler; the Attorney-General, James O'Connor, K.C., as a young Irish Catholic and ardent Nationalist; the Lord Chancellor, Sir Ignatius O'Brien, as a Catholic and Nationalist, and the Solicitor-General, A. W. Samuels, K.C., as a Protestant and Conservative. Sir Wm. Byrne, Under-Secretary for Ireland, and his Assistant, Sir Edward O'Farrell, were both Irishmen and Catholics. In the Commons on Oct. 23 Mr. Redmond moved the following Resolution (rejected by 211 to 78): "That this House deplores the policy which has been pursued and is being pursued by the Irish Executive Government and the Irish military authorities at a time when the highest interests of Ireland and the Empire demand the creation of an atmosphere favourable to a successful result of the deliberations of the Irish Convention." During the ensuing debate Mr. Redmond, pleaded for the waiving of contentious issues or the pursuit of provocative policies.

Mr. Duke, Chief Secretary, in his reply, stated that Ireland had practical immunity from the miseries of war; that it enjoyed prosperity in industry, while its public services were maintained and its supplies cared for; that its young men were not subject to Conscription. He described the current campaign of anarchy, declared that "the unconscripted young men of Ireland were being enrolled by avowed enemies of the Empire for the creation of a new rebellion"; that some of the leaders of this organized sedition were the very

men who had been released from prisons in order to create an atmosphere of good-will for the assembling of the Convention; and stated that the Government could not permit "latitude for the commission of crime." Mr. Asquith expressed his sense of the critical situation —for the Convention, the Government, Ireland and the Empire; while Mr. Lloyd George declared that they could not treat as of no consequence speeches such as those of Mr. de Valera, the manufacture of arms, or the drilling of young men and that the Chief Secretary had taken great risks through fear of provoking disunion, but after the experience of last year could not go beyond the limit already reached. At the close of 1917 no conclusion had been reached by the Convention and Sir H. Plunkett, on Dec. 24, issued a statement as follows: "I cannot say that we will be able to present a unanimous report; but I can tell you that, at the end of our deliberations, we shall leave the Irish question better than we found it."

During these difficult months the attitude of the Roman Catholic Church had been, practically, one of Nationalism as understood by Mr. Redmond and his followers. There were powerful exceptions, as with the Bishop of Limerick, who supported Sinn Feinism as he had the 1916 Rebellion; there were a number of priests who took the same view and were present at various Sinn Fein meetings. In this 1917 crisis, however, certain basic facts stood out clearly. The first was the issue of a joint Manifesto in May, signed by three of the four Catholic Archbishops and 15 of the 24 Catholic Bishops, together with 3 Bishops of the Anglican Church in Ireland and 5 Chairmen of County Councils, declaring that under no circumstances must Ireland be divided under a Home Rule system either through County option or by Provincial government, and that such partitioning of the country would be fought by a unanimous Nationalism. The second was that Bishops Harty, Kelly, Mullory and O'Donnell took a prominent part in the Convention. The third was the issue of a Pastoral on June 19 from the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland, in session at Maynooth, and signed by H.E. Cardinal Logue as Chairman, which declared that "the clergy should earnestly exhort their people to beware of all dangerous associations and sedulously shun all movements that are not in accord with the principles of Catholic teaching and doctrine. For, as it is well known to students of theology, all organizations that plot against the Church, or lawfully constituted authority, whether openly or secretly, are condemned by the Church under the gravest penalties."

Priests were reminded of the regulations prohibiting attendance at public meetings, except by permission, and told that it was strictly forbidden "to speak of political or kindred affairs in the church." Individual Bishops pressed home these instructions. Dr. Cohalan of Cork urged that the Convention be given a fair trial. Dr. Foley of Kildare issued a warning to his people on Oct. 10: "I wish to say that subjects are bound to obey the civil authority not only through fear of its wrath but for the sake of conscience. . . . There is no doubt that rebellion in the circumstances of Ireland is absolutely unjustifiable from the point of view of Divine law." Dr. Gilmartin of Clonfert, early in November, declared that "the



Major Wilfrid Mavor, m.c., d.s.o.,
15th Battalion, Toronto; son of Prof.
James Mavor.



Lieut. Frederick Maurice Watson
Harvey, v.c.,
13th C.M.R., Medicine Hat.



Pte. Peter Robertson, v.c.,
175th Battalion, Medicine Hat, Alberta.



Capt. Frederick William Campbell, v.c.,
Mount Forest, Ont., 1st Battalion.
Died of wounds, June 19, 1915.

Canadian Winners of Military Honours.

teaching of theologians is that resistance by physical force to the *de facto*, established, Government is justified only in extreme cases, when the following conditions must be present: (1) The Government must be, in the judgment of the large body of the people, tyrannical; (2) that constitutional or legal means are not available; (3) that there is good hope of success, so that resistance to the Government by armed force will not entail greater evils than it seeks to remedy. In my judgment, these conditions do not exist at present in this country, and therefore recourse to armed force in the present circumstances is morally unlawful." Finally, H.E. Cardinal Logue, in a letter read to the Churches of the Archdiocese of Armagh on the last Sunday in November, said:

> We have troubles and unrest and excitement and dangers here at home, which render domestic peace necessary. Whether it be due to the demoralization which this world-war has brought to almost every country, or to the fate which seems to hang over our own unhappy country, blasting her hopes when they seem to brighten, an agitation has sprung up and is spreading among our people which, ill-considered and Utopian, cannot fail, if persevered in, to entail present suffering, disorganization, and danger, and is sure to end in future disaster, defeat and collapse. And all this in pursuit of a dream which no man in his sober senses can hope to see realized—the establishment of an Irish Republic, either by an appeal to the potentates of Europe seated at a Peace Conference or an appeal to force by hurling an unarmed people against an Empire which has five millions of men under arms, furnished with the most terrible engines of destruction which human ingenuity could devise. The thing would be ludicrous, if it were not so mischievous and fraught with such danger, when cleverly used as an incentive to fire the imagination of an ardent, generous, patriotic people.

Australia in 1917: Union Government, General Elections and Conscription

William Morris Hughes continued, during 1917, to dominate Australian political affairs. He did a wise thing in organizing a Union Government, a brave thing in fighting a general election upon the Conscription issue, a disappointing thing in referring the latter matter to a second Referendum. Political difficulties were considerable. Neither the Hughes Labour party, the Opposition or Caucus Labourites, nor the Liberals, had a majority over the other two—although the Liberals had the largest following; in the Senate the Opposition Labour section had a small majority over both parties. It was, in fact, a matter of coalition or chaos, with a general election in the offing which did not promise a solution unless preceded by coalition.

In January there were continued conferences between J. Hume Cook, ex-Premier and Opposition Liberal leader, and Mr. Hughes, as a Labour leader—with special reference to Australian representation at the Imperial War Conference through a coalition of parties; F. G. Tudor, Leader of the official anti-Hughes wing of the Labour party, was urged to join these Conferences and a national War Government but without success; in February terms were settled between the Hughes party and the Liberals under which the latter were to have six members in a Cabinet of eleven; a meeting of State Premiers was held at Melbourne and a Resolution passed, declaring that "the time has arrived when party issues should be subordinated to the winning of the War, the preservation and development of

Australian national life, and the maintenance of Empire solidarity"; on Feb. 16 it was announced that minor difficulties—especially the retention of Senator Pearce as Minister of Defence, which Mr. Cook opposed, had been overcome. The new War Government was sworn in on the 17th as follows:

Position	Name	Politics
Prime Minister and Attorney-General	Rt. Hon. William Morris Hughes	Labour
Minister for the Navy	Rt. Hon. Joseph Hume Cook	Liberal
Treasurer	Rt. Hon. Sir John Forrest	"
Minister of Defence	Senator George Foster Pearce	Labour
Minister of Works & Railways	Hon. William A. Watt	Liberal
Minister of Customs	Hon. Jens August Jenson	Labour
Minister of Home Affairs	Hon. Patrick McMahon Glynn	Liberal
Postmaster-General	Hon. William Webster	Labour
Assistant Attorney-General	Hon. Littleton Ernest Groom	Liberal
Vice-President Executive Council	Hon. Edward Davis Millen	"
Honorary Minister	Hon. Edward John Russell	Labour

Subsequently Mr. Millen was appointed to the new Ministry of Repatriation and Mr. Groom took his place. The state of parties in the House of Representatives at this juncture was as follows: Liberal-Ministerialists, 34; Labour-Ministerialists, 14; Independent, 1; Opposition-Labour, 26; or a Coalition majority of 23. In the Senate Opposition-Labour had 19 seats; Liberal-Ministerialists, 5; Labour-Ministerialists, 12; or an Opposition majority of 2. Sir W. H. Irvine, a prominent Liberal leader, promised his support to the Government and it was intended that he should accompany Mr. Hughes to the War Conference, but political conditions finally prevented any Australian representation getting across in time. Meanwhile, at Geelong (Jan. 26) just before this re-organization, Mr. Hughes had stated his personal position as follows:

> I have been all my public life a member of the Labour Party. I have not spared myself in its service, and have worked without respite for Labour. Some say I have been too zealous in the cause of Labour, but, rightly or wrongly, I believed in its ideals. I was a strong party man, but from the day War broke out I put party interests aside and those of the nation in their place. I have severed the ties of a lifetime, I have broken with the most powerful organization ever established in Australia, and have drawn down upon my head the denunciations and hatred of those who for years were, or had professed to be, my friends and supporters. . . . I hope my Liberal friends will remember that I broke with my party not because I did not believe in the Labour platform, but because the Labour movement was being prostituted to a mean and ignoble aim. In the supreme hour of national danger it failed to think and act nationally.

Following the Coalition the Premier met Parliament on Feb. 22 and outlined his policy as (1) appointment of a Minister to give his whole time to the question of returned soldiers; (2) the obtaining of $350,000,000 for War purposes in the current year with a War debt already totalling $655,000,000; (3) amending the Tariff so as to develop Australian production and industry; (4) respect for the people's 1916 verdict against Conscription and the obtaining of more men by an intensified voluntary campaign; (5) representation of Australia at the Imperial War Conference and prolongation of the life of Parliament for six months after the termination of the War; (6) a white Australia and financial tax arrangements with the different States so as to avoid dual impositions. Every effort was made to obtain Senate support for Government legislation

along these lines but in vain—the anti-Conscription, anti-Hughes element stood firm.

Finally, Parliament was dissolved on Mar. 26 with Elections fixed for May 5. It was a bitter contest. Mr. Hughes entered it with such *prestige* as was afforded by his vehement, spectacular and eloquent campaign in England* against Germanized trade and industry and for adequate Dominion control in Empire government; and with the influence of Liberal support behind the loyal wing of the powerful Labour party which he had led and which, when united under him, was dominant in the Commonwealth. He had against him a keen, personally-hostile, majority wing of the Labour party; all who believed that the Labour leaders in Caucus should make and unmake Ministries and Ministers and policies; all who shared the views of the I.W.W.—a strong organization in Australia which Mr. Hughes had dealt with mercilessly, had disbanded and imprisoned and endeavoured to smash up; all who disliked, feared, or misunderstood the Conscription issue of 1916, and all who were opposed to the War as pro-Germans, extreme Socialists, Pacifists, etc.; all the Irish followers of Dr. Daniel Mannix, who upon the death of Archbishop Carr, to whom he had been Co-Adjutor, became, in 1917, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Melbourne; all those who had personally encountered the biting invective by which Mr. Hughes in his long political career had made many enemies. It was a contest of conditions rather than party—the caucus of organized Labour having become so iron-clad and autocratic in its dominance that all personal conviction was eliminated and Mr. Hughes on the Conscription issue, though its leader and the National Prime Minister, had either to accept its negative view and give up office, or retire from the Party and fight his former colleagues.

Australian soldiers and sailors on active service had votes, as did Commonwealth electors abroad on War-work, nurses and munition workers. Late in March Mr. Tudor, as Leader of the Caucus Labourites—a member of Mr. Hughes' Ministry prior to the Conscription issue—published an Address to the electorate, declaring that if returned to power the Labour party would (1) do its utmost under the voluntary system to secure men for the Front; (2) that it would promote shipbuilding and help the Allies by stimulating food and metal production; (3) that a system of Tariff revision would be immediately adopted with a view to protecting Australian manufacturers; (4) that War profits would be additionally taxed and a heavy Income tax imposed; (5) that the Daylight Saving measure would be repealed as being vexatious and ineffective; (6) that "we will again submit to a referendum the proposal to extend the powers of the Commonwealth Parliament and we will provide pensions for widows and orphans"; (7) that Australia should be represented at the War Conference but that all decisions affecting Australia should be subject to the Federal Parliament. A little later the Premier issued to Australian electors in general a Manifesto declaring that:

*NOTE.—See Australian Section in 1916 volume.

The National Government which I have the honour to lead, is composed of men of different parties, who are united on the War and on all that is necessary to achieve victory. It is composed of men loyal to Australia and to the Empire. They regard it as a sacred duty, in this great war for liberty against German military despotism, to put the welfare of the Commonwealth before the narrow interests of party. Labour men who have joined hands with the Liberals are animated by the same spirit that has moved the members of the British Labour party to join hands with Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Bonar Law in order that Great Britain may stand united against the enemy.

We stand for the Empire, for the prosecution of this war to decisive victory.

We are against premature peace, and for the lasting peace which can come only when the military despotism of Prussia is utterly destroyed.

We stand for the Government of the people through their elected representatives as against government by secret juntas of irresponsible persons working in the interests of cliques and sections.

We stand for the rule of law against anarchy; for arbitration as against strikes; for public and private economy.

We are for new avenues of employment for our people by the development of our resources and the encouragement of our industries.

We are, in a word, for a fair deal for all men.

The result on May 5 was a great triumph for the Government with large majorities for most of the Ministers. To the House of Representatives 53 Liberals and Hughes-Labourites, or Nationalists as the combination was called, were elected, and 22 Caucus-Labourites or Opposition supporters, were chosen—giving a Government majority of 31; to the Senate, where one-half the membership of 36 had retired by rotation, the whole 18 elected at this juncture were Government supporters—giving it a majority of 12 in the Upper House. With the return of Mr. Hughes to power and his unusual triumph—Australian Governments were generally beaten at the polls or in Parliament by narrow majorities—the question of Conscription came at once to the forefront though everything possible was done to stimulate recruiting and avoid it. Senator Pearce had stated (Feb. 28) that in conformity with the requirements of the War Office, 16,500 men a month were still needed to reinforce the Australian Expeditionary Force at the front and that the number of volunteers in January was not nearly sufficient as only 5,348 men enlisted in that month.

Donald Mackinnon, Director-General of Recruiting, employed every means known to promote interest and attract attention; women were urged to sacrifice their feelings for men who would not do their national duty; New Zealand and Maori troops were brought to Sydney in May and were given a great reception; while the Premier addressed a series of meetings. On July 4 it was announced that, for the first time, the number of Australian casualties exceeded the number of recruits, and Mr. Hughes (July 6) began a further enlistment campaign with the hope of raising the 5,000 a month total to 7,000—which were all that were then asked. A Federal Recruiting Committee, consisting of members of both parties in the Federal Parliament, was also appointed to assist the Director-General. To point these calls sharply the statistics of casualties up to July 28, 1917, were published as follows: Deceased, 28,547; wounded, 43,238; missing, 4,056; sick, 27,207; prisoners of war, 2,143; and nature of casualties not specified, 248; total, 105,439.

The total number of embarkations to June 30, 1917, was 306,227. The failure of voluntaryism was due to some causes special to Australia, such as a high rate of wages fixed by the Industrial Courts; a phenomenal passion for racing and other sports which had not as yet been checked; the distraction of political contests in the Commonwealth, and some of the States, in which I.W.W., anti-War, Sinn Fein and Pacifist utterances of all kinds were rife.

Finally the decision for a new Referendum was come to; it was announced that if it were defeated the Government would resign, and the date fixed was Dec. 20th. The Government believed the Labour hostility to be less than it was a year before; it hoped something from the *prestige* of the Canadian elections and an urgent cablegram from Sir Robert Borden; it thought the troops at the Front would be more favourable. On the other hand various strikes had muddled the Labour situation and the I.W.W. and Sinn Fein elements were quite incorrigible; Archbishop Mannix had about 20% of the population to play upon with an Irish-Catholic hostility to the issue which showed intense bitterness; supporters of Conscription regretted the delay involved in a Referendum and thought Parliament should have dealt with the matter by legislation; the personal and party equation was not brought to bear upon the issue as in the general election of April and in that of Canada. The Premier issued a Manifesto declaring that Australia must maintain her five Divisions in France and her forces in Palestine and elsewhere at their full strength and to do this 7,000 men per month were necessary.

It was promised that under the new law enlistment would continue and compulsion only be used to bring the total up to 7,000 a month; the choice would be confined to single men, only, between the ages of 20 and 44 years, including widowers and divorcees without children dependent upon them. There were to be many exemptions and the Government was to prescribe the industries essential to the prosecution of the War and the national welfare of Australia, with a special tribunal to determine the amount of labour necessary for their effective operation. In November Mr. Hughes issued a Manifesto to Australian soldiers serving abroad, in which he outlined the proposals of the Government and stated that voluntary recruiting had failed to produce the 7,000 men "required to keep your battalions at effective strength on General Birdwood's estimate." The Government considered this power essential: "If you refuse to endorse its policy on this question, then it will have no option but to hand over the reins of government to the extremists who are opposing it in this fight." He dealt with one of his opponents in strenuous terms:

> Archbishop Mannix, who has assumed the position of Leader of the Government's opponents in this fight, has preached sedition in and out of season. You who are near the vortex of world affairs know what Sinn Fein means. You know its disloyalty, its insatiable hatred of Britain. Yet Dr. Mannix declares: 'You in Australia are Sinn Feiners, and more luck to you.' The Sinn Fein, which has gotten German gold to do Germany's dirty work, declares that every man who wears khaki is a traitor. . . . It is Dr. Mannix who, now that Britain has set her back to the wall and is fighting for her existence against the enemies of liberty and democracy,

declares that Ireland will seize her opportunity and strike for Independence. His disloyal utterances have moved prominent Catholics in Australia to public protest—Mr. Justice Heydon, Mr. Justice Duffy, Sir Thomas Hughes.

Loyalty was the basis of Mr. Hughes' campaign—in which he travelled 3,000 miles and addressed 18 meetings in two weeks; meetings were stormy beyond compare, with returned soldiers taking energetic part; every effort was made to organize the women and Mme. Melba cabled an appeal from the United States to support Conscription; all the political leaders of the Opposition expressed loyalty and win-the-war views—Mr. Tudor himself having a son at the Front—but contended that denuding Australia of men who should be engaged in war industries was not the best way of helping; the State Premiers of New South Wales, Victoria, Tasmania and South Australia supported Conscription, while Mr. Ryan of Queensland opposed it. A further statement (Dec. 14) from the Premier told the soldiers that:

> Voluntary recruiting has failed and pacificism, I.W.W.-ism, Sinn-Fein and pro-German influences are responsible for its failure. The same influences that led to the defeat of compulsion on Oct. 28, 1916, have doomed voluntaryism. They are against all recruiting, voluntary or compulsory. The recent strike, the most disastrous in the history of Australia, was engineered by these sections for the deliberate purpose of destroying the Government and rendering its war policy abortive.

When the figures were made up it was found that Conscription was again defeated, and at the close of the year the reported total was 1,013,000 in favour and 1,178,000 against, with New South Wales as the chief antagonistic State and Queensland, Victoria and South Australia also voting in the negative, while Western Australia and Tasmania were favourable and the soldiers, also, gave a small affirmative majority. The total vote was larger by 104,000 than in 1916, and the hostile majority had risen from 73,000 to 165,000. The result evoked world-wide comment but whatever it may have meant it certainly upset the political situation and, if Hon. F. G. Tudor, Labour leader, had possessed a majority or thought he could win one at the polls, it would have put him in power. At the close of the year Mr. Hughes' resignation was in order and the whole party organization of the Commonwealth was in a state of turmoil.*

Meanwhile the Labour situation in Australia had been complex, dangerous to the State, hampering to War administration. The Labourites were no more disloyal as a class than elsewhere in the Empire but whatever pro-German elements there were in the country fastened themselves upon the Caucus organization and helped in every process or policy which might cause national disorganization. Apart from the defeat of Conscription and discouragement of recruiting, the strikes of August and September did great harm. The New South Wales strike, which started the trouble, arose (Aug. 2) from the Government's introduction of a card system of recording time in its tramways and railway workshops which the Unions claimed was a process of "speeding up"; the Government

*Note.—On Jan. 8, 1918, he did resign but Mr. Tudor failed to form a Government and Mr. Hughes returned to office.

contended there was absolutely no real grievance, that the movement was inspired by disloyal leaders and the I.W.W., that it was supported with a view to defeating a Government by industrial weapons after failing to do it with political ones.

For a time paralysis developed and at one stage hundreds of thousands of tons of overseas and coastal steamers were lying idle and 27 transports were held up in Australian ports, while every important industry throughout Australia (including mining, manufacturing and transportation) was affected. Then the Government took hold, declared the strikes illegal, refused to recognize the leaders or Committees, except as law-breakers, called and obtained volunteers to carry on the Services and arrested a number of the strike leaders, commandeered the coal mines and operated them for the public. After a few stormy and serious weeks the people so rallied to the support of the Government that strike and strikers collapsed and this form of Unionism received the severest blow it had ever been struck; the card system was maintained and loyal workers and volunteers who desired to stay were retained at their posts; 20 Unions in New South Wales were de-registered and legislation was passed to strengthen the Government in dealing with the I.W.W. and anarchism. At this time the official records showed 453 Unions in Australia with 303,507 members and 19,257 out of employment.

Meantime, while Australians at home were fighting amongst themselves those in the trenches were doing heroic service for the Empire and human liberty. At the end of October, out of 382,000 enlistments 298,000 men had gone overseas, with a current strength abroad of 216,000. Of these 16,000 were in Egypt and Palestine, 104,000 in France, and 72,000 in England. Australian troops took part in some stirring scenes on the Western front. Their patrols were the first to enter Bapaume on Mar. 17, after a Battalion, representing all the States, had worked its way through the inner defences of the town; and after their troops had held for five long months of severe winter most of the trenches opposite this place under all the appalling conditions of the Somme battlefield. Of the struggle at Lagnicourt during this battle Philip Gibbs wrote as follows, on Apr. 17:

> Battalions of Prussian Guards, charging in waves, broke through our forward posts and drove a deep wedge into our positions, where they stayed for a time, doing what damage they could. But the Australian staff officers were swift in preparing and delivering a counter blow. Companies swept forward, and, with irresistible spirit, flung themselves upon the Prussians, forcing them to retreat. They fell back in an oblique line from their way of advance, forced deliberately that way by the pressure and direction of the Australian attack. At the same time our batteries opened fire upon them with shrapnel as they ran, more and more panic-stricken, towards their old lines. The greatest disaster befell them, for they found themselves cut off by their own wire, those great broad belts of sharp spiked strands which they had planted to bar us off. What happened then was just appalling slaughter. The Prussians struggled frantically to tear their way through the wire, to climb over it and under it. They fell so that dead bodies were piled upon dead bodies in long lines of mortality before and in the midst of that spiked wire, and the Australian soldiers, quiet and grim, shot on and on till more than 1,500 German corpses lay on the field of Lagnicourt.

During the fighting in April the Australian troops advanced in the neighbourhood of Bullecourt and this village and vicinity were the scene of fierce struggles. F.-M. Sir Douglas Haig in one of his despatches (Dec. 25) stated that: "The 5th Army launched an attack on Apr. 11 against the Hindenburg line in the neighbourhood of Bullecourt. The Australian and West Riding battalions showed great gallantry in executing a very difficult attack across a wide extent of open country." Considerable progress was made, and parties of Australian troops, preceded by tanks, penetrated the German positions as far as Riencourt—though later ordered to withdraw. During the Ypres-Comines drive of the British on Sept. 20 Australian troops stormed the famous Glencorse Wood, while South Africans and British were taking neighbouring positions. According to Reuter's correspondent: "To the Anzacs and some of the British troops which served General Plumer so well at Messines, fell what might have been expected to prove the stiffest part of the great day's work. They acquitted themselves nobly. For the Australians it was the most completely successful achievement in their glorious career."

Sir Douglas Haig described this advance as "a fine performance, in which the capture of a difficult piece of ground that had much delayed us was successfully completed." On Sept. 26 the Australians carried the remainder of Polygon Wood, together with the German trench line to the east of it, and established themselves on their objectives beyond the Becelaere-Zonnebeke road. On Oct. 8 in another drive of British troops Daisy Wood, north-east of Broodseinde, where the Germans had long stubbornly resisted all attacks and held to their positions because of natural difficulties of the ground, was quickly overrun by the Australians who took many positions. It may be added that on July 6 General Wm. Holmes, C.M.G., D.S.O., who had commanded the 5th Australian Brigade in the Dardanelles, was killed in the trenches and Hon. W. A. Holman, Premier of New South Wales, wounded by shell while inspecting the Australian forces. Meanwhile, the gallantry of the Australian troops had been honoured in many ways. The year saw the list of Australian V.C. heroes rise to 18—some with bars and Military Crosses or a D.S.O. in addition. Surg.-Gen. N. B. Howse, V.C., C.B., was made a K.C.B., as was Colonel the Hon. James Burns, M.L.A.; Brig.-Gen. S. A. Pethebridge, C.M.G., and Maj.-Gen. H. G. Chauvel, C.B., C.M.G., were given the K.C.M.G. From the beginning of the War up to Apr. 16, 1917, 150 Australians also had won the D.S.O., 415 the M.C., 1,180 the Military Medal, and 413 the D.C.M.

It may be added that Parliament in August approved a War-time Profits Tax Bill. The tax was 50 per cent. for the year ending June 30, 1916, and 75 per cent. afterwards, and was levied on excess profits made after June 30, 1915. The War Loans of Australia included two from the British Government, totalling $247,000,000, and five internal ones—three of which, floated in 1915-16, totalled $293,000,000, with one in April, 1917, which brought $107,000,000 and another in November of $101,000,000—a net total of $748,000,-

000. Patriotic Funds were generously supported and up to August, 1917, the total was estimated at $36,000,000. At the beginning of the year the total was $33,000,000 for all the States and was apportioned as follows:

State	Amount	State	Amount
Victoria	$ 8,950,870	Western Australia	$ 1,648,115
New South Wales	13,212,520	Tasmania	1,050,825
Queensland	4,726,435		
South Australia	3,507,495	Total	$33,096,260

This figure included $7,323,000 collected for Belgian Relief and $9,683,000 for Red Cross funds.* There was a great variety of Funds and the help was generous for every useful cause—various Patriotic Funds re Soldiers, War and Unemployment, Y.M.C.A., Tobacco Funds, Trench Comforts, Russian, Serbian, Polish and Montenegrin Relief, Aeroplanes, Motor Ambulances and Motor Cars for the Front, Blue Cross, etc. During the year Australia completed (Oct. 1) its Transcontinental Line running 1,051 miles from Kalgoorlie in Western Australia to Port Augusta in South Australia on a partly interior route, connecting Perth, Adelaide, Melbourne, Sydney and Brisbane, costing $35,000,000 and built entirely by Government action without the aid of contractors. The total Australian casualties up to July 28, 1917, were 105,439 and the total embarkations to June 30 were 306,227; the Hon. E. D. Millen estimated the amount of money raised by Australia for war purposes up to the close of 1917—voluntary and by loan—as $1,000,000,000. A plague of mice developed during the year and in millions fed upon the wheat stored in such quantities throughout the country, despite millions of others being killed; the net profits of 23 Australian banks, with a paid-up capital of $116,700,000, were stated in February to have totalled $15,000,000 in 1915-16 with dividends averaging 9·26%.

An interesting matter was the visit of several notable Australians to Canada during the year—including Hon. Alfred Deakin, ex-Premier of the Commonwealth; Sir W. Baldwin Spencer, F.R.S., Professor of Biology, University of Melbourne; Hon. W. A. Holman, Premier of New South Wales; Hon. H. C. Hoyle, member of the Holman Government, and Hon. J. D. Connolly, new Agent-General in London for that State. Mr. Holman attracted attention in Canada, in England and in the United States for speeches which were emphatic as to the future retention by the Empire of German colonies in the Pacific and which touched new ground at several points. At a luncheon in London (June 22) he stated his hope that there would be reprisals against Germany, that the men who began the air-raids would eventually be tried, condemned and hanged as murderers, and that German prisoners in England would be put to work. At Sheffield on Aug. 6 he declared that Conscription should be a permanent measure; in London on Aug. 15 he urged before the Liberal War Committee that the Minister of Munitions should meet striking labourers face to face and explain matters, and that at the Front novel and untried methods of warfare be practiced. To the Bankers' Club, New York, on Sept. 20, Mr. Holman said:

*NOTE.—For valuable statistics in this connection I am indebted to Mr. D. H. Ross, the efficient Canadian Trade Commissioner in Australia.

"We, in Australia, pay for the transportation of our own troops, we pay them their wages of $1.50 a day. We pay for all the munitions they fire away." In Canada he addressed the Canadian Clubs at Montreal, Toronto and other places.

At Toronto on Sept. 5 Mr. Hoyle told the press that: "We have for years before the War had a large German propaganda in Australia under the guise of International Socialism. It was German to the core. As soon as war broke out the emissaries disappeared quickly." On Oct. 1 Mr. Connolly told the Toronto *Globe* that "wages in Australia are now regulated by an Arbitration Court presided over by a Supreme Court Judge and comprising a representative nominated by the employees and another by the employers. The minimum wage for unskilled labour is ten shillings ($2.50) per day."

South Africa and the War; The Republican Movement.

The Union of South Africa, with its white population of about 1,300,000—of which more than half were Dutch in origin and a considerable faction opposed to doing anything in the War or for the Empire—yet accomplished much. A reasonably safe sea-service secured by Great Britain, coasts clear of enemy offensives or danger and British contributions of men and money, helped in the process but did not detract from the outstanding achievements of Generals Botha and Smuts as civilian and military leaders of the people and their armies. Between August, 1915, and May, 1917, 66,150 men had enlisted for Overseas service and 44,214 for service in South, East or West Africa. Besides these about 4,000 men went to England at their own expense and hundreds volunteered for the Aviation Corps. South African troops had suppressed the Rebellion, furnished the forces for conquering German South-west Africa, provided the bulk of troops which carried on the long and, finally, successful campaign in German South-east Africa, contributed an Expeditionary force which won a brilliant record in Flanders and units which figured in the fighting in Mesopotamia, Egypt, Gallipoli and Macedonia.

Civilians had contributed upward of $10,000,000 by the close of 1917 to various War Funds and patriotic purposes; while tens of thousands of black labourers had been recruited for service behind the lines in Europe and in East Africa for road-making, shipping and transportation work generally. This question of native labour overseas was not clearly understood there or abroad. As a matter of fact the natives volunteered their services, they were accepted under strict supervision and were doing splendid work; they came largely from Bechuanaland, Swaziland and Basutoland, which in any case were under direct Imperial control. At the request of the Imperial Government that of the Union had formed a Railway battalion of men drawn from local services for work in France. On Apr. 13, 1917, Hon. F. S. Malan, Minister of Mines, announced that the Union Government had decided to make a grant of $5,000,000 to the Imperial authorities in recognition of, but not in compensation for the protection afforded to South African trade by the British Navy; and the estimates providing for this sum were duly

voted on June 28. During the year this and other matters of war-concern were widely and often bitterly discussed and crudely misrepresented by the Nationalists, under J. B. M. Hertzog. Lord Buxton, the Governor-General—who lost his son at the Front on Oct. 9—in opening Parliament (Feb. 16) announced proposals for a more adequate pension for the Overseas troops; declared that the devoted and gallant services rendered to the Empire by the South African forces overseas reflected great credit on officers and men who were upholding the honour of South Africa and deserved the gratitude of their fellow-citizens; hoped that it would be possible not only to maintain the Overseas contingent at full strength, but to augment it; stated that Ministers had continued to organize as many volunteers as possible for service abroad and in Africa and desired to render His Majesty's Government all possible assistance in the vigorous prosecution of the War.

Meantime military operations under control of, or in which South Africa was vitally interested, were important. A despatch from General Northey as to the Nyassaland-Rhodesia force in German East Africa dated Mar. 10, 1917, dealt with the conquest of 20,000 square miles of territory; about the same time a despatch was made public from Major-Gen. J. C. Smuts, describing the operations in that country following the occupation of the Kilimanjaro-Aruscha area in 1916. The larger problem of the conquest of the whole of this great German colony necessitated the re-organization of the East African forces and this had been done by forming three divisions under General Smuts as Commander-in-Chief; other military agencies in the conquest were the troops under General Northey and Sir Charles Crewe, the Belgians who advanced on Tabora and the Portuguese who had come through on the extreme north. Of the troops generally General Smuts said: "The plain tale of their achievements bears the most convincing testimony to the spirit, determination, and prodigious efforts of all ranks."

Lieut.-Gen. A. E. Hoskins eventually replaced General Smuts on his call to England late in 1916; in April, 1917, Maj.-Gen. J. L. van Deventer succeeded to the command; and a Boer officer thus closed a great British campaign which a Boer General had commenced. It must be added that the British or Boer military leaders had a German opponent in Col. Von Luttow-Vorbeck who, in military skill, was worthy of their steel and who organized black contingents of great fighting capacity and value. General Smuts in fact described these Askiri troops under German leadership as "the most formidable force of black troops I have ever seen," and the German pre-war scheme of organizing African negroes into one of the most powerful armies in the world as eminently practicable. In this campaign—of which only the straggling ends had to be brought together after his departure—General Smuts had to contend with an army of about 50,000 of these troops, stiffened by a thousand Germans and strengthened with powerful artillery, observation balloons and many machine guns. To meet them he had some British soldiers and some British South Africans, thousands of Boer volunteers, the Belgian troops and about 12,000 negro soldiers from various parts of South Africa.

On Dec. 1, 1917, General van Deventer was able to telegraph the Union Government that: "German East Africa is completely cleared of the enemy. Thus the whole of German overseas possessions have passed into our hands and those of our Belgian allies. Only a small German force now remains in being. This has taken refuge in adjoining Portuguese territory and measures are being taken to deal with it." Thus a country, nearly double the size of Germany itself, was conquered and with that of South-west Africa, already conquered, a veritable empire was acquired. Through these efforts and the sacrifices involved the South African Union had secured a real voice in the disposal of a sub-continent and the dreams and statecraft of Cecil Rhodes were verging on accomplishment. The situation in this great portion of the African continent at the close of 1917 showed the British flag waving over the following regions:

	Area (Sq. Miles)	Total Population	Proportion of Whites
Cape Province	276,995	2,564,965	582,377
Natal	35,290	1,194,043	98,114
Transvaal	110,426	1,686,212	420,562
Orange Free State	50,392	528,174	175,189
Basutoland	11,716	404,507	1,396
Bechuanaland	275,000	125,000	1,692
Rhodesia	438,575	1,570,559	34,379
British East Africa	248,000	4,000,000	3,500
Uganda	109,119	2,927,494	1,903
Nyassaland	39,573	1,139,900	785
Total	1,595,086	16,140,854	1,319,897
German South-east Africa	384,318	7,500,000	5,536
German South-west Africa	322,450	264,830	14,830
Total	706,768	7,764,830	20,366

On the Western front, in Europe, South Africans maintained the reputation of their 1916 exploits at Delville Wood. During the Battle of Arras, for instance, and not far from the Canadians in their capture of Vimy, the South African troops stormed a position with what the London *Times* correspondent of Apr. 13 described as "great gallantry." Sir Douglas Haig in his Report noted this as a complete success north of the Scarpe where "troops from Scotland and South Africa who had already stormed St. Laurent Blagny captured Attries." In the 3rd Battle of Ypres on Sept. 20 Reuter's correspondent stated that the South Africans did splendid work. They swept forward toward their mark with irresistible *élan*, and the Commander-in-Chief afterwards referred to this fighting as follows: "Scottish and South African troops, advancing on both sides of the Ypres-Roulers railway, stormed the line of fortified farms immediately in front of their position and, pressing on, captured Zonnebeke and Bremen Redoubts and the hamlet of Zevenkote."

As to the political position the Premier and his South African party were sure of the Unionist party support under Sir Thomas Smartt upon all matters of pro-British war policy and this gave General Botha 93 seats out of 130. The Nationalist minority of 27, however, under General J. B. M. Hertzog, was bitterly antagonistic, anti-British, anti-War and anti-Empire. It concentrated in its support all Boer prejudices and hatreds of the older-time,

the racial bitternesses and crude ignorances of the Veldt, all the elements which once looked for a South African Republic, from the Cape to the Zambesi, under Boer control. The Government, however, while accepting and needing Unionist support did not cater to it or even receive it with public gratitude—influenced, no doubt, by the difficulty of holding Boer support in a country where there were over 700,000 Dutch people to 600,000 English-speaking, besides 70,000 Jews, a number of Germans and others, surrounded by nearly 16,000,000 blacks. Hence it was that General Botha opposed Coalition; with the Nationalists it was impossible, with the Unionists unwise. As to the principles of the South African party of which General Botha was leader, an outline was given late in 1917 by Sir Meiring Beck, Minister of Posts and Telegraphs, as involving: (1) the creation of a self-dependent South Africa by means of the development of its resources, agricultural and industrial, and through the medium of racial co-operation; (2) the maintenance of law, order, and constitutional rule; (3) a determination to protect and defend the constitution; (4) wholehearted acceptance of the principle that the voice of the majority must be accepted as the ruling voice; (5) the recognition of obligations and responsibilities, as well as privileges, under the British Crown.

During 1917 the seeds of Nationalist propaganda had taken root and grown into bold advocacy of republican ideas with other Separatist activities of a varied nature. In the background, everywhere, were Gen. Hertzog and his followers; all the assistance that could be given by German emissaries and old-time Boer irreconcilables was given. The Nationalist press and speeches teemed with assertions hostile to British connection, to the Governor-General and his alleged encroachments upon constitutional rights, to the burdensome responsiblities of the War. So pronounced did the campaign become that General Botha (June 15) issued a warning to the Transvaal members of his Party to be on their guard against "a false and misleading propaganda for Independence." After describing the proposal as impracticable and dangerous and as leading to "bitterness, division, race hatred and even to civil war," he concluded with these words: "My warning is intended very earnestly, because I foresee in this movement nothing but ruin for South Africa and disastrous consequences for the South African people. I appeal above all to our pioneers and the fathers of the people to follow the safe way of honour, along which a great future awaits us."

The Nationalist reply to the Premier was a Manifesto issued by its Federal Council. It stated in terms of sinister moderation that it was an undeniable fact that in the hearts of a very considerable section of the population of South Africa there was a strong desire for complete Independence; that the right of self-government would naturally develop in the direction of greater self-dependence; that the movement for a closer union of the Empire was in complete conflict with this tendency; that the republican sentiment already existing had been greatly accentuated by the

policy of the War, and that, in short "the existence of a republican sentiment in the country is wholly explicable and legitimate." Violence was, of course, deprecated, whether it was intended "to bring about or to prevent a change of status." On June 20 Parliament recognized the evils of the situation by passing (72 to 21 votes) a Resolution presented by the Rt. Hon. J. X. Merriman, a veteran statesman, seconded by C. Louw, a Dutch member, as follows:

> That this House, viewing with alarm several manifestations of a republican propaganda now being carried on in this country, desires to record its opinion that such manifestations, whether by speech, writing or other methods, are directly at variance with the constitution as laid down and agreed to in the South African Act; that they are opposed to the best interests of the people, and if persisted in must inevitably lead to fatal dissensions and to the ultimate ruin of the European race in South Africa. This House, therefore, calls upon all those who are loyal to the constitution to express the strongest disapproval of the dangerous efforts of those who seek to subvert the principles upon which that constitution is based.

Speaking at Robertson, Cape Colony (June 24) General Botha —who had a son at the Front—again denounced this propaganda: "I believe in maintaining the link between South Africa and Great Britain. You cannot destroy this link without a bloody civil war. You cannot create a republic unless the two races agree. And it is not possible that the English element in South Africa will want a republic. . . . The people are playing with fire. Let us cease this nonsense." At the South African Party Congress, Pretoria, on Oct. 1, a Resolution was passed expressing readiness to secure a better understanding with the Nationalists on the basis of (1) the maintenance of the Union Constitution, (2) of carrying out the obligations connected therewith, and (3) of the maintenance of South African Party principles; but at the same time repudiating, unanimously, all republican ideas and endorsing Mr. Merriman's Resolution in Parliament.

On the same day the Nationalists held a Congress at Bloemfontein and Gen. Hertzog declared that ultimate Independence was desirable and inevitable; at the same time he maintained that the result of the Government's policy in assisting Great Britain in the War was a spirit of dissatisfaction which was almost revolutionary. At Graaf Reinet, a Cape Colony Congress of Nationalists was addressed on the same day by Dr. Malan, Editor of *De Burger*, who expressed similar views but declared the time not ripe and urged that the movement be not forced prematurely. In November the Transvaal Provincial Council took swift advantage of certain British speeches on Peace conditions to read into them the principle that "no peace will be possible before the violated rights and liberties, principles, nationalities, and independent existence of small nations have been recognized," and, therefore, to urge the British Government to apply this principle to South Africa!

Meanwhile the presence and career of General Jan Christian Smuts in England during these months was a living lesson in Imperialism and the antithesis of Nationalism. Coming with the *éclat* of victory against the Germans and of loyalty to the Empire

in a leader of a race akin to the German and who had shared in war against Great Britain only a few years before, General Smuts soon added to his reputation by a sane survey of the situation in his public speeches and private counsels. Within a few months he had been sworn of the Privy Council, given the Freedom of London and other great cities, made a Doctor of Laws in half-a-dozen Universities, heard at important meetings as one of the greater British statesmen would be heard, recognized by the press as a leader of public opinion, accepted as one of the chiefs in the Imperial Conference, called to the Imperial War Cabinet and retained there as a permanent member—with, at 47 years of age, his personality, his pictures and his name known in every part of the British Empire and in every Chancellerie of Europe.

Speaking at a London banquet on May 22 he declared that the military training of African natives should be forbidden: "An army might be trained there which would be a danger to civilization. Again, we must remember that we have now secured a through route from Egypt to the Cape, protected not only on the land, but on the sea side. I hope this will be borne in mind when the settlement after the War comes about." In similar speeches—made from time to time in all the British centres of thought—General Smuts emphasized two points (1) that Boer and Briton were fighting together for an ideal of liberty that was universal and that (2) peace would be suicide if accepted before civilization was secured in its future right to freedom. As he put it at Sheffield on Oct. 24: "We cannot make peace until the German war machine becomes a scrap of paper and Germany has learned the lesson that war does not pay, that the wages of sin is death." His view of Imperial relations was concisely expressed at a banquet given him by both Houses of Parliament on May 15:

> How are you going to keep this Commonwealth of nations together? It seems to me that there are two potent factors that you must rely upon for the future. The first is your hereditary Kingship, the other is our Conference system. As to the first you cannot make a republic of the British Commonwealth of nations. If you had to elect a President, he would have to be a President not only here in these Islands, but all over the British Empire—in India and in the Dominions—and be really representative of all these peoples. Here you would face an absolutely insoluble problem. . . . In regard to the present system of Imperial Conferences, it will be necessary to devise better machinery for common consultation than we have at present.

Of other matters of importance it may be stated that official figures* showed the total direct War expenditures of the Union Government from Aug. 4, 1914, to Mar. 31, 1917, as £3,239,461 from Revenue account and £23,454,145 from Loan account, with at least £1,000,000 of indirect war expenditure or an approximate total of $138,000,000. According to James R. Leisk, Secretary for Finance, the major portion of the Loans was borrowed from the Imperial Government. As to voluntary contributions H.E. Lord Buxton had appealed in August, 1916, for an increase in the Governor-General's Patriotic Fund for Soldiers to £1,000,000 within 12 months. On Feb. 28, 1917, he was able to report the receipt of £1,006,334 or $5,000,000,

*Note.—Obtained through the courtesy of W. J. Egan, Canadian Trade Commissioner at Cape Town.

and to state that the monthly expenditure under the Fund was £27,000 or $135,000. By Provinces the contributions showed £331,000 from the Transvaal, £258,000 from the Cape, £183,000 from Natal, and only £13,000 from the Free State. There were many other War Funds and no central authority over them, but a general estimate, including machine guns, aeroplanes, Red Cross, etc., would indicate another £1,000,000 or $5,000,000 of voluntary contributions.

New Zealand and Newfoundland in the War.

New Zealand continued its gallant and efficient service to the Empire in 1917. Its Coalition Government had commenced work in 1916 and the New Year found its leaders—Rt. Hon. W. F. Massey and Sir Joseph Ward—in England where they remained for the Imperial Conference. Conscription was in force and the first calls for military service had given thousands. Prices were high and increasing with a difference, for instance, between the value of 11 chief New Zealand exports for the year of July 31, 1916, at current figures and those assessed at 1914 figures, of $55,000,000; the population was found to be 1,100,000 or an increase of 141,000 since 1911; the War expenditure up to June 30, 1917, totalled $142,000,000 and war loans $120,000,000, while a War Purposes Loan Bill in August authorized the borrowing of $120,000,000 more at 4½% with one-half asked for at once which was over-subscribed by $15,000,000.

Old-age pensions were increased by $1.25 a week and a War bonus to Civil Servants of $2,000,000 a year was voted by the Legislature; the Budget of the year, presented in August by Sir Joseph Ward, showed an ordinary revenue of $91,835,000 and a surplus, apart from the War, of $21,000,000, with the imposition of various new taxes—a progressive land tax, tax on unimproved values, a progressive income tax and a super-war tax on incomes, an amusements tax and increased customs and excise duties. The Public Debt was $627,000,000 as compared with $458,000,000 in 1914. In recognition of New Zealand's position in the Empire it was created a Dominion by the Imperial Government and the Governor raised to the status of a Governor-General.

The chief issue of the year was enforcement of the Conscription Act. The Court of Appeal declared the Act valid on Apr. 4; the Government did as that of Great Britain had done and as Canada did later, relegated the question of exemptions to special tribunals; by June, 1917, thousands of volunteers had come forward as well as 10,000 men under the compulsory call; Sir James Allen, as Acting Premier and Minister of Defence, carried out his task with fair success. There had been difficulties. Thousands of appeals were lodged, the Military Service Boards were increased from four to ten, and at times the situation was chaotic; drastic War Regulations as to sedition were deemed necessary, Labour was restive and the question of primary production and workers inevitably prominent.

The Coal-mine strike of April was undoubtedly seditious in origin and the action was not a complete cessation of work but a deliberate, pre-arranged limitation of output which threatened the country with a severe fuel famine, the curtailment of war industry and hampering of transportation. The men announced in a Manifesto that they had no quarrel with the Companies: "In the present instance it is Conscription alone and nothing but Conscription." Yet the Service Boards were granting exemptions to all miners actually engaged in mining. On Apr. 25 the strike was settled on a basis of essential mine-workers being exempted with other conditions which eliminated penalties, released prisoners and really played with the principle involved. This trouble was a reflection of the Labour opposition to Conscription in Australia; a large number of the miners were really loyal to the War and many had sons at the Front. A little later some municipal elections were fought on the Conscription issue and its opponents were snowed under by votes. On July 6 Sir Joseph Ward intimated, in reply to protests against curtailment of railway services in order to release men for the Front, that the time must come "when it may not be possible to let any more men go"; Mr. Massey agreed with this view but, at the same time, stated that the authorities in England had made a special appeal to him for more men.

The Pacifists and men of similar type in the Dominion at once seized on these words to argue that the best service was production of food, etc., with a distinguished member of the Legislative Council urging the export of sheep rather than men; but Sir James Allen, Sir Francis Bell and Mr. Massey himself soon put a quietus on this argument. By the middle of the year 74,000 men had gone to the Front, of whom 3,200 were in Egypt and Palestine, 12,000 were in training camps, and the returned men numbered 10,547, of whom 1,238 re-enlisted; the casualties had been over 26,000 and the proportion of wounded returning to the Front was 61%. Reinforcements were, at this time (August) reduced from 15 to 12% or in weekly drafts from 2,400 to 1,920. In August, also, the Police were given enforcement of a law which aimed at enrolment of every man of military age in the Dominion in an Expeditionary Force Reserve; those not responding were subject to a fine of $250 or imprisonment for three months. In calling up the men for active service it was decided that the basis for married men should be children—those without any being called first.

A National Efficiency Board prepared a basis under which every man and woman in the Dominion should do some form of War work if necessary; Maoris were brought under the Compulsory Act and trouble was caused by the inclusion of priests in the drafting ballots. They were supposed to be exempted but some of the Boards objected and there was much friction—the Dominion Catholic Federation finally protesting vigorously: "(1) That such compulsion of clergy is abhorrent to the minds of Catholics and without precedent in English-speaking countries; (2) that the number of such clergy is too insignificant to make their service as soldiers of material value in winning the War; (3) that the religious minis-

trations of all such clergy and religious assistants are absolutely necessary within the Dominion." During the prolonged nine months' visit of Mr. Massey and Sir J. G. Ward to Great Britain they took part in matters of Conference and Cabinet import and in May and June returned home *via* Canada where they addressed a number of Canadian Club meetings.

New Zealanders distinguished themselves as usual on the Western front, with Messines as the central incident of the year. In the great Battle of Arras one of the objectives was Messines Ridge and the most important points of this Ridge, which overlooked the Ypres roadways and operations, were the villages of Wytschaete and Messines. The London *Times* correspondent had this to say of the capture on June 7: "It is to the New Zealanders that the honour of winning the village of Messines fell, and they did their work, as always, cleanly and well, with very light casualties, and, after the success, they consolidated and fortified their ground with a thoroughness and precision which deserve the highest praise. . . . Between the New Zealand, Australian and Irish troops were the stanch English regiments, who have done, as always, magnificently. They have carried everything before them, and, so far as we know at present, there is no flaw in our success."

Sir Douglas Haig reported of the 3rd Battle of Ypres that on July 31 the attack on the 2nd Army front had met with complete success. On the extreme right New Zealand troops carried La Basseville after a sharp fight lasting some 50 minutes. On the left English troops had captured Hollebeke, etc.—together they got 6,100 prisoners. During the attack of Oct. 4 New Zealand troops carried Gravenstafel, and drove the enemy from a network of trenches and strong points on the Gravenstafel Spur. On Oct. 12 another kind of incident occurred when the New Zealand division was assigned to attack the Bellevue ridge and other positions 2,000 yards from Passchendaele village. "We thought," wrote the New Zealand correspondent with the troops, "at the time that we were up against a stiffer proposition than we had tackled at Messines, stiffer even than at the Somme. . . . Greasy, muddy, waterlogged shell-holes, concrete redoubts fronted with wire and crammed full with machine guns; in addition to all this the artillery had the greatest difficulty in getting up the guns." In the end the advance was found impossible and, finally, it was given up with a New Zealand loss of nearly 5,000 men. In this and other battles great heroism was shown and Corp. Samuel Frickleton, Lieut. Rupert Vance Moon, Pte. Thomas Cooke, Cpl. Leslie Wilton Andrew won the Victoria Cross. Five others had won the honour in preceding years, including, perhaps, the youngest General officer on Service—Brig.-Gen. B. C. Freyberg, D.S.O., who, in 1917, was only 28 and had been twice wounded in Gallipoli and again at the Ancre.

Other incidents of the year included the purchase of Cheese by the Government on behalf of the British authorities at 9½ pence for 1st grade and 9¼ pence for 2nd grade, with the statement that if sufficient cheese was not offered the necessary amount would

be seized and requisitioned; the continued control by the Imperial Government of New Zealand lamb and mutton with prices of 6½ pence per lb. to 4⅞ per lb., the use in this respect of Government agents and elimination of profiteering; the purchase of New Zealand wool by the British Government at a total price of about $70,000,000 and involving prices which were satisfactory but not exorbitant; the increasingly sympathetic legislation for women which was described by Lady Ward when in Toronto (May 29) as including Mothers' pensions or annuities, widow's annuities and grants for the care of orphans up to 14 years, State training of mothers in the care of infants, and, of course, the franchise; a continued shortage of shiping aggravated, in the case of this Dominion, by inadequate storage facilities for meat, butter and cheese; the official statement* that by Mar. 31, 1917, the New Zealand people had contributed to various War and Patriotic Funds $16,095,000 in money and $1,490,000 in goods. Retail food prices had increased 30% over July, 1914 —about the same rate as in Australia.

The Island of Newfoundland, like New Zealand, was recognized as a Dominion in official title during 1917 and its War record certainly merited the compliment. Sir W. E. Davidson, who since 1913 had been the successful Governor of the Island was appointed to New South Wales in October and his successor was Sir Charles Alexander Harris, K.C.M.G., C.B., C.V.O., who for a number of years had been associated with the Colonial Office. In politics Newfoundland went through the same experience as Canada and Australia and formed a Coalition Government. Sir Edward Morris still remained the strongest personality in the local political world; he had been a member of its Government for 15 years and Premier since 1909; but new problems and conditions required new men and the closer co-operation of parties. The Premier saw this and endeavoured to bring them together—not an easy task in a country where party feeling and personal prejudices ran high and were often bitter in the extreme. In the House of Assembly, with a membership of 36, the Government held 21 seats and the Opposition 15, but the latter claimed that a majority of the votes at the last Elections had been cast for them—a result due to the fact that the Fishermen's Union Party, a new organization which had sprung to life in the northern districts, swept nine constituencies by enormous majorities, and now were supporting the Opposition.

Another Election was due and was claimed to be very undesirable in War-time; but the Opposition, under Dr. Wm. Lloyd and W. F. Coaker of the Fishermen's Party, did not accept this view, demanded an Election, and strenuously fought the proposal to extend the duration of the Legislature by special Act. Early in July a deadlock developed in the business of Parliament and the Government could not even pass its Revenue bills. Finally on Aug. 16 the Premier announced that all parties had come to a war agreement, that permission had been obtained from the Imperial Government to increase the Cabinet from 9 to 12, that a Bill would

*Note.—By courtesy of W. A. Beddoe, Canadian Trade Commissioner at Auckland.

be presented and passed, extending the life of the Legislature for one year and legalizing the seats of new Ministers without bye-elections, that Hon. S. D. Blandford, Hon. C. H. Emerson and Hon. R. K. Bishop had resigned their positions to facilitate the re-organization and that the new National Cabinet would be as follows:

GOVERNMENT PARTY MEMBERS

Prime Minister	Rt. Hon. Sir Edward Morris
Minister of Finance	Hon. Michael P. Cashin
Minister of Militia and Defence	Hon. John R. Bennett
Colonial Secretary	Hon. R. A. Squires, K.C.
Without Portfolio	Hon. M. P. Gibbs
Without Portfolio	Hon. John C. Crosbie

OPPOSITION PARTY MEMBERS

Minister of Justice	Hon. William F. Lloyd
Minister of Agriculture	Hon. Walter Halfyard
Without Portfolio	Hon. William F. Coaker
Without Portfolio	Hon. J. Augustus Clift
Without Portfolio	Hon. A. E. Hickman
Without Portfolio	Hon. William J. Ellis

Wm. Woodford (Government) was Minister of Public Works and John Stone (Opposition) Minister of Marine and Fisheries, without seats in the Cabinet. A Cabinet Committee, composed of Messrs. Coaker, Crosbie and Hickman, was at once appointed to deal with the difficult matter of shipping and tonnage. A Commission appointed by the late Government to look into the High Cost of Living had embodied another issue by reporting on July 10 that as to one standard grade of pork alone "we find that from Jan. 1 to the middle of May the price as imported varied only from about $32 to $34, while the average selling price in the market for the same period rose from about $33 to $44, showing that whereas the cost of the article only increased $2 in about four months, the price to the consumer advanced about $10." Many millions of profit were made by this means.

In the Legislature a crisis arose at the end of August by the Upper House or Council rejecting the Profits Tax Bill, introduced and carried in the Assembly by the new Government. It aimed at checking the evil indicated above and levied a tax (not retroactive) of 20% on all business profits in excess of $3,000. It not being constitutional to reconsider Bills, the Legislature closed, and again convened in an Extraordinary Session. On recommendation of the National Cabinet the Governor appointed four new members of the Council who at once voted in favour of the Profits Tax Bill, which thereupon became law. During the main Session a number of local Acts were passed, including the inauguration of Daylight Saving, the enactment of War Pensions and provision for a Board of Pension Commissioners, the creation of a Militia Department, the appointment of a Food Control Board, the enactment of a Currency Act creating a coinage similar to that of Canada, and a Loan Act for $3,000,000. Another Act was unanimously passed defining and restricting the powers of the Upper House and reserving money bills in particular to the House of Assembly.

Meanwhile Prohibition had gone into force on Jan. 1, 1917, and it stopped the import, manufacture or sale of intoxicating liquors of every kind within the Colony, except for medicinal, manufactur-

ing, or sacramental purposes, and not excepting a long list of patent medicines which were specifically banned. A public Controller in St. John's and physicians or magistrates elsewhere were the custodians of supplies legally permitted. At the end of the year the handicap upon revenue involved in this policy had been met and the Revenue was found for the calendar year to total $4,442,476 or $25,867 more than in 1916. The Food Control Board, appointed in August, consisted of Hon. P. T. McGrath, M.L.C., as Chairman, Henry Le Messurier, Deputy Minister of Customs, and George Grimes, M.L.A. In September Hon. J. R. Bennett, the new Minister of Militia, visited Toronto, Ottawa and other points for the purpose of looking into Canada's Militia system, recruiting methods, conscription conditions, etc.

The Island Colony already had done much along recruiting and other War lines. Out of a population of 240,000, and up to the beginning of 1917, there had been sent overseas 2,810 soldiers and 1,638 sailors while 459 of the former and 83 of the latter were under training at St. John's—a total of 4,990 men. Of these there had been 930 permanent casualties. During 1917 the Royal Newfoundland Regiment, which had done such excellent service in Gallipoli and on the Somme, further distinguished itself, while Sir Edward Morris on May 1 received through the Colonial Secretary a despatch fron General Allenby, then commanding a Division in France, stating that during recent fighting: "The Newfoundlanders did gallant work in repelling very heavy counter-attacks by the Germans. Their casualties were high, but they showed splendid staunchness and fought like heroes." The London *Times* correspondent on Sept. 3 wrote that:

> In proportion to their numbers there are no troops in the Army which have earned for themselves a finer reputation than the Newfoundlanders. This year at Arras, beyond Monchy, they behaved magnificently. Once more in the recent fighting here they have done superbly. It was in the advance beyond Steenbeek, when they were among the troops whose task was to cross some 500 yards of what is known as Floating Swamp to attack a strong fortified position with concrete defences on the farther side. Floating Swamp is the name for a quaking morass which gives no foothold anywhere, but heaves and oozes and bubbles to unknown depths as you wade through it. The swamp was a fearsome thing to breast, and it was swept by machine-gun fire, which, however, spluttered blindly through our *barrage*. Behind it they went doggedly on in the grey of the early morning, wading, stumbling, forcing a way as best they could. Those who were badly hit sank into the dreadful ooze. Some lightly wounded went on after their comrades or made their painful way back. But the rest went on, and, mud from head to toe, with only their rifles held above their heads still dry, panting and almost worn out, on the heels of the *barrage* they rushed the German fort. There was a short burst of wild fighting, and the fort was theirs after as fine an exhibition of mere physical endurance as men have often been called on to show.

Newfoundland suffered from the War in various ways. Many of her ships were torpedoed, her fast, six-hour boat service between Sydney, C.B., and Port au Basques, was discontinued, the water journey between shore and shore became ten hours long. No lights were allowed upon the streets of St. John's and in many other ways the Island felt far more the pressure of war than any place in Canada. Dependent as she was on other countries for many of her supplies

the shortage of shipping was keenly felt, while hard coal was run up to $20 a ton. Red Cross work was continuous and Lady Davidson gave up every available bit of Government House for the purpose while gifts of money and material went to Great Britain and many of the Allies, and the Patriotic Association aided recruiting, organized training, financed regimental undertakings, and expended $3,000,000 in these things and the care of soldiers' families or the education of returned soldiers.

The Indian Empire and Its War-Action; The Demand for Home Rule.

The place of India in the War during 1927 remained more or less a shadowy outline or impression in the public mind of the world. Its Princes were known to have given generously, its intellectual classes to be seeking some vague policy called self-government, its vast peasant and artisan classes of many races to be still inarticulate, its military forces to have suffered in the Kut disaster of 1916 and the Royal Commission Report of 1917. As to the first point there could be no question. The rulers of Native States in British India and of tributary States without its boundaries were equally loyal. As the Maharajah of Gwalior, who had expended at least $1,500,000 on War purposes to date, put it early in March: "I, and the other Rulers of India, are prepared to pour all our resources into the common war coffer until Germany is crushed. The world conflagration, by furnishing a common platform upon which all India can work, has done much to encourage co-operation among the Indian States, and also to emphasize the essential unity of aims between them and the Government of India." To the Associated Press on Feb. 26 the Maharajah of Bikaner was even more emphatic:

> I love the King-Emperor as the representative of sovereign power, and I love him as a man. There is no sacrifice which he might ask of me that I would not make. My resources, my life and the lives of the men of Bikaner belong to him. I myself am a ruler, the descendant of sovereigns who have held our land for centuries. We are a proud race, but I would gladly kneel to lift the shoes of His Majesty were he but to command, though I would do that for no one else in the wide world. That is how I feel personally toward the Throne, and I speak with the authority arising from close associations with my brother rulers when I tell you that they too love their King-Emperor and will follow where he leads, through thick and thin.

The relationship and value of the British Monarchy to India could not be more clearly defined than in these words. To this ruler there had come an invitation to a seat in the Imperial War Conference and from 60 of the most important ruling Princes of India there went back to the King-Emperor an expression of gratitude for the honour thus conferred on the Indian empire and themselves. These rulers had already given largely in direct money contributions and yearly grants, in men and resources, guns, motor-ambulances and lorries, well-equipped hospitals, hospital ships, aeroplanes, stores and munitions of war, and numerous gifts of convenience and comfort, with subscriptions given freely to the Indian war funds and to the Central Funds in London.

The Maharajah of Pattiala, the Khan of Khelat, the Rajah of Manipur, the Chiefs of Bihar and Orissa, Bahratpur and Panna

were announced in April to have given a corps of mule-drivers and a camel corps, to have defrayed expenses and provided men for infantry contingents, granted money for aeroplanes, and given railway cars for use in Mesopotamia; the Government of the Punjab placed at the disposal of the Commander-in-Chief 180,000 acres to be allotted to those who rendered distinguished service in the field, and the Lieut.-Governor, Sir R. F. O'Dwyer, stated on Nov. 6 that the Province had contributed 320,000 men to the Indian Army since war began; the Maharajah of Nabha gave the British Government 3 lakhs of rupees ($100,000) for war purposes, together with 100 horses and the use of his residences at Simla, Ambala and Lahore, for the wounded; the Nepal Government granted a second contribution of $100,000 for War purposes, the ruler of Darbhanga gave $66,000 for aeroplanes; the Gaikwar of Baroda gave $33,000 to the Imperial Indian Relief Fund, the rulers of Rajputana contributed $150,000 to the King-Emperor for aeroplanes and machine guns, the Maharajah of Mysore gave $330,000; the Nizam of Hyderabad contributed $500,000 to the Admiralty to help in fighting the Submarine peril.

At Simla on Sept. 5 Lord Chelmsford, Viceroy of India, reviewed the situation in this connection. He stated that of the large, well-equipped fleet of river steamers on the Tigris and Euphrates 57 per cent. had been supplied by India, which had also provided a considerable mileage of railway material, equipment and *personnel.* Large quantities of railway material also had been sent from India to Egypt and East Africa and electrical power stations established throughout Mesopotamia. The Indian Telegraph Department supplied and maintained over 9,000 miles of telegraph line, while the Farms' Department furnished "military dairies," and cultivated vegetable gardens in the Tigris and Euphrates valleys. There were 20 Indian labour corps in Mesopotamia, and another 25 in France, with "upwards of 60,000 artisans, labourers and special workers of various kinds, and some 20,000 menials and followers." 350 medical officers had been withdrawn from civil employment, and 500 Indian practitioners had accepted temporary commissions in the Indian Medical service. An Indian Munitions Board had been founded under the direction of Sir Thomas Holland; it had regrouped the official machinery of control and started many new War enterprises.

The Government also financed in this year large quantities of wheat, jute manufactures, hides, and other essential commodities for Great Britain, the Dominions and the Allied Governments. At the beginning of the year the Central Imperial Relief Fund totalled $3,600,000; it was largely added to in 1917. On Mar. 1 it was announced that the Indian Government would contribute $500,000,000 of a special grant for war-purposes—the amount to be raised partly by a Loan issued in India which, at the close of the year, totalled $175,000,000, and partly by taking over the liability for interest and sinking fund on such an amount of the British War Loan, as might be necessary to make up the total—$30,000,000 of this being provided for in the current estimates. Meanwhile the

British Government, up to the close of the year, had spent $940,000,000 in India for war purposes. In this connection the preceding conduct of affairs by Sir Wm. Meyer, Minister of Finance—whose name had a peculiar ring—came in for a criticism which covered his effort to keep expenditures on a peace basis and his alleged parsimony in the first Mesopotamia expedition.

Such was the surface situation of India in this great crisis. Under the surface unknown, intangible elements of vast and varied nature were seething amongst its 315 millions of population. They were the crude, disunited, intensely ignorant feelings of the impassive Oriental mind; they were not active because there was no sufficient reason, such as the Indian Mutiny leaders provided, to force the native to mental and physical exertion; they were of a nature beside which the Russian problem in psychology was an open book and they ran in two main streams with an immense variety of currents and cross-currents in racial and ethnographic detail—the Mohammedan and the Hindu. In the main the former comprised the great fighting races, the dominant forces of any physical warfare in India; the latter included a small class intellectualized by western education, and another class of fanatical priests and leaders who embodied the wildest cults of Oriental religion; others there were in great masses of Hindus who were untouched as yet by any civilization but their own and possessed of an infinite number of castes which were harder to break than any traditional law of Medes or Persians.

Below and around all the bewildering varieties of race and language and creed, of ignorant superstition and murderous fanaticism; of cultured high life and loyal rulers of what were really great nations in population and wealth; of splendour in buildings and dress and jewels and the other extreme of squalour in life and habits and environment, which was called India, were certain defined conditions. There was (1) the existence of 3,000 or more castes which maintained feelings as to race and religion beside which those of Quebec or Ireland were mere figures of speech, and (2) a certain Oriental softness and fatalism of thought and feeling and expression which looked to the past rather than the present, created a content which was really passiveness and left public and private destinies in the hands of its rulers or leaders. Hence the tremendous and little-understood responsibility assumed by Western advocates of change and reform and political betterment. Russian Bolshevikism and anarchy were mere trivialities compared with a possible situation in India when the peaceful ryot in his many millions, the satisfied artisan in his lesser millions, the warlike Mohammedan in his sense of superiority and belief in supremacy, should be really stirred into action by agitators, disturbed in centuries-old thought by demagogues, or let loose upon the fair fabric of Indian empire construction and development by attempts of the political *genii* to put Oriental wine into a Western bottle.

How the voting privileges and free institutions and Western government were to work amongst a people iron-bound in an almost inconceivable system of caste; with fundamental ideas of life and society which absolutely prohibited intervention from above by rulers,

laws or regulations, to say nothing of Legislatures; with customs as to inter-marriage, infant marriage, prohibition of widows' re-marriage (even infant widows) and the appalling infant mortality due to deep-rooted superstitions and customs running into dim centuries of the past; with conditions of semi-servitude and almost satisfied slavery amongst millions and with scores of other millions of the lower castes living in hopeless social outlawry whose touch or even shadow was regarded as pollution; were not indicated or even discussed. Native agitators would not do so; British statesmen could not very well do so.

Yet the latter did not in 1917 seem to be afraid of these conditions; they strove to meet alleged elements of discontent, vague threats of trouble by agitators and Eastern politicians, through all kinds of promises and plans. Anyone looking for discontent in a bundle of hundreds of millions of antagonistic races and castes and creeds would find, and will always find, what he sought; the statesman should seemingly do his best not to stir up such a hornet's nest of age-long prejudices, hatreds and conflicting traditions as the life of India embodied. Party politics, a pure Indian Civil Service, an untainted Judiciary of the British kind, an impartial educational system, appeared as utterly alien to the real Eastern conception of government as the ethics of Christianity would be to a Brahmin at the altar of his special god or to a peasant throwing himself under the wheels of Juggernaut! Yet men experienced in Indian administration urged self-government as a panacea. Lord Carmichael, late Governor of Bengal, told the Royal Colonial Institute (Nov. 14) that "whether we like it or not, a spirit of discontent is growing, both in intensity and in volume, every day in India among all classes. The discontent may lead to disaster if through it Indians lose their sense of proportion, but it will lead to triumph if through it Indians learn to share in a real partnership with Britain." Like Sir Wm. Wedderburn, a continuous agitator, Mrs. Besant, the late Charles Bradlaugh, the Hindu National Congress and others, Lord Carmichael appeared to think that a great Western constitutional structure evolving out of centuries of totally different conceptions of life could be built upon a basis of Oriental customs and thought. Lord Chelmsford, like some of his predecessors—notably Lord Hardinge—believed in a modified form of this evolution and the new Secretary of State for India (Rt. Hon. E. S. Montagu) in 1917 took very definite ground in this respect. On Aug. 20 he made this important statement in the British Commons:

> The policy of His Majesty's Government, with which the Government of India are in complete accord, is that of the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration, and the gradual development of self-governing institutions, with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire. . . . I would add that progress in this policy can only be achieved by successive stages. The British Government and the Government of India, on whom the responsibility lies for the welfare and advancement of the Indian peoples, must be the judges of the time and measure of each advance, and they must be guided by the co-operation received from those upon whom new opportunities of service will thus be conferred, and by the extent to which it is found that confidence can be reposed in their sense of responsibility.

As a preliminary step the bar would at once be removed upon the admission of Indian officers to the British Army. Mr. Montagu, himself, would visit India and see what the situation was. Lord Chelmsford described this announced policy as "a landmark in the constitutional history of England and resonant with hope." To the Associated Press (N.Y. *Tribune*) the Secretary for India on Sept. 15 carefully guarded and yet exemplified his recent utterance: "This ideal of ours must be approached by easy stages. The man who thinks Home Rule for India is a practical policy is either wholly ignorant of the situation or designedly mischievous. Steps towards responsible government will be taken at different stages by different parts of India. Great provinces will fit themselves for it at different times. But the chief thing is that we are going ahead firmly on the path toward the end which we all, British and Indian alike, desire. The measures we adopt must be adequate. They must show real progress." In November Mr. Montagu was in India receiving addresses from the National Congress, the Moslem League, the Home Rule organization and others, and visiting Princes and statesmen and public bodies.

Meanwhile there had been a livelier expression of Indian discontents than at any time since the War began. The Indian National Congress, which had been moderate in its Home Rule demands under the control of men like G. K. Gokhale, Sir P. Mehta and Sir S. P. Sinha, fell into the hands of extremists who refused to co-operate with the Government along lines of evolution and arrived at a self-government advocacy dangerously akin to separation and to conditions which, in India, would involve anarchy. At the Lucknow meeting of the Congress late in December, 1916, the President had urged a radical and immediate change in the government of India and illustrated the weakness of his school of thought by stating that revolution rested in economic conditions and would disappear under the blessings of freedom. He demanded the abolition of the India Council, complete financial, legislative, and administrative autonomy, the separation of Executive and Judicial functions, the repeal of the Arms and Press acts, the withdrawal of all repressive measures, and a national militia open to all races. The splendid British Civil Service and Judiciary, which had held India along lines of internal peace and the controlled unity essential to its divergent races and animosities, was a bureaucracy which must be got rid of.

A great welcome had been given to Mrs. Besant, her extreme denunciations of British rule applauded, her seditious utterances in *New India* apparently accepted and she, herself, elected President for 1917. At the same time the All-India Moslem League had met also at Lucknow and elected as President for 1917 Mohammed Ali, who was in prison on charges of sedition. A Committee of this League came into agreement, for the first time, with a Committee of the Congress and this promised a moderating influence despite the Presidency matter. The Indian National Congress dated from 1885 and was essentially Hindu in composition; the League dated from 1906 and was primarily intended to protect Mohammedan interests but with British loyalty as a distinctive principle.

A development along lines which suited the latter organization was the representation of India at the Imperial War Conference. The Delegates, who came by invitation of the British Government were the Maharajah of Bikaner, Sir James Meston and Sir Satyendra Sinha. The War Conference passed a Resolution—supported by Sir Robert Borden for Canada—declaring that India should be fully represented at the regular Conferences of the future. H.E. Lord Chelmsford, in addressing the Legislative Council at Simla on Sept. 7, dealt with these proposed constitutional reforms and declared that the British Government intended to advance as follows: (1) In the domain of the local self-government of a village or by a municipal council; (2) in the responsible employment of Indians under the Government; (3) in the domain of Legislative Councils. Early in November the Viceroy addressed a Conference of the Princes and ruling Chiefs of India at Delhi and advised them to wait until further experience indicated the lines on which the informal Imperial Conferences could be most appropriately developed in the joint interests of the Princes and the Empire at large. He warmly thanked the Princes for providing adequate reserves for the Imperial troops and for raising recruits for the army.

As to the War itself India helped considerably in 1917. Its troops had served in Gallipoli, in Mesopotamia, in Egypt, in Palestine, in German East Africa, in China, in Persia, and in France; the ruling Princes of India had contributed largely of their standing armies and had taken effective measures to guard the 6,000 miles of Indian land-frontier from intrusion or invasion; Indian forces had undertaken several military operations of magnitude on the North-West Frontier; Lord Chelmsford stated (Sept. 5) that the Man-Power Board of India had provided recruits for the Army increasing from thousands to tens of thousands, and that the Indian Army reserve of officers numbering 40 in 1914 now exceeded 3,000. In this year General Sir Charles Munro, who had seen much war experience in 1914-16, was appointed Commander-in-Chief and in performing his duties visited the Mesopotamian front and the centres of India. On Mar. 2 the Indian Defence Force Bill, making military service compulsory for all British subjects of European origin between the ages of 16 and 50, became law. General Allenby's despatches from Palestine showed that contingents of Ghurkas took part in the capture of positions around Jerusalem and General Smuts in his official reports paid high tribute to Indian troops in East Africa. By the close of the year India had contributed 1,000,000 men to the forces of the Empire.

A collateral subject was the Mesopotamia Report issued in June and dealing with the muddle of the first Kut campaign, when thousands of Indian troops were captured by the Turks. Some, at least, of the trouble was due to pre-war starving of the military forces along lines of economy; much was due to the division of authority and responsibility between London and Delhi—the Indian Secretary of State and the Viceroy. The Commissioners, headed by Lord George Hamilton, censured Sir John Nixon who led the advance, and Gen. Sir Beauchamp Duff who commanded in India, and Sir

Edmund Barrow, Military Secretary of the Indian Office; they held that political responsibility rested upon Lord Hardinge as Viceroy and Austen Chamberlain as Secretary for India. The causes of the disaster, in brief, were inadequate strategy, poor supplies and equipment, insufficient reinforcements, bad transport, medical neglect and lamentably insufficient preparation. Lord Hardinge in his defence (Lords, June 26) claimed that the Commission did not give sufficient consideration (1) to the unexampled effort of India at the beginning of the War, (2) to the risks and troubles of the Government in 1914 and 1915 as to internal and border matters, (3) to the point that the Government of India opposed an advance on Bagdad without reinforcements, (4) to the fact that he was deceived and mis-informed as to river transport and medical conditions. Aga Khan, the Moslem leader of India, wrote *The Times* (July 27) supporting Lord Hardinge and blaming the situation upon the failure of London to recognize the military needs and resources of India when war was known, during the past ten years, to be imminent.

Another interesting Indian and Empire development was the cotton goods question. For many decades there had been a small customs duty on the cotton goods imported (nearly all from Lancashire) into India. This duty was balanced by a corresponding excise duty on cotton goods manufactured in India itself; it had thus no protective character but existed for revenue only. Cotton formed the sole clothing of the vast majority of India's population, the bulk of whom lived in a degree of poverty almost beyond the imagination of Europeans or Canadians, and spent money on scarcely anything except salt and a few implements and utensils. As the tax was not protective, its whole yield went to the Indian Government, and it was kept very low—3½ per cent. For decades, also, there had been an agitation by the Bombay mill-owners to make the duty protective by abolishing or differentiating the excise; and in this they had had the support of native Indian politicians. Free-trade England was keenly opposed to this policy, especially Manchester and Lancashire.

Meanwhile the industry in India developed largely and its output increased between 1901-11 by 185%. At this stage in 1917 the Indian Government decided to raise the Import duty to 7½% while leaving the excise untouched—a distinctly protectionist measure. Mr. Chamberlain, Secretary for India, sanctioned the policy and there followed a perfect storm of free-trade indignation in England, with, of course, a practical side to it amongst the Lancashire operators. A large deputation waited on Mr. Chamberlain (Mar. 12) and he told them the duties must stand though he was threatened with a Lancashire "ablaze with wrath" and the anger of an industry exporting $635,000,000 worth of material a year, of which 29% went to India, employing 450,000 workers and representing $375,000,000 of capital. His chief ground of refusal was that the Government could not accept a gift of $500,000,000 from India and at the same time veto an Indian fiscal policy because it touched the pockets of some British manufacturers.

The Empire as a Unit in the War; The Problem of Imperial Unity.

The King's position in the War was not always clear to the public of the outer Dominions but to their statesmen—as expressed in Conferences and in speeches—it was obvious that a primary element in maintaining the Empire as a unit in war or peace was the position and the function of the Monarchy. It was the keystone of the Imperial arch. Personally, the King led in all forms of self-sacrifice required by war conditions—Prohibition, food restrictions, economy, generous gifts to War funds, etc. Always and naturally, by much travel and experience and association with Empire leaders, he was an Imperialist. At the opening of Parliament on Feb. 7 His Majesty had a special Imperial escort composed of 92 officers representing the Indian army, both Native and British, and the Canadian, Australian, New Zealand, South African, Newfoundland and British West Indian forces. To Parliament he made, in his Speech, two Empire allusions:

(1) My people throughout the Empire and my faithful and heroic Allies remain steadfastly and unanimously resolved to secure the just demands for reparation and restitution in respect of the past, and guarantees for the future which we regard as essential to the progress of civilization.

(2) I invited representatives of my Dominions and my Indian Empire, which have borne so glorious a share in the struggle, to confer with my Ministers on important questions of common interest, relating to the War. The steps so taken will, I trust, conduce to the establishment of closer relations between all parts of the Empire

The King's selection of the designation of Windsor for his House and family was approved throughout the Empire and it is worthy of record that at the Privy Council (July 17), when he announced the decision, South Africa and Australia were represented by General Smuts and W. P. Schreiner for the former and Andrew Fisher for the latter. Sir George Perley, not being a member, was, of course, not present. Royal contributions to War funds were many but only two can be mentioned here—$50,000 to the Empire Red Cross collection of Oct. 18 and $5,000 in aid of Halifax Relief. As to the former the King sent a Message to all his representatives throughout the Empire, describing the great work of this Society: "In every theatre of the War, regardless of distance, discomfort or danger, the task of alleviating pain and suffering and of ministering to those in need, is performed with unparalleled devotion by the men and women who have taken service under the Red Cross." The King and Queen Mary sent a Christmas message to the Canadian and other Imperial troops and at the close of the year appealed to his people by Proclamation throughout the world to hold a special day of prayer for victory: "The world-wide struggle for the triumph of right and liberty is entering upon its last phase. The enemy is striving by desperate assault and subtle intrigue to perpetuate the wrongs already committed and stem the tide of a free civilization. We have yet to complete the great task to which more than three years ago we dedicated ourselves."

Second only in importance to the War Conference in 1917 was the Final Report of the Dominions Royal Commission which,

since 1912, and as a result of decisions at the 1911 Imperial Conference, had been touring the Empire and studying its natural resources. It was composed of Lord D'Abernon of Esher (Chairman), Thomas Garnett, Sir Wm. Lorimer, Joseph Tatlow and Sir A. E. Bateman for the United Kingdom; Sir George E. Foster, representing Canada, Donald Campbell for Australia,* Hon. J. R. Sinclair, M.L.C., for New Zealand, Sir Richard Solomon, and afterwards Sir J. W. S. Langerman, for South Africa, and Sir E. R. Bowring for Newfoundland. The objects of the Commission were to report (1) upon natural resources, (2) upon opportunities and methods of development, (3) upon facilities existing, or capable of creation in the production, manufacture and distribution of such products, (4) upon trade and tariff factors in this general connection. Great Britain, Canada, Australia, South Africa, Newfoundland and New Zealand were visited, 161 meetings were held and 851 witnesses examined. The Report was an elaborate state document of much value; the interim reports, issued over several years, already had given a mass of information and details as to resources, trade, production, tariffs, etc. The only thing lacking in the facts was the absence of collation in such a way as to picture the Empire as a unit. The following is a condensed summary of recommendations:

1. It is vital that the Empire should, be placed in a position which would enable it to resist any pressure which a Foreign Power or group of Powers could exercise in time of peace or war through control of raw materials and commodities essential to its well-being.

2. The responsibility for a survey and investigations on the lines indicated should be entrusted, together with other functions, to a new Imperial Development Board.

3. A far greater measure of Government control over agencies in the United Kingdom for the selection of emigrants; the need for the provision of adequate capital, training, and assistance for intending soldier-settlers; as a matter of Imperial policy, far greater attention to the emigration of women and children from the United Kingdom.

4. The interchange of school teachers between the United Kingdom and the Dominions in order to secure for the rising generation fuller acquaintance with conditions overseas and in the United Kingdom.

5. Cheap, speedy, and efficient transport between all parts of the Empire by the use of vessels of great length and draught, and development of harbours and their approaches along the great trade routes of the Empire.

6. Improvement in the cost of sea transport with Government control of steamship companies.

7. Legislation imposing liability on the shipowner for the negligence of his servants in the stowage, delivery, etc., of merchandise to be passed in the United Kingdom, the Union of South Africa, and Newfoundland.

8. Reduction of cable rates between the United Kingdom and the self-governing Dominions.

9. State control of telegraph communication between the United Kingdom and Australia and New Zealand through Canada.

10. Extension of the Trade Commissioner service.

11. A quinquennial Census of the population of the Empire on a limited scale. Improved statistical methods and compilations in the various parts of the Empire, and a Conference of the Statisticians of the Empire.

12. The establishment throughout the Empire of uniform coinage based on the decimal system, and of uniform weights and measures, based on the metric system.

*NOTE.—For reasons rather obscurely stated Mr. Campbell afterwards withdrew.

Imperial co-ordination and co-relation were the object and text of this Report; an obvious weakness in its constitution and conclusions was the omission of India and the retirement of the Australian delegate. With Empire resources chiefly in view and upon the initiative of H. Wilson Fox, a Committee was formed early in the year with Sir Starr Jameson as Chairman, and Rudyard Kipling, Brig.-Gen. H. Page Croft, M.P., Lord Desborough, Sir Arthur Lawley, H. J. Mackinder, M.P., Moreton Frewen, Earl Grey, Lord Islington, Sir Horace Plunkett, J. A. Seddon, Labour M.P., and the Earls of Plymouth and Selborne as members. This Committee issued the following programme at the close of January, 1917:

We, the undersigned, realizing the immense latent resources of the Empire and the possibility of developing this great and varied wealth for State purposes, under State auspices, and so lifting from the peoples of the Empire the burdens caused by the War, have formed ourselves into a Committee to advocate: (a) the conservation for the benefit of the Empire of such natural resources as are, or may come, under the ownership or control of the Imperial, Dominion or Indian Governments; (b) the development of selected resources of the Empire under such conditions as will give to the State an adequate share of the proceeds.

Intimately associated with these conditions and proposals was the Imperial Preference problem—the need for tariff protection against after-war conditions and the benefits of an Empire preferential system. A Government Committee had been appointed by Mr. Asquith, when Premier, in July, 1916, and headed by Lord Balfour of Burleigh, an old-time Free-trader, to study and report upon a commercial and industrial policy fitted to the future situation. There were 169 members who submitted a Report on Feb. 2, 1917, which declared the following Resolutions to cover the views of all upon the principle of Preference but with objections as to other points from three members:

1. We consider that special steps must be taken to stimulate the production of foodstuffs, raw materials, and manufactured articles within the Empire.
2. We recommend that the Government should now declare their adherence to the principle that Preference should be accorded to the products and manufactures of the British Overseas Dominions.
3. It will in our opinion be necessary to take into early consideration, the desirability of establishing a wider range of Customs duties which would be remitted or reduced on the products and manufactures of the Empire, and which would form the basis of commercial treaties with Allied and Neutral Powers.

On Apr. 27 Mr. Lloyd George put the issue as follows at the Guildhall: "We have decided that in future it is the business of British and Dominion statesmanship to knit the Empire in closer bonds of interest, of trade, of commerce, of business and general intercourse in affairs. We have considered this problem and decided that in order to develop these enormous territories in future it is necessary that exceptional encouragement should be given to the products of each part of the Empire. We believe that a system of Preference could be established without involving the imposition of food burdens." A few months later the Preferential idea was endorsed by a Report of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association at its meeting in Winnipeg on June 14, as already by Chambers

of Commerce in Great Britain, in Australia and in South Africa. The Report was worded in almost identical terms with the above Resolution.

Meanwhile, other vital Empire problems of an acute or a direct nature were receiving practical consideration. Consultation of the Dominions upon issues of Peace and War had been a pious aspiration; in 1917 it was a practical, insistent issue dealt with at a War Cabinet and Conference. On Jan 31 Sir Robert Borden stated in the Canadian Commons that "a despatch had been received from the Colonial Secretary on Jan. 21, 1915, stating that it was the intention of His Majesty's Government to consult the Canadian Prime Minister most fully and, if possible, personally, when the time to discuss possible terms of peace arrived." In the House of Lords on Feb. 8 Lord Curzon referred to the Dominions' share in the War and added: "We therefore now regard them as being entitled to a voice in the prosecution of the War to the end which we contemplate, also to arrange the settlement of terms of peace." On Apr. 27 Mr. Lloyd George, in his Guildhall speech, eulogized Empire war-action and proceeded: "Henceforth effective partnership must be the only basis of co-operation. If our action brings the Dominions into trouble they must henceforth be consulted before we act. The methods must be carefully considered. A great war is not the best time for thinking out, perhaps, a new constitution, but our Councils of Empire must be a reality. The Imperial War Cabinet has been a demonstration of the value of such Councils. . . . Great problems regarding submarines, shipping and food, as well as military decisions, were all reviewed, but we must do more." In the Imperial War Cabinet every Dominion of the Empire (except Australia) was represented and approved of this new element of partnership.

Various specific plans of Imperial co-operation or consolidation were proposed in 1917 apart from the practical realizations of the year. Lord Milner suggested a purely Imperial Cabinet, with an Imperial Prime Minister, and Ministries for the Navy, Army, Foreign Affairs, Finance, Imperial Commerce and Communications, for India and for the greater Crown Colonies. Such a Cabinet should be subject to a Parliament to which the United Kingdom and the Dominions would elect their own respective quotas of representatives. This was the full fruit of Imperial Federation ideals. Mr. Z. A. Lash, K.C., a Canadian thinker and publicist, elaborated a less drastic phase in a little book full of condensed thought and policy called *Defence and Foreign Affairs.* He opposed the Imperial Parliament policy and the plans of Lord Milner or those outlined by Lionel Curtis in his *Problem of the Commonwealth;* assumed that some change was imperative in control of Foreign affairs and urged that the Empire should not again postpone united defence preparations until war was at hand; insisted upon the necessity of a Central Authority which must have jurisdiction over Foreign policy, must control an Army and Navy, and must provide money for their maintenance; urged the creation of an Imperial Council with Executive and Legislative



HOWARD G. KELLEY,
Appointed President, Grand Trunk Railway System and Grand Trunk Pacific Railway Co., 1917.



JOHN MILTON GODFREY
President: Civilian Recruiting League, Toronto ; Canadian National Service League; Ontario Win-the-War League.

powers—created by mutual agreement, approved by a vote of the people in Great Britain and the Dominions, and ratified by the Imperial Parliament. The Round Table groups of Canada, after discussing the proposals of Mr. Curtis and others, issued in February, 1917, a Memorandum which had been prepared by a Toronto Committee with Sir Edmund Walker as Chairman, submitted to members all over Canada, and signed by many as approving its statements. The conclusions, or "broad premises upon which all can agree in discussing the subject," were as follows:

1. Canada has shown her determination to preserve and strengthen the ties which now bind her to Great Britain and other portions of the British Commonwealth.
2. Effective organization of the Empire must not involve any sacrifice of responsible government in domestic affairs, or the surrender of control over fiscal policy by any portion of the Empire.
3. But it is an inevitable development of responsible government in the Dominions that they should assume their proportionate share in the defence of the Empire, and should have a voice in determining its relations with other States.
4. We think, therefore, that as soon as circumstances permit, political leaders throughout the Empire, irrespective of party, should meet to consider the problem

Amongst the signatories to this document were Sir John Willison, A. E. Ames, G. Frank Beer, Sir R. A. Falconer, J. W. Flavelle, M. J. Haney, Rev. Dr. S. D. Chown, Z. A. Lash, K.C., and Prof. G. M. Wrong, Toronto; Sir A. M. Nanton, Winnipeg; T. B. Macaulay, Sir Wm. Peterson, Lord Shaughnessy and Sir F. Williams-Taylor, Montreal; R. B. Bennett, K.C., M.P., and P. Burns, Calgary; Hon. Chas. A. Dunning, Saskatoon; Rt. Rev. M. F. Fallon, D.D., London; Rt. Hon. Sir C. Fitzpatrick, Ottawa; Sir J. George Garneau, Quebec; Sir J. M. Gibson, Hamilton; Chancellor Cecil C. Jones, Fredericton; President Stanley Mackenzie, PH.D., and Archbishop C. L. Worrell, Halifax; Sir C. Phillipps-Wolley, Somenos, B. C.; Hon. H. W. Richardson, Kingston; Hon. C. W. Robinson, Moncton. There were 100 all together, with the above names taken almost at random to indicate the character of the support given.

On Apr. 27 a public meeting was held in Toronto to discuss this Memorandum with Sir Edmund Walker in the chair and N. W. Rowell, K.C., Liberal leader in Ontario, Sir W. Hearst, Premier of Ontario, J. W. Flavelle and Prof. C. W. Colby as speakers. The Chairman defined and defended the Round table as a movement which was Empire-wide and based primarily upon the idea of study and consultation in the Imperial unity problem: "We must think nationally before we can think Imperially. Our movement can only spring from the people." Mr. Flavelle had no fear of losing autonomy in an Imperial Federation; the Central Parliament would be no more of an outside body than was the Federal Parliament in the Dominion. Sir Wm. Hearst asked a pertinent question: "In the day when Canada has a population equal to the British Isles, does anyone suggest that she would leave the question of peace and war to a Parliament over which she had no control?" Mr. Rowell declared that the Irish question must be settled first, that the present duty was to save the Empire now and re-organize it afterwards, that a co-operation of free peoples was better than centralization in government.

Meanwhile certain War policies arose vitally affecting the Empire system. One was the question of retaining German colonies after the War—or if the issue should actually arise—fighting for them in diplomacy and at the Peace Congress. South Africa was determined to keep or control the East and South-west empires of Germany which it had conquered; Australia and New Zealand were equally determined as to Samoa, New Guinea and the German Pacific Islands. Japan in its Kao-Chiau acquisition and Pacific interests was associated with Australia in this matter; early in 1917 almost simultaneous announcements were made by Mr. Long, British Colonial Secretary, Count Motono, Japanese Foreign Minister, and Mr. Massey, New Zealand Premier, that there would be no return to Germany of its Colonies in Africa, Asia or the Pacific. Mr. Walter Long's speech was at Westminster on Jan. 31: "Let no man think that the struggles for these Colonies have been in vain. Let no man think that these Colonies will ever return to German rule. It is impossible. Our Overseas Empire will not tolerate any suggestion of the kind." The Prime Minister was not so positive and at Glasgow on June 29 merely said: "As to the German Colonies, that is a matter which must be settled by the Peace Congress. The wishes, the desires, and the interests of the people of those countries themselves must be the dominant factor in settling their future government."

British Socialists were opposed to annexations and especially so the Macdonald-Snowden group; British Labour leaders were uncertain, wobbly, and inclined to antagonism. In the Commons on May 16 a motion by Philip Snowden was voted down without division. It proposed to welcome "the repudiation by the Russian Government of all proposals for Imperialistic conquest and aggrandizement" and called on the British Government to issue a similar declaration in behalf of the British democracy. Lord Robert Cecil, Minister of Blockade, in his speech referred to the German-African Colonies: "While it is true that we did not take them in order to rescue the natives from German rule, but as a part of the War operations, having rescued them are we going to hand them back?" He then read a long account of the shocking treatment suffered by the natives in both German East Africa and German West Africa, and said: "If there is any measure of success in the War, I should regard with horror the idea of returning natives who have been freed from a government of that kind." An interview, by cable, was given to the Montreal *Star* on Sept. 29 by Mr. Secretary Long. In it he said that all assertions must be estimated by the degree and quality of the victory won:

> But these German possessions have been captured by British troops, many of them from our Dominions and Colonies. The policy of the Empire is not, and never has been, to seek territory for territory's sake. . . . I am quite sure of this—that our Dominions, looking, as I have said, to the question of their own future security, will vehemently resent any attempt to restore German rule in those territories. Further we cannot ignore the fact that in the future the submarine and aeroplane, and all the modern and terrible inventions of war, will have materially altered the situation, and we are compelled to ask ourselves what would be the opportunities of a selfish and aggressive Power, animated solely by military lust, if we

were to allow them to retain in every part of Africa outposts which they would assuredly make submarine and aircraft bases, and convert into strongholds from which to attack their peaceful neighbours. . . . A peace that will see these oppressed German possessions started on the road toward progress and prosperity, with a future like that of other British Colonies as their goal, is the only peace which the world can contemplate with satisfaction.

Hon. W. A. Holman, Premier of New South Wales, Hon. J. D. Connolly, Agent-General for Western Australia in London, Rt. Hon. W. F. Massey, Premier of New Zealand, were all equally emphatic upon this point, and Gen. J. C. Smuts of South Africa declared in the London *Chronicle* (Mar. 13) that: "The mere suggestion that any part should be returned is, of course, preposterous. I shudder to think what would happen to the native population. The whole of South Africa, East Africa, South-West Africa, and Rhodesia would stand aghast at such an idea." As to Peace proposals the Empire Governments were united in opposition to any premature or indefinite peace; of details there might be discussion and as to terms there were differences of opinion, but "carry on to victory" still was the sentiment at the end of 1917.

On the other hand Pacificism and Peace, without pride or power, found continued advocacy in the Manchester *Guardian* and *The Nation*, and in such bodies as the 1,000 Socialists and Labourites who, at Leeds on June 3, declared for peace without annexations or indemnities. demanded "freedom of the press," and called for "the establishment in England of a Workmen's and Soldiers' group, on the Russian model, to work for a people's peace." To these elements came an extraordinary re-inforcement in the person of the Marquess of Lansdowne, K.G., a great noble of the old type, a statesman and Colonial ruler of wide experience, a leader of the old-time Tory school of thought. On Nov. 29 there was published in *The Times* a long letter from him, in which he described the horrors of the War, its wanton prolongation as being a crime, and reparation and security as the stated aims of the *Entente*. He reviewed the situation as to peace upon the apparent assumption that Germany could be trusted to make an agreement "to keep the peace" and avoid hostile combinations against other nations; deprecated any commercial war upon Germany and wanted trade to flow after the War in its natural channels; asked for a frank exchange of view between the Allied Powers as to any re-arrangement of the map of South-eastern Europe. He declared that Britain was not going to lose the War but wrote of the position in most pessimistic vein:

An immense stimulus would probably be given to a peace party in Germany if it were understood: (1)That we do not desire the annihilation of Germany as a Great Power; (2) that we do not seek to impose upon her people any form of Government other than that of their own choice; (3) that except as a legitimate war measure we have no desire to deny to Germany her place among the great commercial communities of the world; (4) that we are prepared, when the War is over, to examine, in concert with other Powers, a group of international problems, some of them of recent origin, which are connected with the question of the freedom of the sea; (5) that we are prepared to enter into an international pact for the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means.

The question of Irish Home Rule interjected itself into Empire politics and policy in 1917. It affected the Conscription result in Australia—perhaps decided the issue; it influenced recruiting in all parts of the Empire, especially during the period following the Rebellion; it gave form and name to agitations in India which, in certain extremes, were akin to Bolshevikism; it afforded a text for pro-Germans everywhere and a pretext for Germany to place Belgium and Ireland upon a common level. On Mar. 7 the Australian Senate, by its Labour majority, passed a Resolution (28 to 2) in favour of "a just measure of Home Rule for Ireland without undue delay"; a gathering of 400 Irish-Canadians at Winnipeg on Mar. 12 declared that "when one part of the Empire, as is the case in Ireland, is unhappily governed in opposition to the will of the great majority of its people, it is the duty of every part of this Empire to take active steps to see that justice is done that portion of the Empire" and therefore urged that "the principle of nationhood be clearly recognized in Ireland"; at Montreal on Mar. 15 Mr. Doherty, Minister of Justice, stated that "Home Rule is Ireland's right and its grant is England's opportunity." Dr. M. F. Fallon, Bishop of London, whose Imperialism was undoubted, spoke with equal emphasis on Mar. 16: "I know that there is an Irish question, and that its equitable settlement is vital to the honour of the name of Britain, to the successful issue of the War, and to the satisfactory solution of the grave problems that shall confront us when the War is over." He bitterly denounced Mr. Lloyd George and declared that in holding-up Home Rule he "gave the project of Imperial unity and the political ideal of a British Commonwealth the worst blow it has received in a score of years." The Orange Grand Lodge of Ontario East responded (Mar. 21) with a Resolution approving the British Premier's stand and others followed suit. At Toronto on Apr. 27 N. W. Rowell, Liberal leader in Ontario, declared, and *The Globe* endorsed his view, that "the Irish question must be settled before we settle the question of Imperial relations."

What of the Empire as a whole in the War? Taken by total enlistments Canada, by the close of 1917, had raised 430,000 men, Australia 350,000, New Zealand 100,000, South Africa 80,000, Newfoundland 5,000, British West Indies 7,000, India 1,000,000, or a total of 1,972,000. Great Britain had at least 3,000,000 abroad in France, Greece, Macedonia, Mesopotamia, Italy, Palestine, Egypt, East Africa, etc., with probably 2,000,000 in reserve at home, or as casualties—a total for the Empire of 7,000,000. A curious feature of the fighting in 1917 was a rumour spread abroad by German influences that Englishmen had not done their fair share in the War and were deliberately giving precedence to Dominion and other troops. So wide-spread were these allegations—especially in the United States—that General F. B. Maurice, Chief Director of Military Operations, told the Associated Press, on July 19, that as a matter of fact, "the greatest part of the fighting since the War began has naturally fallen on English troops—they are the largest part of the Army and have borne the brunt of the work. The

casualty lists show that the English regiments have fought just as gallantly and bravely and have lost as heavily as any regiments in the Imperial Army."

An element in this connection was the traditional reserve of the Englishman as to himself and his unfailing generosity in praising Colonial troops. Sir Frederick Smith, when in New York on Dec. 30, blamed the Censorship in part and declared that "the truth is that 85 per cent of the casualties in the early days were suffered by the men who went right from Britain to the Front." In August official figures were issued as follows: For the four series of battles at the Somme, Arras, Ypres and Messines the Divisions engaged were: At the Somme, Motherland 5, to Dominions 1; Arras, 3½ to 1; Ypres, 7 to 1; Messines, 2 to 1. The casualties per Division were: At the Somme, Motherland 5 to Dominions 4; Arras, 7 to 6; Ypres, 5 to 1; Messines, 11 to 13.

The money raised for War purposes during these years included $750,000,000 in Australia, $120,000,000 in New Zealand, $138,000,000 in South Africa, $500,000,000 (raised or pledged) in India, $3,000,000 in Newfoundland and $700,000,000 in Canada with at least $50,000,000 in the scattered Crown Colonies—a total of $2,261,000,000 from countries hitherto considered as more or less dependent upon British financial support. Very generous also were the voluntary subscriptions and gifts for War purposes in these countries. An estimate may be made of $36,000,000 from Australia, $18,000,000 from New Zealand, $10,000,000 from South Africa, $25,000,000 from India, $3,000,000 from Newfoundland, $75,000,000 from Canada, or a total of $167,000,000 in 3½ years of War. As an illustration of Empire contributions and gifts outside the Dominions the following for 1917* may be mentioned:

Straits Settlements: Increase in War contribution from $1,000,000 a year to $2,500,000.

Basutoland: $150,000 for Aeroplanes.

Gold Coast Colony, Africa: $1,000,000 in 10 yearly instalments.

Nigeria: 1 per cent. on $40,000,000 of War Debt.

Zanzibar: $100,000 for Aeroplanes with prior gifts of $150,000.

Hong-Kong: $5,000,000 from Loan and Revenues.

Mauritius: 1,000,000 Rupees for Aeroplanes.

Nigeria, Gold Coast, East Africa, Uganda and Nyassaland: Cost of Local Campaigns.

Burma: 1st Instalment of War Fund $950,000.

Gambia; $50,000 to R.F.C. for Aeroplanes.

Falkland Islands: One-tenth of yearly Customs revenue for ten years.

Federated Malay States: $50,000 for Belgian Relief and $15,000 to 3 other Relief Funds; also £1,000,000 official grant for 1917 and £750,000 pledged for 1918—a total of $8,750,000.

Malaya Public: Money for 35 Aeroplanes and a Tank.

*NOTE.—See also Lists in preceding volumes of *The Canadian Annual Review*.

The Imperial War Cabinet and Imperial War Conference of 1917.

In Canada little was heard, known, or realized in 1917 regarding the Imperial War Cabinet. British thinkers and writers termed it a revolutionary constitutional change and in a sense it was one; why its importance and functions should be so blurred in transmission of news that the average Canadian could hardly distinguish between it and the War Conference was hard to understand. Newspapers opposed to Imperial consolidation passed over it in their comments without serious consideration; others did not, with a few exceptions, mark its significance to Empire evolution. Secrecy in its proceedings was one cause, greater publicity to the Conference conclusions another, aversion of politicians to crossing a stream of possible local controversy before they came to it a factor.

Like everything else in the Empire system it evolved naturally. Mr. Lloyd George in 1916 had changed the Cabinet system into one of an inner War Cabinet of five men and an outer Government of many administrators and Departmental heads; in 1917 he extended the inner circle of advisory leaders to include the Dominions as well as the United Kingdom—that Australia was not included was the result of local political conditions. In 1916 visiting Premiers had been asked to sit at special meetings of the general Cabinet Council; now, in calling the War Conference, the British Premier intimated that for the purposes of that gathering "your Prime Minister will be a member of the War Cabinet." There was, also, a complete change in function from the sittings of isolated Dominion Ministers who had attended in an honorary capacity. In 1917, as *The Times* put it on Mar. 21:

> The War Cabinet now meeting is an Executive Cabinet for the Empire. It is invested with full responsibility for the decision of all matters which are essential for the prosecution of the War, including questions of Foreign policy, of the provision of troops and munitions, and of War finance. It will settle Imperial policy as to the terms of peace. It will consider those important problems which are certain to be the pressing legacy of the War.

The first meeting was held on Mar. 20 and consisted primarily of the British War Cabinet—Messrs. Lloyd George, A. Bonar Law, Arthur Henderson, Lord Curzon and Lord Milner—with Sir Robert Borden for Canada, Sir James Meston, Lieut.-Governor of Agra and Oudh and Sir Satyendra Sinha for India, Sir Edward Morris for Newfoundland, Mr. W. F. Massey for New Zealand, and Lieut.-Gen. Jan Christian Smuts for South Africa. Mr. Walter Long and Mr. Balfour were made temporary members of this Imperial War Cabinet while the War Conference was in Session. The British Premier presided and addressed the members at the first meeting, as did the Colonial Secretary. A series of 14 meetings were held while the British War Cabinet and the ordinary Cabinet held separate councils from time to time to deal with matters not coming before the new body. On May 17 Mr. Lloyd George announced in Parliament that in consequence of the success of the Imperial War Cabinet it had been decided to hold meetings of that body once a year, or oftener if necessary, to discuss Foreign affairs and other aspects of Imperial policy.

He referred to the decision as "a landmark in the constitutional history of the British Empire." At these sittings, he added, the Overseas members of the Imperial War Cabinet had access to all information, freely discussed all the most vital aspects of Imperial policy, and came to important decisions with regard to them; these decisions would enable the Imperial Government to prosecute the War with increased unity and be of the greatest value in the negotiations for peace. The Premier declared that the fresh minds and new points of view which their new colleagues had brought to the problems engaging attention had been of immense help: "The experiment was a complete success." It was announced that for the future the Imperial Cabinet would consist of the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, and such of his colleagues as dealt specially with Imperial affairs, the Prime Ministers of each of the Dominions, or a specially accredited representative possessed of equal authority, a representative of the Indian people who would be appointed by the Government of India. Mr. Lloyd George then reviewed the Constitutional issue:

> We hope that the holding of an annual Imperial Cabinet to discuss foreign affairs and other aspects of Imperial policy, will become an accepted convention of the British Constitution. I ought to add that the institution in its present form is extremely elastic. It grew not by design, but out of the necessities of the War. The essence of it is that the responsible heads of the Government of the Empire, with those Ministers who are specially entrusted with the conduct of Imperial policy, should meet together at regular intervals to confer about Foreign policy and matters connected therewith, and come to decisions in regard to them, which, subject to the control of their own Parliaments, they will then severally execute. By this means they will be able to obtain full information about all aspects of Imperial affairs and to determine by consultation together the policy of the Empire in its most vital aspects without infringing in any degree the autonomy which its parts at present enjoy.

A little before this, in the Commons, on Apr. 27, Mr. Bonar Law stated that the Imperial War Cabinet had unanimously accepted the principle that each part of the Empire, having due regard to the interests of our Allies, should give specially favourable treatment and facilities to the produce and manufactures of other parts of the Empire but that there was no intention of making any change during the War, and that the Resolution did not involve any taxation of food proposals. The London *Times* noted a tendency, which was also marked in the outer Dominions, to slur over the proceedings and import of the meetings and stated (June 1) that "the Imperial War Cabinet, while it was in being, was a Cabinet with all the wide powers of that eminently British body. It took executive decisions on questions of foreign policy, of operations by sea and land, and of the terms of peace that will command the approval of all parts of the Empire." It may be added that General Smuts was afterwards specially invited to remain in England as a regular member of the British War Cabinet—also a new departure. Meanwhile, on Mar. 13, Mr. Lloyd George had issued a statement regarding the Imperial War Conference and described it as marking a new epoch in the history of the Empire. Of subjects for discussion he added:

The fate of the German Colonies is one obvious question, but there are many questions of equal moment, all difficult problems, connected with the making of peace, to be threshed out. The War-policy of the Empire will be clearly defined and of great importance in what I may call the preparation for peace. That will involve not only demobilization, but such post-war questions as the migration of our people to other parts of the Empire, the settlement of soldiers on the land, commerce and industry. It seems to us an impossible and undemocratic proposition to think that the Overseas nations should raise and place in the field armies containing an enormous proportion of their best manhood and not want to have a say, and a real say, in determining the use to which they are to be put. That is why one of the first acts of the new Government was to ask the Premiers of the Overseas Dominions to sit in the Executive Cabinet of the Empire.

The ensuing War Conference was in Session for 15 days, the initial meeting being on Mar. 21 when the Rt. Hon. W. H. Long, Colonial Secretary and Chairman, addressed the members. He explained the Election difficulties which made it impossible for Mr. Hughes of Australia to be present,* mentioned the preliminary meeting of the first Imperial Cabinet, spoke of "a re-birth of the Empire" which must result from the great War struggle, and especially welcomed the representatives of India. The members of the Conference were as follows:

Great Britain:	Rt. Hon. Walter H. Long Rt. Hon. The Earl of Derby Rt. Hon. Sir Albert H. Stanley Rt. Hon. Sir Alfred L. Mond Rt. Hon. Christopher Addison Rt. Hon. E. H. Prothero	New Zealand:	Rt. Hon. William F. Massey Rt. Hon. Sir Joseph G. Ward, Bart.
		South Africa:	Lieut.-Gen. The Rt. Hon. J. C. Smuts
		Newfoundland:	Rt. Hon. Sir E. P. Morris
Canada:	Rt. Hon. Sir Robert Borden Hon. Sir George H. Perley Hon. Robert Rogers Hon. J. Douglas Hazen	India:	Rt. Hon. Austen Chamberlain Sir James S. Meston H.H. The Maharajah of Bikaner Sir Satyendra P. Sinha

A central debate of the Conference (Apr. 16) was on the constitutional issue. Sir Robert Borden laid stress upon preserving Dominion autonomy, obtaining equality of status with the Motherland, and attaining a full citizenship in the Empire which would involve a voice in Foreign relations. He also described the important place of the Crown in the new system. Mr. Massey emphasized the lessons of the War, urged bonds as "soft as silk and strong as steel," deprecated interference with Dominion fiscal policies, declared the present loose Empire system to have worked very well in the War, eulogized the Imperial Cabinet policy and the work of the Conferences. General Smuts spoke of the British Empire as the first organized group of free and united nations in history, deprecated the idea of a central Parliament and Executive for the Empire, and described "continuous consultation" as the secret of permanent and closer unity. Sir E. Morris, like preceding and succeeding speakers, emphasized the importance of the Monarchy in the Imperial structure, while Sir Joseph Ward urged the construction of an Empire Federal authority. The following important Resolutions were unanimously passed by the Conference, the first being the one discussed above and moved by Sir R. Borden and Mr. Massey:

1. *Constitution:* The Imperial War Conference are of opinion that the re-adjustment of the constitutional relations of the component parts of the Empire is too

*NOTE.—On Mar. 30 Mr. Long cabled the Governor-General of Australia that he was telegraphing information of proceedings and Resolutions for the confidential use of his Prime Minister.

important and intricate a subject to be dealt with during the War, and that it should form the subject of a special Imperial Conference to be summoned as soon as possible after the cessation of hostilities. They deem it their duty, however, to place on record their view that any such re-adjustment, while thoroughly preserving all existing powers of self-government and complete control of domestic affairs, should be based upon a full recognition of the Dominions as autonomous nations of an Imperial Commonwealth, and of India as an important portion of the same, should recognize the right of the Dominions and India to an adequate voice in foreign policy and in foreign relations, and should provide effective arrangements for continuous consultation in all important matters of common Imperial concern, and for such necessary concerted action, founded on consultation, as the several Governments may determine.

2. *Defence:* That the Admiralty be requested to work out immediately after the conclusion of the War what they consider the most effective scheme of Naval Defence for the Empire for the consideration of the several Governments summoned to this Conference, with such recommendations as the Admiralty consider necessary in that respect for the Empire's future security.

That this Conference, recognizing the importance of assimilating as far as possible the military stores and equipment of the Imperial forces throughout the Empire, recommends that an expert Committee, representative of the military authorities of the United Kingdom, the Dominions, and India, be appointed as early as possible to consider the various patterns in use with a view to selecting standard patterns for general adoption as far as the special circumstances of each country admit.

That this Conference, in view of the experience of the present War, calls attention to the importance of developing an adequate capacity of production of naval and military material, munitions, and supplies, in all important parts of the Empire (including the countries bordering on the Pacific and Indian Oceans) where such facilities do not presently exist, and affirms the importance of close co-operation between India, the Dominions, and the United Kingdom, with this object in view.

That this Conference is of opinion that it is desirable that the Ordnance *personnel* of the military organizations of the Empire should, as far as possible, be trained on the same methods and according to the same principles, and that to secure this end selected officers of the Ordnance service from all parts of the Empire should be attached for adequate periods to the Imperial Ordnance Department.

3. *Trade and Tariffs:* That the Imperial War Conference welcomes the proposed increase of the Board of Trade service of Trade Commissioners and its extension throughout the British Empire, in accordance with the recommendations of the Dominions Royal Commission, and recommends that the Governments concerned should co-operate so as to make that service as useful as possible to the Empire as a whole, especially for the promotion of Inter-Imperial Trade.

That the time has arrived when all possible encouragement should be given to the development of Imperial resources, and especially to making the Empire independent of other countries in respect of food supplies, raw materials, and essential industries. With these objects in view this Conference expresses itself in favour of:

(1) The principle that each part of the Empire, having due regard to the interests of our Allies, shall give specially favourable treatment and facilities to the produce and manufactures of other parts of the Empire;

(2) Arrangements by which intending emigrants from the United Kingdom may be induced to settle in countries under the British flag.

That the Imperial War Conference consider it desirable, with a view to prevent dumping or any other mode of unfair competition from present enemy countries during the transition period after the War, that the several Governments of the Empire, while reserving to themselves freedom of action in any particular respect, take power to control the importation of goods originating in such countries into the Empire for a period of twelve months after the War.

4. *Natural Resources:* That having regard to the experience obtained in the present War, this Conference records its opinion that the safety of the Empire and the necessary development of its component parts, require prompt and attentive consideration, as well as concerted action, with regard to the following matters:

(1) The production of an adequate food supply and arrangements for its transportation when and where required, under any conditions that may reasonably be anticipated.

(2) The control of natural resources available within the Empire, especially those that are of an essential character for necessary national purposes, whether in peace or in war.

(3) The economical utilization of such natural resources through processes of manufacture carried on within the Empire.

5. *India:* That the Imperial War Conference desires to place on record its view that the Resolution of the Imperial Conference of 20th April, 1907, should be modified to permit of India being fully represented at all future Imperial Conferences and that the necessary steps should be taken to secure the assent of the various Governments in order that the next Imperial Conference may be summoned and constituted accordingly.

That this Conference, having examined the Memorandum on the position of Indians in the Self-governing Dominions presented by the Indian representatives to the Conference, accepts the principle of reciprocity of treatment between India and the Dominions and recommends the Memorandum to the favourable consideration of the Governments concerned.

Other Resolutions expressed appreciation of a Minute addressed to the Prime Minister by H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, as Chairman of the Prince of Wales' Committee re Care of Soldiers' Graves, and urged the appointment of an Imperial War Graves' Commission; recognized the importance and desirability of Empire uniformity in Naturalization laws; thanked Earl Grey for his great interest in the plan of an Empire building at Aldwych to hold the headquarters of all the Dominions, but did not think it practicable; approved the establishment of an Imperial Mineral Resources Bureau in London with all parts of the Empire represented; suggested that the matter of double or duplicated Income tax between the countries of the Empire be taken up immediately after the War; urged the British authorities to take special steps for the protection of Empire soldiers from moral temptations while on leave.

An Address of "devoted loyalty" was presented to H.M. The King on May 2, after the Conference had adjourned on Apr. 27—its sittings having, as a rule, been held alternately with those of the Imperial War Cabinet. There were several functions in connection with the Conference—one being a House of Commons luncheon, addressed by General Smuts, Sir R. Borden and Mr. Walter Long. The latter described this gathering of the Overseas Dominions as "fraught with immense possibilities—from it will emerge an Empire such as we have never seen before." The Freedom of the City of London was granted on May 1 to Lieut.-Gen. Smuts, Sir E. P. Morris, Sir James Meston, the Maharajah of Bikaner and Sir S. P. Sinha; that of Edinburgh was conferred on Sir R. Borden, General Smuts and the Maharajah of Bikaner.

The British West Indies and the War. Renewed suggestions as to the union of these Islands with Canada were heard in 1917 as a result of War conditions. Harry J. Crowe continued in Canada his advocacy of the policy, especially along commercial lines, as did the *Canada-West Indies Magazine*, published at Montreal; T. B. Macaulay, President of the Sun Life Assurance Co., urged identity of interests and, in addressing the Ottawa Board of Trade—as republished in the *Empire Review* of June—he declared that: "Canada and the West Indies are mutually complementary. Each produces what the other needs, and each needs what the other produces. But at present both are largely tributary to New York. Why should we not trade directly together, and cut out New York? Personally, I would like to see the West Indian

Islands placed on precisely the same footing commercially as a Province of the Dominion, so that there should be absolute free trade between us." A. T. Drummond, LL.D., of Montreal, urged the Union of the British West Indies as a preliminary step and pointed to the "large identity of interest in respect of the products of the soil, climatic conditions, trade outlook and connections, character of the people and methods of government. Federation (local) can be viewed from the standpoints of concentration of authority, external trade, internal development, and, to some extent, strategical importance to the Navy, but these standpoints are somewhat interdependent." This view *Canada*, the London journal of Canadian affairs, also approved. In London the West India Committee, an important body, was re-organized with R. Rutherford as Chairman and H. A. Trotter, Deputy Chairman, while the Royal Colonial Institute decided to prepare a survey of the Islands' resources and conditions.

The total area of the West Indies—including British Guiana and Honduras—was 110,249 sq. miles and the population 2,000,000; there was little co-ordination in work and government but much duplication. War contributions were surprisingly generous from these Islands—populated as they largely were by blacks and still in the Crown Colony stage of evolution. Up to the beginning of 1917 Jamaica had given $227,000 in voluntary contributions to various Funds, besides officially undertaking to pay the Imperial Government $300,000 a year for 40 years on War account, and sending 6,000 men for military service; at the date mentioned 450 men of the Island held British commissions and over 200 had died on active service. In February a 5th War Contingent was announced as raised and recruiting was proceeding for another. Trinidad contributed from taxation during the year, for War purposes, over $500,000 besides voluntary gifts and subscriptions totalling $350,000, of which $200,000 was for the purchase of Cocoa for His Majesty's troops, $85,000 for British Red Cross, and $50,000 as a contribution to the Prince of Wales' Fund; on May 21 it was stated that two further contingents of volunteers—three others had previously gone, totalling 22 officers and 840 men—had reached England from Trinidad, while another of 500 men was being recruited. Barbadoes contributed officially $200,000 as a free war gift in addition to a similar sum previously granted and its popular subscriptions to many Funds, including Red Cross, Belgian Relief, etc., totalled $85,000, while the troops sent to join the British West India Regiment numbered 530 officers and men;* British Guiana gave large contributions of sugar (worth $85,000), rum and rice from the beginning of the War, while up to July 29, 1917, $126,000 had been collected for War Funds.

Bermuda, with only 21,000 population, sent 493 soldiers to the Front, the Legislature voted $20,000 as a contribution toward the expenses of the War and expended $143,000 locally for War purposes, while the public collected $55,000 for various Funds and the I.O.D.E. branch sent 28,000 articles to the British Red Cross and other contributions to other purposes; St. Vincent contributed altogether $10,000 from the Government, $4,600 from the public and 197 recruits for the Army; Grenada through its Legislative Council, voted $5,000 as a direct contribution and for War purposes $27,500 in 1915 and $55,000 in 1916, supplied 377 recruits to the B.W.I. Regiment and 50 more in 1917, while collecting over $40,000 by public subscription for patriotic purposes; Saint Lucia recruited 1,000 men out of a military population of 5,000, contributed altogether $33,500 to different Funds and in 1917 took up $61,000 in War Loan subscriptions; Montserrat, the smallest of Colonies, gave $3,600 to the War Fund and the Bahamas voted $50,000 for War purposes. It may be added that a strong effort was made to further the joint interests of these countries and Canada by the Canadian-West India League, of which the Hon. President was Lord Shaughnessy, K.C.V.O., the President, T. B. Macaulay, of Montreal, and the Hon. Secretary, Wm. T. Robson, of that city, with an influential Executive representing the Islands and Montreal interests. The Exports of the British West Indies and British Guiana to Canada in 1917 were $21,311,580 and the Imports from the Dominion $7,694,441; in the three years 1915-17 the figures were $48,208,942 and $17,293,357, respectively.

Imperial Honours of the Year. The elevation of Sir Hugh Graham of Montreal and Sir Wm. Max Aitken of Montreal and London to the Peerage and the refusal of a Knighthood and Senatorship by John Ross Robertson of Toronto aroused considerable discussion. Sir Maxwell Aitken was a young Canadian

*NOTE.—For many of these figures I am indebted to the courtesy and efforts of Mr. E. H. S. Flood, Canadian Trade Commissioner at Bridgetown, Barbadoes.

of quite remarkable ability and exceptional political skill and force, who had won a sudden and high place in British public life while devoted to the advancement of Canadian interests abroad. Mr. Ross Robertson had always been radical in view and his paper (*The Telegram*) sometimes verged upon republicanism in thought; but he himself was so fine a type of citizen and so outstanding a man in strength and virility of character that he could afford to decline national or Imperial compliments if he so desired. The British press described the Montreal honours as eminently fitting—with, in the case of Lord Beaverbrook, some political exceptions; the Canadian press was inclined to view them critically and as part of an institution. The Toronto *Globe* (Feb. 21) was explicit on this point: "Is it not time to call a halt in this 'New Imperialism'? It is not in consonance with the new-world spirit of democracy." The hereditary side of Lord Atholstan's honour, as with that of Lord Beaverbrook, was the chief element of criticism—though, as a matter of fact, neither of the new Peers had a son. The Kingston *Whig*, the Woodstock *Sentinel-Review*, the Toronto *Globe* and *Star*, the Hamilton *Herald*, the Vancouver *World*, the Halifax *Chronicle*, the Edmonton *Bulletin*, the London *Advertiser*, the Stratford *Beacon*—these and most of the other protestants were Liberal journals—exceptions being the Guelph *Herald*, London *Free Press* and the Prince Albert *Herald*, the *Christian Guardian* and Orangeville *Sun*, with, of course, the Toronto Weekly *Sun* (Radical), which already refused to acknowledge any Imperial title in Canada and referred to Mr. Laurier and Mr. Borden while believing also in neutrality of War thought. These papers did not regard the honours as a compliment to Canada and rather minimized the services of the men who were honoured. *The Grain Growers' Guide* described titles in general (Mar. 14) as "tin pot appanages." Other Canadians honoured during the year were as follows:

K.C.M.G.	Hon. Albert Edward Kemp	Minister of Militia.
K.C.M.G.	Hon. Wm. Howard Hearst	Premier of Ontario.
K.C.M.G.	Robert A. Falconer, C.M.G.	President of University of Toronto.
K.C.M.G.	Lieut.-Col.J.Strathearn Hendrie, C.V.O.	Lieut.-Governor of Ontario.
K.C.M.G.	Wm. Peterson, C.M.G., LL.D.	Prin'pal McGill University, Montreal.
C.M.G.	Rev. Daniel Miner Gordon, D.D., LL.D.	Prin'pal Queen's University, Kingston.
C.M.G.	Capt. Edward H. Martin	Superintendent of Halifax Dockyard.
C.M.G.	Graham Airdrie Bell	Department of Railways & Canals.
C.M.G.	Wm. Henry Walker, I.S.O.	Ass't Under-Secretary, External Affairs
Knight	Hon. Walter G. P. Cassels	Judge of the Exchequer Court.
Knight	Mortimer B. Davis	Montreal Tobacco Manufacturer.
Knight	Hon. Ezekiel McLeod	Chief Justice of New Brunswick.
Knight	John Aird	Gen.Man.Canadian Bank of Commerce
Knight	George Bury	Vice-President of C.P.R.
Knight	George Burn	General Manager, Bank of Ottawa.
Knight	Augustus M. Nanton	Winnipeg Financier.
Knight	Surg.-Gen. Eugene Fiset, C.M.G., I.S.O.	Deputy Minister of Militia.
K.C.B.	Major-Gen. John W. Carson, C.B.	Militia Dept. Representative in England
Baronet	Joseph Wesley Flavelle	Chairman, Imperial Munitions Board.
I.S.O.	Pierre Martial Coté, K.C.	Department of Justice.
I.S.O.	Lieut.-Col. T. G. Johnston Loggie	Deputy Minister of Lands, N.B.

A large number of military honours were also granted during the year. No exception was taken to these but that of Sir J. W. Flavelle added fuel to the fire of criticism. A measure of personal unpopularity, in respect to war prices of the Davies' firm and war orders for bacon, etc., reacted upon an honour bestowed for admitted war services as the controller and manager of immense British Munition interests in Canada. It may be added that the titles chosen during the year by three new Canadian Peers, the first created in 1916, were as follows: Sir Thomas Shaughnessy, K.C.V.O., Baron Shaughnessy of Montreal, Canada, and Ashford, Ireland; Sir Hugh Graham, Baron Atholstan of Huntingdon, Quebec, and Edinburgh, Scotland; Sir Wm. Max Aitken, Bart., M.P., Baron Beaverbrook of Beaverbrook, New Brunswick, and Cherkley, Surrey.

A new Order of the British Empire was announced by the King, for services rendered during the War, with divisions for both men and women. A long List of recipients was published and the Classes of the Order stated as follows:

Men	Women
1. Knights Grand Cross (G.B.E.)	1. Dames of Grand Cross (G.B.E.)
2. Knights Commanders (K.B.E.)	2. Dames Commanders (D.B.E.)
3. Commanders (C.B.E.)	3. Commanders (C.B.E.)
4. Officers (O.B.E.)	4. Officers (O.B.E.)
5. Members (M.B.E.)	5. Members (M.B.E.)

The Honours for the Dominions were postponed but the following Canadians were included: K.B.E., Charles Blair Gordon, Montreal; O.B.E., Prof. John C. McLennan, Toronto.



His Excellency Woodrow Wilson
President of the United States in 1917.

THE UNITED STATES AND THE WAR

The United States Enters the War: Diplomacy and Decision.

The United States as a Nation did not want to fight in this War; its leaders, with a few exceptions, were agreed upon the policy of neutrality so long as it could be maintained with reasonable honour and dignity; its people were prosperous in fact, pacific in principle, exceedingly proud in theory; its position was one of known unpreparedness for war. The diplomacy of the President, therefore, had been one of excessive difficulty; that of Germany one of mingled bluff and indifference. Toward the close of 1916 the Central Powers had issued their first formal Peace proposal, which the Allies had rejected; immediately following it President Wilson had written his Note, asking the Belligerents to define their war-aims.* To this latter appeal the Allied Governments responded on Jan. 10, 1917, with a declaration of respect for its lofty sentiments and with this statement of their objects:

> The civilized world knows that they imply, in all necessity and in the first instance, the restoration of Belgium, of Serbia, and of Montenegro, and the indemnities which are due them; the evacuation of the invaded territories of France, of Russia, and of Roumania, with just reparation; the re-organization of Europe, guaranteed by a stable settlement, based alike upon the principle of nationalities, on the right which all peoples, whether small or great, have to the enjoyment of full security and free economic development, and also upon territorial agreements and international arrangements so framed as to guarantee land and sea frontiers against unjustified attacks; the restitution of provinces or territories wrested in the past from the Allies by force or against the will of their populations; the liberation of Italians, of Slavs, of Roumanians, and of Tcheco-Slovaques from foreign domination; the enfranchisement of populations subject to the bloody tyranny of the Turks; the expulsion from Europe of the Ottoman Empire, decidedly alien to Western civilization.

On Jan. 17 Sir C. Spring-Rice, British Ambassador, presented to the United States Government a further Note, signed by A. J. Balfour as Foreign Secretary and amplifying the views above expressed. It was a most able document and the writer made special reference to Turkey as being openly used by Germany as an engine of conquest: "Under German officers Turkish soldiers are now fighting in lands from which they had long been expelled, and a Turkish Government controlled, subsidized, and supported by Germany has been guilty of massacres in Armenia and Syria more horrible than any recorded in the history even of those unhappy countries." For Militarism as a disease international treaties and laws did not seem a sufficient check or cure. A durable Peace, therefore, was only possible with three conditions:

> The first is that existing causes of international unrest should be as far as possible removed or weakened; the second is that the aggressive aims and the unscrupulous methods of the Central Powers should fall into disrepute among their own peoples; the third is that behind International law and behind all treaty arrangements for preventing or limiting hostilities some form of International sanction should be devised which would give pause to the hardiest aggressor.

*NOTE.—See *The Canadian Annual Review* for 1916, Pages 42, 232, 234.

Meantime, Switzerland, the Scandinavian countries, Spain, Greece, China and Persia had also replied to the President with varied Notes playing upon the Peace ideal; while at the same time Count Von Bernstorff, German Ambassador at Washington, was sending the following message* to the Berlin Foreign Office, dated Jan. 22: "I request authority to pay out up to 50,000 (fifty thousand) dollars in order, as on former occasions, to influence Congress through the organization you know of, which can perhaps prevent war. I am beginning in the meantime to act accordingly." Taking associated facts, of which the President was probably aware in connection with German propaganda, the perhaps deliberate indiscretion of Mr. Secretary Lansing in his reference to the Peace Note as indicating a possibility of war, the knowledge of an intensified Submarine issue of the near future which the Government must have had, it was not hard to see reasons for the President's efforts to promote peace.

The United States Senate approved his action (Jan. 4) by 48 to 17 and Senator Hamilton Lewis boldly declared that the country would be drawn in if the War lasted much longer; in Berlin a semi-official banquet was given to Ambassador J. W. Gerard on Jan. 6, when Herr Von Gwinner of the Deutsch Bank compared Mr. Gerard with "the peace dove of Noah's Ark," and addresses were made by Herr Helfferich, Herr Zimmerman, Foreign Secretary, and others; at this very moment Germany had decided to tear up its pledges as to Submarines and Herr Zimmerman, who stated at the banquet that he "felt sure friendly and trustful relations would continue," was about to write (Jan. 19) Von Eckhardt in Mexico and suggest a Mexico-Japan alliance to invade the United States; three days after this despatch was sent President Wilson made another peace effort. On Jan. 22 he addressed the Senate, but really the American people and the belligerent Governments; reviewed his Peace Note and the replies thereto; proclaimed the end of the War as not far off and urged a League of Nations to conserve future peace—with the United States as a factor in the final settlement. The following extracts from the address were important:

> The statesmen of both of the groups of nations now arrayed against one another have said that it was no part of the purpose they had in mind to crush their antagonists. They imply, first of all, that it must be a peace without victory. Victory would mean peace forced upon the loser, a victor's terms imposed upon the vanquished. It would be accepted in humiliation, under duress, at an intolerable sacrifice and would leave a sting, a resentment, a bitter memory, upon which terms of peace would rest, not permanently, but only as upon quicksand. No peace can last, or ought to last, which does not recognize and accept the principle that governments derive all their just powers from the consent of the governed, and that no right anywhere exists to hand people about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were property.
>
> So far as practicable every great people now struggling toward a full development of its resources and of its powers should be assured a direct outlet to the great highways of the sea. And the paths of the sea must alike in law and in fact be free. The freedom of the seas is the *sine qua non* of peace, equality and co-operation.

On the same day Mr. Lansing, Secretary of State, submitted to the

*NOTE.—Made public by the U.S. Government on Sept. 21, 1917.

American Institute of International Law a proposed code of maritime neutrality rules which was opposed to past principles and existing British practice. It included Articles prohibiting the commercial blockade of belligerent ports and all right of search except examination of a vessels' papers. Correspondence of neutrals or belligerents was to be inviolable. Belligerent and neutral merchant vessels were in no case to be confiscated or sunk, although contraband aboard them might be confiscated or destroyed by captors. Allied comment upon the President's address considered the pivotal point to be the "Peace without Victory" reference. American comment was confused—the idealism of the address being everywhere praised; its practicability doubted by such papers as the Chicago *Tribune*, Kansas City *Star*, New Orleans *Times-Picaynne*, St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, Detroit *Free Press*, Louisville *Courier-Journal*, the Portland *Oregonian*. The views were criticized by Messrs. Roosevelt, Root, Beck and other Republican leaders; they were approved by Oscar S. Straus and the New York Peace Society.

Then, on Jan. 31, the German Ambassador presented to Mr. Lansing an official Note in which the German Government acknowledged receipt of the President's Senate speech, declared that "its main tendencies correspond largely to the desires and principles professed by Germany"—especially as to self-government for countries like India and Ireland; reviewed again the German attempt for Peace, its fight for existence, the "lust of conquest" shown by the *Entente*, the creation of a new situation by England's brutal blockade and ruthless "contempt for international law!" New decisions had become necessary and "the Imperial Government —in order to serve the welfare of mankind in a higher sense and not to wrong its own people—is now compelled to continue the fight for existence, again forced upon it, with the full employment of all the weapons which are at its disposal." Hence the enclosure of two Memoranda—one defining barred zones around Great Britain, France, Italy, and in the Eastern Mediterranean where "all ships met (including neutrals) will be sunk." Germany, it was added, had not so far made "unrestricted use of the weapon which she possesses in her Submarines" but that she could forego this right no longer. The other declared that regular American passenger steamers would still be permitted if (1) Falmouth were the port of destination, a certain route was carefully followed, and the ships were painted and flagged in a specified way, and (2) the United States Government guaranteed that no contraband (according to German regulations) was carried.

On Feb. 1st newspapers of every shade of opinion and from the Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico—excepting German-American journals—were unanimous in denunciation of this policy and firm in the demand that Washington should protect the rights of the United States on the seas. It was pointed out that to date 182 Americans had been killed by German submarines; the *Lusitania* episode, with the President's stirring notes, was revived on every side; the general conclusion was that this despatch and action

meant war. Meantime, Herr Von Bethmann-Hollweg had told the Reichstag, also on Jan. 31, that conditions had forced Submarine warfare "into its last acute stage"; that the number of submarines in hand had greatly increased and "thereby a firm basis created for success"; that a bad wheat harvest and a coal shortage threatened the world and the Allies in particular; that the submarines would render the Allied situation still more critical. As to the rest "success lies in a higher Hand."

The President had at once called to Washington his friend and adviser, E. M. House; on the 2nd he met his Cabinet and on the 3rd addressed a joint Session of Congress. After quoting his official statement of Apr. 18, 1916, that unless Submarine warfare was held within legitimate bounds the United States would have to sever relations with Germany, and quoting the German Government's pledge in that respect, the President proceeded to state that diplomatic relations had now been severed, the German Ambassador given his passports, and Mr. Gerard recalled from Berlin. Still, he could not believe that the German threats would actually be carried out; "Only overt acts on their part can make me believe it." If his hope proved unfounded Congress would be called to consider the situation. At the same time a Note was handed by Mr. Lansing to the German Ambassador along the lines of the President's speech and the Senate on Feb. 7 endorsed the action thus taken by 78 to 5.

Count Von Bernstorff at once prepared to leave Washington and, at the request of the United States, a safe conduct was granted to him and his suite by Great Britain and France; Dr. Paul Ritter, the Swiss Minister, took charge of German interests, while the ex-Ambassador informed the press (Feb. 4) that the reasons for the break were (1) the newspapers, (2) Wall Street, and (3) American society, and that he believed 25,000,000 of the people to be pro-Ally, 15,000,000 pro-German and 60,000,000 passive; passage was taken on the Scandinavian liner *Frederick VIII* and the German Consuls at various points, with their families and other persons, totalling 149 in all, were finally allowed to accompany the Ambassador; amongst the party were many well-known German propagandists and workers, such as Dr. H. F. Albert, Wolf von Igel—under indictment and $25,000 bail—and Baroness Zwiedenek; at Halifax on Feb. 14 the ship, the German passengers, and their baggage were detained some days, carefully examined by the British-Canadian authorities and then allowed to go their way after bitter protests from Von Bernstorff; the latter received the Iron Cross of the White Ribbon from the Kaiser and was appointed Ambassador at Constantinople.

Meantime it was announced that Mr. Gerard, his staff and various United States Consuls, had been held at Berlin as hostages to guard and ensure Von Bernstorff's safety—a fact admitted on Feb. 10 by Dr. Von Stumm, German Foreign Under-Secretary; finally, on Feb. 12, he and his party crossed the Swiss border. Events followed thick and fast. On Feb. 10 Dr. Ritter informed the Government that Germany was still willing to negotiate—"provided

that the commercial blockade against England will not be broken thereby," but was told by Mr. Lansing that negotiation was useless under present conditions; a crisis soon developed at United States ports and in American shipping, and all kinds of vessels were held up with immense cargoes, by fear of the new Submarine situation; German shipping interned in United States ports, in the Philippines, and at Panama, was disabled and injured in various ways by the German crews; the House of Representatives unanimously reaffirmed (Feb. 12) its belief in settlement of International disputes by arbitration or mediation; the sinking of *S. S. California* on Feb. 8, with many passengers from the States, created war talk but it turned out there were no American citizens on board.

During this period the New York *Tribune* urged war and was the first to propose a military alliance with the *Entente* while the railway and shipping tie-up grew steadily worse; the opponents of war led by W. J. Bryan and Senator W. J. Stone, Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, continued an active propaganda and the latter denounced (Feb. 16) the "newspaper cabal," working for war, as public enemies; the arming of American ships for defence against attack was urged and also an extra Session of Congress, but the President held back until even the Pacifist West was suffering in freights from the blockade of shipping, and began to murmur; Germany proposed, through Dr. Ritter, an elaborate extension of an old Prussian-American agreement of 1799, which would have prevented the United States seizing German merchant ships in case of war, but this was refused; Pacifist societies and individuals urged a campaign to accept the German War Zone and forbid American passengers on Allied shipping.

On Feb. 25 the *Laconia* was sunk off the Irish coast with several American citizens on board—two of whom were lost—and following the sinking of the U.S. vessels the *Housatonic* and *L. M. Law.* On the next day President Wilson appeared before Congress and announced the proposed adoption of a policy of "armed neutrality"; while describing the situation as similar to that of a month before and declaring that "the overt act" had not yet occurred though the intent was obvious. He asked for full authority to act in case a crisis developed: "It is devoutly to be hoped that it will not be necessary to put armed forces anywhere into action. The American people do not desire it, and my desire is not different from theirs. . . . I hope that I need give no further proofs and assurances than I have already given throughout nearly three years of anxious patience that I am the friend of peace, and mean to preserve it for America so long as I am able." Power was asked to arm ships, and to use other means, together with a sufficient financial credit. "We must defend our commerce and the lives of our people in the midst of the present trying circumstances, with discretion but with clear and steadfast purpose."

The British press and many of the American papers described the *Laconia* sinking as an overt act but Mr. Wilson did not admit this; while in the Reichstag at Berlin (Feb. 27) the leaders joined in approving the "unrestricted" Submarine policy—despite Ameri-

can opinion. The Imperial Chancellor regretted the rupture but declared that "the successes of our Submarine warfare already obtained much surpass the expectations of our Navy"; Dr. Peter Spahn, leader of the Central Catholic Party, stated that "the Submarine weapon can only be fully utilized if unrestricted, and serious damage to England is then certain"; P. Scheidemann, the Majority Socialist leader, declared that "Germany is unanimous that all our power must be strained to frustrate the plans of the enemy, that it may bring peace soon"; Count F. Von Westarp, Conservative leader, said that "we are now employing our last fighting weapon, with which England's vital spot will be directly hit." Following this debate came the publication (Mar. 1) of the Zimmerman despatch as to Japan and Mexico, the arousing of much indignation in the States, and the assurance of President Wilson to the Senate that the document was genuine.

In this latter body a bitter "filibuster" was organized by the Pacifists against a Bill granting the President Armed Neutrality powers. It was based upon rules which declared unanimity necessary in fixing a time to vote and was successful because the 64th Congress expired at noon on Mar. 4. The leader in this campaign was R. M. La Follette, a Republican of one-time Presidential ambitions, and the others were M. E. Clapp, A. B. Cummins, A. J. Gronna, W. S. Kenyon, G. W. Norris, J. D. Works—Republicans; W. F. Kirby, H. Lane, J. A. O'Gorman, W. J. Stone, J. K. Vardaman—Democrats. As to this the President issued a statement describing the situation as "unparalleled in the history of modern government." He pointed out that: "More than 500 of the 531 members of the two Houses are ready and anxious to act; the House of Representatives has acted, by an overwhelming majority; but the Senate is unable to act because a little group of wilful men, representing no opinion but their own, have rendered the great Government of the United States helpless and contemptible." He urged alteration of the rules. On Mar. 5 the re-elected President was inaugurated, addressed the 65th Congress, and analyzed the War situation as it affected "the composite and cosmopolitan people" of the United States who could not be indifferent to or independent of the War but yet were conscious of not being, or wishing to be, part of it; declared that the United States stood "firm in armed neutrality" and was arming itself to make good the claim to "a certain minimum of right and freedom of action"; defined once more the things for which the United States stood in peace or in war:

> That all nations are equally interested in the peace of the world and in the political stability of free peoples, and equally responsible for their maintenance.
>
> That the essential principle of peace is the actual equality of nations in all matters of right or privilege.
>
> That peace cannot securely or justly rest upon an armed balance of power.
>
> That Governments derive all their just powers from the consent of the governed and that no other powers should be supported by the common thought, purpose or power of the family of nations.
>
> That the seas should be equally free and safe for the use of all peoples, under rules set up by common agreement and consent, and that, so far as practicable, they should be accessible to all upon equal terms.

That national armaments should be limited to the necessities of national order and domestic safety.

That the community of interest and power upon which peace must henceforth depend imposes upon each nation the duty of seeing to it that all influences proceeding from its own citizens, meant to encourage or assist revolution in other States, should be sternly and effectually suppressed and prevented.

After this war approached quickly. The United States ships *Algonquin* (Mar. 2), *City of Memphis, Illinois,* and *Vigilancia* (Mar. 19), and the *Healdton* (Mar. 22) were torpedoed without warning while flying the American flag; the Senate adopted a closure rule which would prevent future action of the La Follette character, with only three votes against it; a special Session of Congress was called for Apr. 16 to deal with the situation and meantime the arming of the merchant marine was ordered on Mar. 9 and proceeded steadily with contracts also let for $136,000,000 worth of cruisers and battleships; New York held a War Sunday on Mar. 11 and pledges of support poured in upon the Administration while organized preparations began on Mar. 25 to place the nation upon a war footing; on Apr. 2 the torpedoing of the *Aztec* was announced and at the same time the President met Congress in joint Session and called upon the nation to enter the War in order to make the world safe for democracy.

In his two hours' speech he first reviewed the Submarine action of Germany and the pledges made and broken: "The new policy has swept every restriction aside. Vessels of every kind, whatever their character, their cargo, their destination, their errand, have been ruthlessly sent to the bottom without warning and without thought of help or mercy for those on board, the vessels of neutrals along with belligerents." International law and humanity had been disregarded and mankind challenged by "wholesale destruction of the lives of non-combatants, men, women and children, engaged in pursuits which have always, even in the darkest periods of modern history, been deemed innocent and legitimate." Submarines, as used by Germany, were described as "outlaws"; the armed neutrality he hoped to observe, like that of peace, had become ineffectual in face of "a War against all Nations."

With a profound sense of the solemn and even tragical character of the step I am taking I advise that Congress declares the recent course of the Imperial German Government to be in fact nothing less than war against the Government and people of the United States; that it formally accepts the status of a belligerent which has thus been thrust upon it; and that it take immediate steps not only to put the country in a more thorough state of defence, but also to exert all its power and employ all its resources to bring the Government of the German Empire to terms and end the War. What this will involve is clear. It will involve the utmost practicable co-operation in counsel and action with the Governments now at war with Germany and, as incident to that, the extension to those Governments of the most liberal financial credits, in order that our resources may so far as possible be added to theirs. It will involve the organization and mobilization of all the material resources of the country to supply the materials of war and serve the incidental needs of the nation in the most abundant and yet the most economical and efficient way possible. It will involve the immediate addition to the armed forces of the United States, already provided for by law in case of war, of at least 500,000 men, who should, in my opinion, be chosen upon the principle of universal liability to service and also the authorization of subsequent additional increments of equal force as soon as they may be needed and can be handled in training.

As to Peace and its principles the President stood upon the ground set by his speeches of Jan. 23, Feb. 3 and Feb. 26; as to Germany he differentiated once more between the Government and the people —"it was not upon their impulse that their Government acted in entering this war; it was not with their previous knowledge or approval." As to principles and conditions: "A steadfast concert for peace can never be maintained except by a partnership of democratic nations" which should be a league of honour, a partnership of opinion; the Russian revolution was described as "a wonderful and heartening thing"; Prussia was stated to have "from the very outset of the present war filled our unsuspecting communities and even our offices of Government with spies and set criminal intrigues everywhere afoot against our national unity of council, our peace within and without, our industries and our commerce." The gauge of war was accepted with the "natural foe of liberty"; the United States had no selfish ends to serve, they desired no conquest or domain, sought for themselves no indemnity or compensation. As to German-Americans he believed the most of them to be loyal and true to the United States: "If there should be disloyalty, it will be dealt with with a firm hand of stern repression." On Apr. 6 the President issued a Proclamation as to the existence of a state of war, enjoined alien enemies to preserve the peace and refrain from violation of the laws or any expressed hostility to the United States, or the giving of comfort, aid or information to the enemy, and defined a series of rules and conditions as to such alien enemies. At the same time 66 interned German vessels in American ports were taken over and the crews sent to Ellis Island, while the Allied patrols on North American coasts were replaced by United States war vessels. Meanwhile, a Resolution had been submitted to the Senate and Representatives, in identic terms, approving the President's war action. It was passed in the Senate by 82 to 6—the latter being part of the President's 12 "wilful men" and made up of Senators Stone, Lane and Vardaman, La Follette, Gronna and Norris.

In the Lower House the Resolution passed by 373 to 50 votes after about 50 speeches had been made. Claude Kitchin of North Carolina, Democratic leader, led the opposition and was supported by Miss Rankin, the new woman member, and by others of significant name—Decker, Dill, Esch, Frear, Haugen, Igoe, Knutson, Lundsen, Rodenburg, Voigt. The main argument used, as in the Senate, was a play upon old-time hostility to Great Britain—the declaration by Mr. Kitchin, for instance, that "Great Britain, every day, every hour, for two years, has violated American rights on the seas"; that Germany in her death-struggle was defending herself and not aiming directly against the United States. The full flower of Pacificism was developed as follows: "Why can we not, why should we not, forego the violation of our rights by Germany, and do as we did with Great Britain, do as we did with Mexico, and thus save the universe from being wrapped in the flames of war?"

The Committee on Foreign Affairs then submitted an exhaustive Report which recited Germany's hostile actions towards the United

States and reviewed its misdeeds generally—submarines, plots, intrigues, indignities, unfriendly acts. Telegrams of felicitation followed these events from the heads of all the Allied nations to President Wilson and from many organizations and institutions and leaders abroad; the British Parliament passed in both Houses, with one dissentient in the Commons, a Resolution expressing to the United States "profound appreciation of the action of their Government in joining the Allied Powers and thus defending the high cause of freedom and rights of humanity against the gravest menace by which they have ever been faced"; the Neutral Governments of Brazil, Argentina, Bolivia, Paraguay, Uruguay, Panama and Cuba approved the policy of the United States and some of them, later on, joined it in declaring war; at home the mass-meetings, which for a month past had been of a protesting, critical, urgent character, turned into gatherings of congratulation and loyal support; the Pacifists and pro-Germans who had been flooding Washington with delegations, and the mails with peace propaganda, returned home and went to work in more devious ways.

On Apr. 15 the President issued a personal appeal to his "Fellow countrymen," urging appreciation of the greatness of the task before them and explaining some of its details in clear terms—the raising and equipment of great Armies, the placing of the Navy on a war-footing, production and supply of food and ships and coal and munitions and war-material for the nation and for its Allies. He appealed to the great industries and other artisans for patriotic service; urged the farmers, and especially those of the South, to produce increased food-stuffs; asked middlemen of all kinds to forego unusual profits and to organize and expedite, in particular, the shipment of supplies; told the Railway operators and employees that upon them rested immense responsibility in allowing no obstruction, inefficiency or slackened power in transport: "The supreme test of the nation has come and we must all speak, act and serve together." As to Austria relations were peculiar and the President did his best to keep away from war controversy or action in that connection. On Feb. 18 the United States Government had reminded the Imperial Government of its Submarine policy, or promises of restricted warfare, as being similar to those of Germany, and inquired whether the new German action would cause a change in the Austrian attitude. The reply was handed to F. C. Penfield, Ambassador at Vienna, on Mar. 6 and took the same ground as did Germany in argument, in denunciation of Britain, in throwing the blame upon others, in urging its work for "freedom of the seas," in appeal for the gentle Submarine facing a possibly-armed neutral ship, and not being allowed to work its will! After reference to the Blockade came this interesting statement:

> For more than two years the Central Powers hesitated. As the only ones of the Belligerents who had done everything to secure existing Treaties which were to guarantee to neutrals the freedom of the seas, they felt with pained hearts the law of the hour which commanded them to violate this freedom. The proclamations which they issued last January are apparently directed only against the rights of neutrals. In reality they serve towards the restoration of these rights; the Submarines which are cruising around the English coast announce to peoples who need

the sea that the day is not far off when the flags of all states, in the glory of their newly-won freedom, can freely fly over the seas.

In his War speech of Apr. 2 the President referred to this subject as follows: "The Austro-Hungarian Government has avowed its unqualified endorsement and acceptance of the reckless and lawless Submarine warfare adopted now without disguise by the Imperial German Government, and it has, therefore, not been possible for this Government to receive Count Tarnowski, the Ambassador recently accredited, but that Government has not actually engaged in warfare against citizens of the United States on the seas." Therefore, he preferred to exclude the Dual Monarchy, Bulgaria and Turkey, from present discussion. On Apr. 9, however, the Austro-Hungarian Government withdrew its representatives, Consuls, etc., from the United States and at the same time Austrian interned ships were seized by the American Government. On Dec. 4, following, the President addressed Congress again upon the general war situation and dealt with the intolerable menaces of intrigue and force being used by Germany against the United States. The following emphatic statement was made:

> Let there be no misunderstanding. Our present and immediate task is to win the War, and nothing shall turn us aside from it until it is accomplished. Every power and resource we possess, whether of men, of money, or materials, is being devoted and will continue to be devoted to that purpose until it is achieved. Those who desire to bring peace about before that purpose is achieved I counsel to carry their advice elsewhere. We will not entertain it. We shall regard the War as won only when the German people say to us, through properly accredited representatives, that they are ready to agree to a settlement based upon justice and the reparation of the wrongs their rulers have done. They have done a wrong to Belgium which must be repaired. They have established a power over other lands and peoples than their own—over the great Empire of Austria-Hungary, over hitherto free Balkan states, over Turkey, and within Asia—which must be relinquished.

An important statement as to the future was made in referring to the fact that Germany, after the War, might still remain in the hands of "ambitious and intriguing masters" who could not be trusted: "It might be impossible, also, in such untoward circumstances, to admit Germany to the free economic intercourse which must inevitably spring out of the other partnerships of a real peace. But there would be no aggression in that." As to Austria-Hungary he declared that their affairs must be left in their own hands—not in those of Germany—and that, meantime, the impediments to American War success, presented by that Empire as a vassal of Germany, made a declaration of war necessary: "We must meet its force with our own and regard the Central Powers as but one." Turkey and Bulgaria, also, were tools of Germany but no practical purpose would be served by a war declaration at present. On Dec. 7 both Houses passed a Resolution declaring that in view of "repeated acts of war" against the United States a state of war now existed between the Republic and the Austro-Hungarian Government. The Senate was unanimous—La Follette not voting; the Lower House was 363 for and Meyer Loudon, the New York Socialist, against. In accordance with the President's view, though against the convictions of many, no reference was made to the other

two Enemy Allies. On the 12th a Proclamation of war was issued by the President.

American Leaders and the War: Wilson, Roosevelt and Others.

The processes of Mr. Wilson's mind in passing from pacific tolerance in thought and policy to a position of Minerva-like war-equipment were clearly indicated in his official and diplomatic statements.* Intellectually, Woodrow Wilson appears to have been peculiarly fitted to guide the destinies of a great and complex community through the mazes of a world-war. Cautious in word and action, clever and effective in expression and exposition, keen and shrewd in his knowledge of public opinion, strong in final determination and action, he had gone through nearly three years of external war and internal controversy without losing his hold upon public confidence and respect. If it had been possible to keep the United States out of the War he would have done so; as it was he held the scales level until a Presidential election had given him four more years of power and an opportunity to adequately meet any issue which might be forced upon the Nation.† The probabilities are that an earlier declaration of hostilities would have produced a dis-united people; an opposing possibility which can never be verified is that a Roosevelt or similar leadership in the White House might have swept the people off their feet and facilitated preparations which would have greatly shortened the world-war. In practice the President had risen to all the demands of Peace and a patriotism founded upon its principles; during the 1917 stages of war-preparation he rose to the demands of a militant and more essential patriotism, despite the fact that neither people nor nation were prepared for war. Mr. Wilson had carried the country with him and by the close of 1917 he was practically a national Dictator and his private views, as well as public policy, were things of world import.

Only slight reference can be made here to the President's general attitude as distinct from his diplomatic and War-policy speeches. On June 14, at Washington, he reiterated his belief—shared in, at one time, by many British leaders—that "the German people did not originate or desire this hideous war or wish that we should be drawn into it," and the obvious but hampering conclusion in war-time that "we are not the enemies of the German people and they are not our enemies." Of course, he had to deal at home with a large population of Germans or German descendants and no doubt this was good political policy. To a Red Cross meeting on May 12 he declared (1) that this was no war for amateurs or mere spontaneous impulses but one of business and organization, and (2) that it was already uniting the American people north and south and east and west. In his Proclamation as to Army Registration (May 19) he made the strong statement that: "It is not an army that we must shape and train for war—it is a nation. To this end our

*See also volumes of *The Canadian Annual Review* for 1915 and 1916.

†—The actual popular vote in 1916 was as follows: Wilson, 9,116,296; Hughes, 547,474.

people must draw close in one compact front against a common foe. But this cannot be if each man pursues a private purpose." In addressing the American Federation of Labour at Buffalo on Nov. 12 Mr. Wilson described the War as complex in one respect, simple in another: "Its roots run deep into all the obscure soils of history, but in my view this is the last decisive issue between the old principles of power and the new principles of freedom." Its history and origin were elaborately treated; the responsibility of the United States and its free Labour system analyzed. The President shared in many other public matters during the year requiring control, guidance, persuasion, or even threats—and always with tact, courtesy and much sound argument.

Meantime, Theodore Roosevelt had been a constant and virile critic of the Administration; a continuous and outstanding public figure. His hatred of neutrality for the United States in this War was earnestly expressed. In an interview on Jan. 30 he denounced the President's peace views: "Peace without victory is the natural idea of the man who is too proud to fight. In the event of war, it is the only kind of peace open to the nation whose governor and leaders are too proud to fight and too foolish to prepare. If a righteous war is ended by a peace without victory, such a peace means the triumph of wrong over right, and neutrality between right and wrong means the support of wrong against right." He did not believe (*Metropolitan* for February) in the League to Enforce Peace: "Pacificism in this country is the strongest aid and encouragement to Militarism in every military autocracy abroad." To a request of Mr. Bryan's friends for a joint debate on Peace he wrote a contemptuous refusal on Feb. 28: "The unpreparedness upheld by the advocates of professional Pacificism does not, as is sometimes said, represent a high, although impractical, ideal. It is profoundly immoral, and in actual practice has been conclusively shown by the events of the last few years to inspire and abet the commission of the meanest sins, not only against our own country, but against the cause of international duty."

At Chicago on Apr. 29 he urged the President to "put the American flag on the firing line in France, Flanders or the Balkan peninsula at the earliest possible moment and keep it there, as long as the War continues, over a constantly-growing fighting force until the War brings victory." He urged obligatory service and added: "Now that we are at war, let us make it a real war, not a make-believe war, not a war of limited liability. We owe our safety at this moment to the British fleet and the French and British armies. I, for one, am not content to rest under that kind of obligation." Meanwhile, he was raising men on the strength of his own reputation and by means of his own volcanic energy; by May 1 there were 187,000 volunteers ready to follow him to France or anywhere else, and he was in a position to offer to the War Department two completely equipped Divisions, but did not obtain the coveted permission. On Long Island (July 4) Colonel Roosevelt turned his attention to Pacifists and pro-Germans. Their attitude was described as moral treason warranting shipment to Germany, and he

urged that all German language papers in the United States be compelled to print alternative columns in English: "At this moment the vital thing to remember about these half-hidden traitors is that to attack America's Allies, while we are at death grips with a peculiarly ruthless and brutal foe, or to champion that foe as against our Allies, or to apologize for that foe's infamous wrongdoing, is to be false to the cause of liberty and to the United States." In *The Metropolitan* for September he denounced Mr. Secretary Baker for stating on June 7 that while there were "difficulty, disorder and confusion" in getting things started, he preferred that condition to being, like Germany, "ready, anxious and prepared for war." To this the reply was emphatic: "Let our people keep steadily in remembrance that the Pacifists, sometimes speaking their own folly, and sometimes acting under the sinister inspiration of paid German emissaries, insisted that we should keep unprepared because to be prepared for war is to be 'anxious for it . . . and inviting it.' They insisted that unpreparedness meant peace." It did not mean peace; it did not and never will keep a nation out of war; it merely "makes the nation incompetent to carry it on effectively." After six months of war the United States, he declared, could not meet a single German Army Corps.

At Princeton on Nov. 16 the Colonel alleged that if the United States had acted promptly on Feb. 1, declared war and sent troops forward at once, Russia might have kept up its heart and Italy been saved from the peace-monger and traitor and resulting invasion. At New York (Nov. 12) he supported Woman Suffrage and declared that "the Germanized Socialists in this country, men and women alike, and the professional Pacifists and pro-Germans, and all others who aid and abet them, are emphatically traitors." He visited Toronto on Nov. 26 to help the British Red Cross, received an ovation from an enormous crowd and once more described United States Socialism as "a Germanized annex of autocracy and militarism"; while professional Pacifists were "the worst enemies of freedom, democracy and righteousness." He favoured absolute prohibition of liquor in the Army and so wrote on Dec. 24.

Wm. Howard Taft, Alton B. Parker, Joseph H. Choate and Elihu Root—the first and last were Republican leaders—gave Mr. Wilson, and the War when it came, loyal support during this year. They signed—except Mr. Root—a call for war-action on Feb. 26, which declared that "the need of the hour is to take effectual measures to safeguard our shipping and our citizens, rather than to wait for Americans to be murdered and then go to war to punish the offender." Mr. Taft supported the proposed League to Enforce Peace and on Feb. 5, in New York, urged the immediate enforcement of Conscription and a policy of militant preparedness, while denouncing dependence on British Naval protection. At Montreal, Canada, on Sept. 26, he addressed an American Unitarian Convention meeting there and denounced the Pacifist character of a report presented by the Rev. J. Haynes Holmes—of New York notoriety in that connection. At Boston on Dec. 19 he differed on one point from President Wilson and declared that "we are fighting the Ger-

man people, a people obsessed with megalomania and the only way we can win is by hitting the German people with a club."

Mr. Root did high public service during the year in his Russian mission, in urging the policy of compulsory military service, in presenting War ideals and duty along lines different from those of the President but leading to the same end. As President of the American Society of International Law he dealt at Washington, on Apr. 26, with the fundamentals of democracy and war. One was vital: "There is a radical incompatibility between popular self-government and continuous military discipline, for military control is in itself despotic. As compared with military autocracies, the normal condition of democracies is a condition of inferior military efficiency. This invariable characteristic of democracy leaves it no option in its treatment of autocracy. The two kinds of government cannot live permanently side by side." To a Conference of lawyers on Sept. 3 he declared that "this is a conflict between two opposed and inevitably opposed systems of government, of policy, of politics, of human society." At Chicago on Sept. 14 he dealt with free speech in peace and war:

> A nation which declares war and goes on discussing whether it ought to have declared war or not is impotent. A democracy which cannot accept its own decisions made in accordance with its own laws, but must keep on endlessly discussing a question already decided, has failed in the fundamental requirements of self-government; and if the decision is to make war, the failure to exhibit capacity for self-government by action will inevitably result in the loss of the right of self-government.

Meanwhile, W. J. Bryan had been leading the Pacifist thought of the country; back of the intellectual peace-lover were all the Socialist, I.W.W., and pro-German elements. He had always been anti-British in speech and policy; his pamphlets on India were the cherished possession and weapon of every Hindu sedition-monger before and during the War; his paper, *The Commoner*, had been debarred from circulation in India as far back as 1906. He was bitterly opposed to fighting Germany at this juncture and to a New York audience on Feb. 2 stated that only invasion warranted war, and that the reply to Germany should be: "No! We have the welfare of 100,000,000 people to guard, priceless ideals to preserve, and we will not wallow with you in a mire of blood to conform to a false standard. It would be a crime for us to enter this War." In a statement issued on Feb. 4 he urged the American people to protest against war and to ask the President to keep American ships and citizens out of the German zone. He wanted a Referendum on the subject and believed a tremendous majority would vote against war. While in Washington Mr. Bryan attacked the *personnel* of the Army and Navy and urged Democrats to oppose war in Congress and to hamper the President in his policy. On Feb. 10 an open letter was published in which he gave these alternatives:

> (1) We can postpone until the War is over the settlement of any dispute which cannot be settled by peaceful means;
> (2) We can keep American citizens off belligerent ships;
> (3) We can refuse clearance to ships of the United States and other neutral countries carrying contraband and passengers on the same ship;

(4) We can withdraw protection from American citizens who are willing to jeopardize the nation's peace by travelling as seamen with contraband on American or neutral vessels;

(5) We can, if necessary, keep all American vessels out of the danger zone for the present;

(6) Congress, which has exclusive power to declare war, can submit the declaration to Referendum vote, making exception in case of invasion.

To Congress on Mar. 28 he addressed an appeal in characteristic terms: "To you, and to you only, is given constitutional authority to declare war—war which, in this case, may mean the signing of the death-warrant of thousands, even millions, of your countrymen, and the laying of grievous burdens upon future generations. Before you take this blood upon your hands, consider I pray you, (1) that the wrongs which you would punish are not intended primarily against this country; (2) that our land is not threatened with invasion, but that we are asked to go 3,000 miles for a chance to fight; (3) that we have not the excuse for going to war that the European nations had. We have a peace plan offered by this nation to the world, and now embodied in 30 treaties with three-quarters of the population of the globe. It provides for investigation of all disputes by an International tribunal before resort to war." He again urged a Referendum as a last resort. When war came—after he had fought its declaration to the last ditch—Mr. Bryan, who had commanded a Regiment in the Spanish War and was now 57 years old, wired the President on Apr. 6: "Please enroll me as a private wherever I am needed. Assign me to any work that I can do, uncalled to the colours." He was next heard urging Woman's Suffrage, supporting the Liberty Loan and helping the Red Cross Funds.

Foreign Relations in 1917: Missions of Joffre, Balfour, Reading, Northcliffe.

Diplomatically a new America emerged into the arena of nations in 1917; one which drew away perceptibly but not wholly from its own traditions of isolation, from an atmosphere of extreme self-assurance developed by distance from other world-centres, from a diplomatic and national attitude of indifference, verging upon contempt, for the affairs of Europe, Asia or Africa. From conditions in the early 19th century to those of the early 20th century was a leap into space which involved enormous changes —and it came under the *régime* of a Party, like that of the Liberals in England, which was essentially one of peace, retrenchment and social reform. With this change, and the aggressions of Germany on sea and land and air, in diplomacy and war, came the inevitable drawing together of the United States and the Allied lovers of liberty; with it, also, came the submergence, though not by any means destruction, of the old anti-British feeling upon which non-intervention, Monroe doctrine and continental unity ideals had all been primarily based; with it, in the years 1914-17, came a revolution in diplomatic interchanges between the United States and Great Britain from the condition of American irritation at assumed, threatened, or possible wrongs, to one of readiness to believe friendly assurances and to accept friendly relations; with it, finally, as the

cloud of war closed down upon the American horizon, came the slow development of a practical alliance.

Despite a hostile history, prejudicial school-books, and the spread-eagle oratory of the American, despite the opposing traditions and social system and political views of Britain, despite masses of foreigners and foreign-speaking peoples in the Republic, this world-crisis finally threw the two nations and France together into a common crucible of self-protection and moral compulsion. It did not look like this upon the surface, when the year 1917 opened. Diplomatically the United States appeared as a nation quite apart from any traditional stream of British thought, conception of international duty, or ideals of world-power. President Wilson had distinctly intimated in all his speeches and official writings of this period that the United States stood alone, that the American continent was its centre and Americanism his only ideal, that the conservation and enhancement of United States interests were his objects and constituted his whole policy. But the time was near when the national ideal of a continental peace would be smashed by the sword of war and the Submarine do for the Anglo-Saxon nations what a century of peace might have failed to do.

At this time the United States had developed enormous trade interests with the *Entente*. The export of explosives alone had risen from $5,000,000 in 1913 to $717,000,000 in 1916; in the fiscal years (June 30) the export of all War material had grown from $435,000,000 in 1915 to $2,127,000,000 in 1917. This trade factor and the great inflow of British gold, the close alliance of Britain and France, and, above all, the continuous, undoubted and real cordiality of British statesmen, the courteous diplomacy of Spring-Rice following upon the personal *prestige* of James Bryce, the clear and yet friendly documents of Mr. Balfour as Foreign Minister, had all contributed to a better feeling between the countries prior to this year of actual war relationship.

With the entry of the United States into the War the change in the relations of the countries became obvious. Courteous interchanges, marked at times by acerbity and, on occasion, by a sort of traditional American suspicion of British policy, turned into subjects of co-operation, inter-action, combined effort. Great Britain was absolutely and obviously delighted; the United States was unexpectedly and clearly willing to learn by Britain's experiences and be guided by British mistakes. Mr. Asquith issued a statement (Apr. 6): "The President urges upon his fellow-citizens the utmost practical co-operation in counsel with the Allies and promises every form of effective help that America can provide. We on this side of the Atlantic acknowledge his appeal and his assurance with profound sympathy and gratitude." On Apr. 7, J. H. Choate, the veteran statesman and ex-Ambassador to England, wrote to Earl Grey his pride at the final decision of the President, who had reached the point in his watchful waiting when he could safely "announce to the world our alliance with France and Great Britain without any practical dissent."

Summed up, the promised help included (1) an utilization of the U.S. Navy in co-operation with the Allies; (2) providing the *Entente* with munitions to the fullest possible extent; (3) granting Loans of $4,000,000,000 to the Allies; (4) providing foodstuffs as a set-off to the U-boat campaign; (5) training over a million men during the first year of the War, and another million in the second year. At an American luncheon in London on Apr. 12 Mr. Lloyd George declared that "the advent of the United States into this war gives the final stamp and seal to the character of the conflict—as a struggle against military autocracy throughout the world." A solemn State and international service in St. Paul's on Apr. 20 further marked the event. On July 4 at a London meeting, W. H. Page, American Ambassador, re-echoed the thought at the back of these functions: "Let us now give ourselves to a closer understanding, that the unity of these two peoples and their two Governments shall be the immutable basis of sympathetic relations forever."

Incidents following included the Allied use of the American Navy, through a co-ordination effected by Rear-Admiral W. S. Sims and a Commission sent to England; the prompt arrangement of a series of United States loans to the Allies for expenditure in the United States—illustrated by that of Great Britain which in April was placed at $8,000,000 a day for foodstuffs and munitions; the withdrawal by Britain of the Black-list against enemy traders in the United States; the sending of French and British officers to help in training Aviation and other Services in the States. A British Recruiting mission in the United States was arranged and facilitated with Brig.-Gen. W. A. White as its head and was allowed to deal with all British subjects in the Republic while Canada was given similar privileges; Lord Rhondda, as Food Controller, on June 19 appealed earnestly to the Americans to help in conserving and shipping food supplies and the President and Mr. Hoover responded with urgent appeals to the people and varied regulations; on Aug. 24 an Allied Purchasing Commission in the United States was announced—to control all Government purchases for Great Britain, France, Italy, Russia, Belgium and Serbia; on Oct. 10 a Conference of the Standard Oil Co., the U.S. Shipping Board and British representatives assured a sufficient supply of fuel oil for the British Navy; on Oct. 24 the American Red Cross Society announced a gift of $1,000,000 to the British Red Cross and on Nov. 20 the British Premier told the American War Mission in London that "the collapse of Russia and the reverses to Italy make it even more imperative than before that the United States send as many troops as possible across the Atlantic as early as possible"; at the close of the year it was stated officially that American advances and war credits granted to the Allies stood as follows:

Great Britain	$2,045,000,000	Belgium	$ 77,400,000
France	1,285,000,000	Serbia	4,000,000
Italy	500,000,000		
Russia	325,000,000	Total	$4,236,400,000

Meanwhile, the United States took its place in Inter-Allied Conferences at London and Paris, in an Inter-Allied War Council

and Naval Council; it refused coal to Neutral ships carrying supplies from South America to the Northern European neutral countries unless their cargoes were inspected in American ports; it cut off supplies (Nov. 20) to Russia until the situation there cleared up, and seized 30,000,000 pounds of sugar at New York on Nov. 21 which was held subject to Russian orders; the President received a large number of Foreign Missions, including those of Italy, Japan, Russia, Belgium, Holland, Great Britain and France—with special British and French Scientific delegations.

The central one of the year, however, and one which created great enthusiasm, interested an immense number of people, and aroused the best thought of the nation, was that of the Rt. Hon. A. J. Balfour, British Foreign Minister, and Marshal Joffre—representing the chief Allied countries and the two nations closest to the United States. Both of these men were leaders—one in statecraft, the other in arms—each had characteristics of great personal charm and recognized qualities of real leadership. It is not too much to say that Mr. Balfour made the most marked personal impression of any visiting Englishman in American history. He was the first to reach the United States, *via* Halifax and the Niagara frontier, on Apr. 21, and Washington on the 22nd. His party included Sir Eric Drummond, Ian Malcolm, M.P., Rear-Admiral Sir Dudley de Chair, Major-Gen. G. T. M. Bridges, Lord Eustace Percy, Capt. H. H. Spender-Clay, M.P., and Lord Cunliffe, Governor of the Bank of England. There was a large Staff of British specialists and experts representing the War Office, Blockade Department, Wheat Commission, Munitions Department, Ordnance, Supplies and Transports.

On Apr. 25 Mr. Balfour told a group of newspaper correspondents that "our confidence in the assistance which we are going to get from this community is not based upon such shallow considerations as those which arise out of formal treaties. No treaty could increase the undoubted confidence with which we look to the United States, who, having come into the War, are going to see the War through." Meetings with the President and many officials followed and on Apr. 29—the French Mission having, meantime, arrived—the ex-Premiers of France and Great Britain stood at Mount Vernon beside the tomb of Washington and paid tribute, as Mr. Balfour put it, to the leader who would have "rejoiced to see the country of which he was by birth a citizen and the country his genius called into existence, fighting side by side to save mankind from a military despotism." After daily conferences with Cabinet officials, Mr. Balfour was, on May 5, formally received and welcomed by the House of Representatives, with the President of the United States in the gallery, and was given an ovation by the members. In his address the visitor spoke of Congress and Parliament as "the greatest and the oldest of the free assemblies now governing great nations in the world." Upon the issue at stake he was clear and logical: "When I was young we used to flatter ourselves that progress inevitably meant peace, and that growth of knowledge was always accompanied, as its natural fruit, by the growth of good-will among

the nations of the earth. Unhappily, we know better now, and we know there is such a thing in the world as a Power which can with unvarying persistency focus all the resources of knowledge and of civilization into the one great task of making itself the moral and material master of the world."

The British Commission was welcomed in New York on May 11 by immense and cheering crowds, decorated streets, speeches from Mayor Mitchel and Mr. Choate; an eloquent and appreciative response was given by Mr. Balfour as to a spectacle which, if it could have been seen by the British people, would have given them "new strength, new courage, new enthusiasm, new resolution." A dinner at the Waldorf (May 12) attended by 1,000 leading men of New York, followed, at which Mr. Balfour declared his unalterable conviction "that we have reached a moment in the world's history on which the future, not of this country, but of every country, not of its interests, but of every interest of civilization, is trembling in the balance." What was the peril? "It is the calculated and remorseless use of every civilized weapon to carry out the ends of pure barbarism. . . . Shall we who know what freedom is become the humble and obsequious servants of those who only know what power is?" At a similar function of the Chamber of Commerce the British Minister described the difference between past naval war, with its definite and dignified codes, and the new German system of maritime murder. An incident of the visit was Mr. Balfour's reception at Washington on May 4 of a deputation of Irish-Americans, who laid their views before him and called attention to the favourable impression that a solution of the Irish question would have in the United States. He replied that everything possible was being done to bring the Ulsterites, Redmondites and Sinn Fein elements together, and that the British Parliament stood ready "to agree to any solution that the Irish themselves found acceptable." On the 24th Mr. Balfour issued a farewell message to the American people through the National Press Club, in which he stated that uncertainty had been removed in many directions and an efficient co-operation made possible by the exact definition of resources and needs. At the Guildhall (July 13) on his return home he was formally welcomed and in his speech said:

> Unless American and British statesmanship is far less equal to the task before it than I conceive it to be, the beginning of a mutual understanding between the English-speaking peoples is going to increase in strength, to grow in usefulness, and to become with each succeeding year more solidly based, so that time shall have no grip upon it, decay shall never touch it, and it shall endure for all time as the eternal product of mutual good-will, mutual comprehension, and the mutual pursuit of common ideals.

Marshal Joffre, the hero of the Marne, headed the French High Commission and with him were M. René Viviani, ex-Premier and Minister of Justice in France, Vice-Admiral Chocheprat, Marquis de Chambrun, a lineal descendant of Lafayette, and a Staff of associates and experts. The visitors arrived at Fort Monroe on Apr. 24 and proceeded to Washington where on the 26th M. Viviani issued a Message stating that: "We have come to this land to salute

the American people and its Government, to call to fresh vigour our lifelong friendship, sweet and cordial in the ordinary course of our lives, and which these tragic hours have raised to all the ardour of brotherly love." This was "France Day" in New York, so called by Governor Whitman in commemoration of the historic friendship of the two nations, and everywhere the tri-colour flew while the strains of the Marseillaise echoed tributes to Lafayette and the spirit of French liberty.

At Washington's tomb on the 29th the speech of M. Viviani was an eloquent tribute to the founder of the Republic; in the Senate on May 1st, M. Viviani and Marshal Joffre were welcomed with acclaim and the former concluded his address as follows: "Together we will carry on the struggle; and when by force we have at last imposed military victory, our labours will not be concluded. Our task will be—I quote the noble words of President Wilson—to organize the society of nations." In the Lower House on May 3 the ex-Premier was again the speaker: "Intrusted with a mandate from a free people, we come among freemen to compare our ideas, exchange our views, to measure the whole extent of the problems raised by this war." At Chicago on the 4th Marshal Joffre—who could not speak English—gave his first brief address; at St. Louis 20,000 persons welcomed the visitors and so at Kansas City and Springfield, Illinois—where the Marshal placed a wreath on the tomb of Lincoln; at many smaller places a great welcome was given and at Philadelphia Independence Hall was the centre of interest; New York was reached on May 9 and various functions shared in with the British Commissioners—a great welcome being given in the crowded streets, with another address from M. Viviani. A New York statue of Lafayette was unveiled, Columbia University conferred its LL.D. degree upon the two Frenchmen and Mr. Balfour, Grant's tomb was visited and a Metropolitan concert attended where the audience gave Marshal Joffre $85,000 for relief work. M. Viviani continued to be a favourite and impassioned speaker—to the lawyers of New York on May 12 he said: "For the last three years we have been fighting for liberty; we are flinging to the breeze under the fire of cannon the banner of universal democracy. May all free men rise and come to our side." On the 14th the French visitors stood before the tomb of Lafayette at Baltimore; on June 14, in the French Chamber at Paris, M. Viviani reviewed this tour and its lessons—its proofs that the American army would stand by the side of France with immediate aid and constant co-operation. During this visit the hero of the Marne was a popular idol; M. Viviani a good exponent of the eloquence for which France was famous —so good that even those who did not know French came under the spell. A curious fact in this connection was the difficulty amongst rulers, leaders, statesmen, even American diplomats, in talking to the visitors. No one understood French; all the British Commissioners talked it fluently. It was stated from Paris on June 6 that Marshal Joffre and the American military chiefs drew up together a plan of organization for the new American armies which, also, was approved by the British leaders.

Following these Commissions Lord Northcliffe accepted the Chairmanship of a British War Mission to the United States, which was to sit permanently at Washington or New York and deal with the vast and varied problems of the War. His energetic, virile personality was akin to that of American leadership, his mental activity and dislike of precedent akin to American character, his interviews, already published in American papers, and his forceful criticisms of inertia at home were familiar to the American public. The appointment was announced on June 6 and well received. On June 11 he arrived in the States and stated that the War Cabinet had appointed him "to try to co-ordinate the work of the various admirable British organizations already established here." In the British Commons (June 13) Mr. Bonar Law added that Lord Northcliffe was directly responsible to the War Cabinet and that his mission was to "co-ordinate and supervise the work of Mr. Balfour's War Mission, to prevent a conflict of interests, and to determine priority and maintain friendly relations with the Allied representatives, as well as with the United States authorities themselves."

Speaking in New York, on July 20, at a great British recruiting demonstration, Lord Northcliffe spoke of British (Canadian) troops being cheered as they passed through American cities, of Canadian Highlanders marching up Bunker's Hill, of American and British speakers and generals standing side by side, and looked to the time when there might be a Federation of the two peoples. In addressing magazine editors and writers (New York, June 28) he urged mobilization of man-power and machine power, and declared that in the aeroplane lay the chief Allied hope of victory. To the War Convention of U.S. Chambers of Commerce at Atlantic City on Sept. 19 Lord Northcliffe described the great work of industrial and commercial England in the War and added: "We, the business men of the Allies, will show the Kaiser that lofty impulse can move mountains and even hammer a way through the 23 walls of iron and concrete he is said to have constructed across the road to Berlin." In October he made a tour of the Middle West and at St. Louis on the 26th eulogized the American draft system and flying-fields, but expressed no opinion as to guns and aeroplanes. During this period he had many difficulties as to the shipping policy of the United States and its requisition of British ships in American yards. Failing to bring about the return of the ships Lord Northcliffe, it was understood, urged the Shipping Board to commit itself to their return at the end of the War or as soon as American military necessities would permit. This was refused but ultimately agreed to. By the close of the year Lord Northcliffe controlled, and had turned the British Mission into, one of the greatest business concerns in the world. Buying munitions at the rate of $3,000,000 a day, working out the transportation of enormous shipments of war supplies by rail and steamboat, purchasing grain, cotton, oil, mules and horses, hogs, etc.—with 10,000 employees throughout the United States—and seeing that countless factories and industries produced the necessary articles, his Mission soon became a great and fruitful element in the relations of the two countries.

On Sept. 12 Viscount Reading, Lord Chief Justice of England, arrived in the States on a Special Mission connected with financial matters; he was accompanied by Col. E. D. Swinton—the inventor of the Tank—Sir Thomas Reyden, and others. As Chairman of the Anglo-French Commission which floated the $500,000,000 Loan in 1915, Lord Reading had been personally popular in the United States and won the full confidence of American financiers. For some time past the Federal Reserve Board had been seeking to solve problems of international exchange in time of war, though its efforts were not wholly successful. This and the financial needs of Britain, the Allies and Canada, were the bases of this new mission. A series of conferences followed in Washington and at Ottawa with the officials concerned and with Lord Northcliffe. At a Liberty Loan meeting in New York on Oct. 18 Lord Reading made a powerful appeal for support and expressed this pledge: "Great Britain has determined, that come what may, whatever sacrifices she may have to make, be they ever so great, be they even far greater than we have yet reckoned, she will never sheathe her sword until Germany has realized that she is in the fight to the end."

War Administration; What was Done by the United States in 1917!

The United States entered the War with tremendous expectations of success in the popular mind, with an optimism in official circles which was, however, relieved by ever-increasing knowledge of the situation, with public announcements as to immense Armies of 4,000,000 men within a few years, great ship-building plans of 10,000,000 tons in a year, enormous aeroplane projects of 26,000 machines in 1918, brilliant inventions to be utilized which would sweep away the Submarine menace, the projected making of 16,000 mobile artillery cannon within two years. Some of these and other expectations were partly realized; some met with severe setbacks. A perhaps unexpected fact was the willingness of the Administration to invite and receive and frequently act upon the experienced advice of British and French representatives or delegates at Washington.

The President from the first handled the greater problems with personal skill and energy; delays which hampered and restricted action were not his fault; events, however, showed that he was not always a good judge of human nature in the selection of subordinates. War legislation on a vast scale, National Registration, compulsory military service, the raising of immense sums of money, the organization of the country's resources in food and industry, the despatch of a large Force to France—these things were carried out in 1917. President Wilson, officially, had great powers and these were largely increased when in the hands of a convinced, determined or aggressive man; they were further enhanced in 1917 by War legislation and functions and it is a question if the War Cabinet of Britain, backed by the co-operation of the King and the great personal *prestige* of the Premier, had as much real power as Mr. Wilson at Washington. The way in which the latter guided and instructed Congress as to legislation had few counterparts elsewhere; on July

23, for instance, he wrote A. F. Lever, in charge of a Food Conservation Bill in the Lower House, that the Congressional War Committee included in its terms would, "if enacted into law, render my task of conducting the War practically impossible." Congress must, he frankly intimated, refrain from touching the powers of the Executive. The clause was eliminated.

The President's Order of Oct. 14, as to Trading with the Enemy, was sweeping in the powers used and accorded to him by Congress —practically a complete control over American trade and commerce. So with the Order of Oct. 15, mobilizing the nation's gold resources and banking reserves in the hands of the Federal Reserve Board. An illustration of firm action and clear thinking was seen in Mr. Wilson's manipulation of the Selective draft plan and in his bold policy of Railway war nationalization. His Cabinet was made up of men, who with one or two exceptions, proved good though not great administrators; facing tremendous new problems they evaded or overcame many obstacles and evoked some order and substantial progress out of what very often were chaotic conditions. To the President they were responsible for their administration and, for the result, he was primarily responsible to the country. During 1917 the members were as follows:

Secretary of State	Robert Lansing
Secretary of the Treasury	William Gibbs McAdoo
Secretary of War	Newton Diehl Baker
Attorney-General	Thomas Watt Gregory
Postmaster-General	Albert Sidney Burleson
Secretary of the Navy	Josephus Daniels
Secretary of the Interior	Franklin Knight Lane
Secretary of Agriculture	David Franklin Houston
Secretary of Commerce	William C. Redfield
Secretary of Labour	William Beauchop Wilson

Through Mr. Lansing had gone the diplomatic correspondence; it changed after War commenced into one of keeping smooth the system of co-operation with the Allies; it was marked by periodic revelations of official German intrigue plots. Mr. Houston had charge, under the President and subject to the wide range of duties afterwards accorded to the Food Controller, of promoting the efficiency of agriculture and its increased production; Mr. Redfield endeavoured to stir up and keep active the industrial development of the country and pointed out to the National Association of Manufacturers at New York on May 16 that: "the Nation will need what I have called the three armies of the field, the factory, and the farm —if either of these are seriously depleted, our cause would tremble." The Department made a Census of population for draft requirements, and one of acids and other war materials and the general manufacturing industries of the country; through its Bureau of Standards it did valuable war-work of a confidential nature. Mr. Daniels and Mr. Baker were much and constantly criticized; what they did will be reviewed later. Mr. Lane was an able administrator of a Department which reached out from orange groves to phosphate beds and from Forest Conservation to the staking of homesteads; its technical machinery greatly aided the Council of National Defence; its Reclamation service rushed the extension of canals, etc., so as to encourage food production and transport;

its Topographic Survey and Bureau of Mines were of great service —the latter in stimulating output.

Mr. W. B. Wilson did vital work in solving Labour problems while his Department registered thousands of shipwrights throughout the country and took the direction of employees working in the production of war supplies; its mediators were everywhere in the strike troubles and, through a Public Service Reserve, it classified men for war service while getting numbers of boys on to the farms to replace the soldiers or increase production. Mr. Gregory's work was of great importance in its round-up of alien enemies and plotters, administration of the Enemy-trading Act and legal proceedings against slackers. As a whole the Cabinet appears to have worked harmoniously; personally, by October, its members had a collective total of 10 sons in the Army, Navy or Aviation services. It may be added that the creation of War Commissions and official organizations of various kinds helped to relieve the Government of oppressive duties—if at times also it encouraged undue rivalries and divergent interests or delayed operations and procedure. The most important were the following:

COMMISSION, ETC.	PRESIDENT OR CHAIRMAN
War Industries Board	Daniel Willard
Committee on Coal Production	F. S. Peabody
Commercial Economy Board	A. W. Shaw
Federal Trade Commission	W. B. Colver
Government Grain Corporation	Henry A. Garfield
Railroad War Board	Robert Fairfax
U.S. Millers' Commission	James F. Bell
Priority Board	R. S. Lovett
Shipping Board's Chartering Commission	Welding Ring
Committee on Industrial Preparedness	Howard E. Coffin
War Trade Board	Vance C. McCormick
Red Cross War Council	H. P. Davison
Labour Adjustment Board	N. Everitt Macy
National Advisory Committee on Aeronautics	Dr. W. F. Durand
War Savings Certificate Commission	Frank A. Vanderlip
General Munitions Board	Frank A. Scott
Council of National Defence	Hon. Newton D. Baker.

The chief of these bodies was the Council of National Defence created by the President on Mar. 1, 1917, with the Secretaries of War, the Navy, Commerce, Interior, Labour and Agriculture as *ex-officio* members, Mr. Baker as Chairman, and an Advisory Board of which each member had charge of an important working, organizing and administrative Committee as follows: Aircraft Production, Howard E. Coffin; Transportation, Daniel Willard; Engineering and Education, Hollis Godfrey; Medicine and Surgery, Dr. Franklin Martin; Labour and Health, Samuel Gompers; Supplies, Julius Rosenwald; Raw Materials, Bernard M. Baruch. W. S. Gifford was Director, and G. B. Clarkson, Secretary. This body reported on Oct. 27 that it had arranged or supervised (1) the procurement of raw materials for the military and naval forces at prices greatly below the current market rates: (2) the completion of an inventory, for military purposes, of American manufacturing plants; (3) the saving to the Government of millions of dollars by the proper co-ordination of purchases; (4) a close-knit organization of telephone and telegraph companies to ensure rapid and efficient wire communication; (5) the initiation of a movement to co-ordinate activities in all the States for national defence; (6)

the carrying on of successful campaigns for conserving wheat, wool, and other commodities. Collateral to this Council was a Committee on Public Information appointed by the President on Apr. 14 and composed of the Secretaries of State, War and Navy, with George Creel as Chairman and executive officer; the object to guard secrets in connection with the work of the various Departments and also to issue, in an official Bulletin, the War information which it was thought right and proper for the people to receive. This publication was a most valuable one in many ways and creditable to the Government and its Editor.

The great and immediate problem of the War came, of course, under Mr. Baker's administration. On Apr. 2, when War was declared, the public knew little of the Nation's preparedness except that many speeches had been made about it; the War Department did know the limitations of the country and had been preparing, within strict limitations, for eventualities. Mexico had made the nucleus of an Army possible and the National Guards of the States were more or less ready; the munition work for the Allies had started and developed a vast industry which only awaited national development; rifles and artillery and ammunition, machine-guns and aeroplanes, were sadly lacking but the facilities for making them were, in some instances, available. As to men the 1910 Census showed 21,000,000 between the ages of 18 to 45; excluding aliens, Chinese, etc., and including the natural increase afterwards, this figure would roughly represent the available soldier class of 1917. The total population on Jan. 1st was estimated officially at 113,309,285. The President, the General Staff, and Mr. Baker started out with the idea of having 1,000,000 men ready in a year and 2,000,000 in two years. The War measures carried through Congress provided an increase of the Regular Army by volunteers from 131,000 to 292,000 and the National Guard from 123,000 to 329,000; for the Registration on June 5 of all men in the nation between 19 and 25 years of age which Mr. Baker, writing on May 26, estimated would total 7,000,000 with about 42%, or 3,000,000, disqualified for various reasons; for the cumpulsory service of the 4,000,000 men remaining—if required—by Selective Draft and a first call for 500,000 with the immediate training of 100,000 officers under voluntary enlistment. On May 26 an official estimate was issued showing the available men to be more numerous than the Secretary for War had thought—10,000,000 being the total of military draft age and including 5,372,400 single men and 4,545,900 married men. They were divided into Classes as follows:

Agriculture, Forestry and Animals	2,864,000
Manufacturing and Mechanical	3,036,000
No Gainful Occupations	500,500
Transportation	967,000
Trade	1,054,000
Public Service	144,000
Domestic and Personal Services	441,000
Professional Service	335,000
Clerical Occupations	374,000
Extraction of Minerals	364,000

On May 18 the Selective Draft Bill became law and the President ordered Registration for June 5 and preparations for Maj.-Gen.

John J. Pershing to take a Division to France at the earliest moment —the troops actually beginning to leave on June 15 with the last ships of the contingent reaching there on July 3. Registration was a great success and the complete figures showed a total of 9,663,-078 out of an available total of 10,264,867—of whom 600,000 were exempted. Of these 4,981,430 asked and gave reasons for exemption from Service, 1,239,259 were aliens, 111,760 were described as enemies; 61·53% was the proportion claiming exemption while 9·40% of the whole population were registered. Meanwhile, the National Guards had been called out and on Aug. 5, 419,834 men and 13,093 officers were thus mustered into the Federal service with the announcement, also, that the Regular Army had almost reached its authorized war strength of 292,000 men. On Aug. 31 five per cent. of the first Draft of 625,000 were called to the colours and, following Registration, during ensuing months more Drafts were called as fast as 32 great Cantonments could be built to receive them—and faster than equipment and arms could be prepared for them. The Secretary for War (Sept. 7) stated that the United States Army would have a strength of 2,000,000 on Dec. 31, and in asking Congress for money on Sept. 19 spoke of equipping and supplying an army of 2,300,000 during 1918. Of these troops about 200,000 were in France by the close of the year. The appropriations for this Force during 1917 totalled $7,519,000,000 and the estimates for the next fiscal year were over $10,000,000,000.

By Aug. 3, 72,914 candidates had come forward for the 2nd series of Officers' Training Camps and 51,838 had passed the physical tests; from the 1st series 27,341 officers had graduated on Aug. 20 and been assigned to duty. On Oct. 26 the five classes, and the order in which selections would be called to service, were made public. Slackers were not treated gingerly. On June 2 the Attorney-General issued this statement: "Attention is called to the fact that under Section 5 of the Act parties convicted of the charge of evading registration are not only punished for the crime committed but are thereupon duly registered with all the liability for military service resulting therefrom." Those evading registration or the draft call were brought into a national drag-net, firmly handled, and severely punished. A reward of $50 was offered by the War Department for the apprehension and delivery of every man failing to report under the Draft law. The pay of American soldiers ranged from $36.60 a month for 1st class privates—with 20% added for foreign service—to $40.20 for artillery and cavalry, $80.80 for engineers, ordnance, etc.; non-commissioned officers ranged from $44.00 to $86.00 a month; Officers, in addition to certain fixed allowances, ran from $1,700 a year for 2nd Lieutenants up to $3,500 for Lieut.-Colonels and $11,000 for Lieut.-Generals. As to armament, Maj.-Gen. Crozier, Chairman of Ordnance, stated that up to June 1 orders for 1,000,000 Enfield rifles had been placed; that several types of machine guns had been found efficient by the Board, but that procurement of an adequate supply was a question of securing deliveries; that all American field-guns were to be similar in calibre to the French 75's and that the French semi-automatic

breech mechanism had been adopted in modified form; that American and French batteries in France could be served from the same Ammunition factories. Regarding discipline—from which there were many lapses—Mr. Baker wrote to the President on Dec. 18, in reply to a Senate question, as follows:

> Distinctions of rank in the Army are solely in the interest of military discipline. They imply no social distinction; indeed, in a country like ours, the advantage of education and culture will very frequently be found in favour of the soldier; and yet it is necessary that the soldier should acquire by continuous and unvarying practice the habit of instant odedience to his superior. This is as true of officers as it is of men.

The results actually attained by the President and his War Department were not reached without criticism and serious deficiencies. At the end of 1917 the Forces in France were largely equipped and munitioned from British and French sources, no artillery—field guns, machine guns or howitzers—had been supplied and France had largely filled the gap; there was a shortage in supplies and clothing and lack of reserves in such essentials as heavy shoes; small arms ammunition was defective owing to some chemical change. Col. Roosevelt charged at New York in September that rifles were so scarce that the troops in training had to use broomsticks and the reply of Mr. Baker was that the United States then had 1,300,000 service rifles with 13,000 a day being made; the failure in machine guns was admitted though Mr. Baker stated on Dec. 14 that every suitable plant in the country had begun to turn them out at full capacity; the powder supply was low but vigorous action was started in December—particularly as to T.N.T.; great deficiency of motor-trucks was reported from the training camps and also an injurious lack of warm clothing for the men.

The real difficulty at the back of it all was a combination of present politics and Pacificism before the War—the functions of the General Staff having been assumed by Congress and preparedness opposed by Pacifists as an international danger. Meanwhile Mr. Baker had undoubtedly done much. His Department had ordered or purchased 15,000,000 blankets, 40,000,000 yards of bobbinets, 54,000,000 yards of cotton cloth, 47,000,000 yards of unbleached drilling, 21,000,000 pairs of shoes, and myriads of other supplies; 16 soldier-cities had been built up, each holding 40,000 men, with 1,000 separate buildings in each and every comfort and hygienic necessity provided; a Liberty Motor-truck had been tested and developed and become the main reliance of the United States in the production of air-planes and so, also, with the designing of a new standard military truck; the enlisted *personnel* of the Medical Corps had been increased to 70,000 men. By the close of the year procedure had been simplified, the War-branches co-ordinated and organized, adequate power given to the Division Chiefs, the War Council made more effective. As to military commands the chief officials at the close of 1917 were as follows:

Chief of Staff	Gen. Tasker H. Bliss
Quartermaster-General	Major-Gen. Henry G. Sharpe
Chief of Artillery	Maj.-Gen. Erasmus M. Weaver
Chief of Ordnance	Maj.-Gen. Wm. Crozier
Judge-Advocate-General	Maj.-Gen. Enoch H. Crowder

Commander of Artillery Forces.....Maj.-Gen. P. C. March
Commander-in-Chief in France.....Gen. J. J. Pershing
Commander at Base in France.....Maj.-Gen. W. L. Sibert

The Secretary of the Navy had an arduous and responsible post. He was bitterly attacked, especially by Col. Roosevelt, as a civilian running a navy; he did not have, as was the case in England, an Admiralty of trained experts to run it for him; there was a minimum of facilities for development and a lack of sea-spirit, of maritime interest—though not of *interests*—amongst the people. At the beginning of war, for the United States, the *personnel* was 64,680 with about 25,000 in other Naval branches; on Dec. 20, 1917, official figures showed 173,851 officers and men in the Navy, 54,000 in the Naval Reserve, 17,356 in the Naval Militia, 46,307 in the Coast Guard, Hospital and Marine Corps —a total for all these services of about 290,000. The pre-war appropriations for 1917 were $312,678,071, while the actual total under three War Acts of that year was $1,592,732,859. The value of the ships in the Navy when War began was $482,375,799 and they included 42 battleships, 10 armoured cruisers, 25 ordinary cruisers, 9 monitors, 57 destroyers and 36 torpedo vessels.* Under pre-war legislation 27 1st-class battleships and 25 2nd-class, with 46 cruisers of different classes, 108 destroyers, and 130 coast submarines, were to be built and ready by 1921.

Besides problems of construction and expenditure Mr. Daniels had plenty to do and the Naval Department in these months took over hundreds of vessels and transferred them into patrols, sub-chasers, mine-sweepers, etc., doubled the Atlantic Fleet with every battleship and cruiser fully manned, and placed thousands of expert gunners as training crews on American armed merchantmen; sent United States destroyers to operate with the Allied Naval forces and arranged the convoy of practically all United States merchant ships; carried out the largest ship construction programme in American history —from super-Dreadnoughts to Sub-chasers—and greatly lessened the time of construction; erected 20 training camps for 85,000 men, enlarged the Navy Yards and built huge foundries, machine shops and warehouses; extended the Naval Gun Factory, built a big projectile plant, and pressed the work on dry-docks, piers, etc., as well as on Aviation plants, submarine bases and store facilities. Like Mr. Baker of the War Department Mr. Daniels had previously leaned toward Pacificism and his remarks at the starting of a Government armour-plate plant at Charleston (Aug. 30) were significant: "We have too long looked almost solely to the private manufacture of weapons of war, with the result that when we entered upon this struggle our facilities were wholly inadequate for our needs." He added the declaration that "we will not sheathe the sword until victory is won." In a New York speech on Dec. 12, however, he urged avoidance of the spirit of hate, no matter how merciless the aggravation: "America has never drawn the sword except for liberty, and it has never sheathed it except in victory."

Naval incidents of the year included the urgent order of June 9 as to revealing naval and military secrets by persons connected

*Note.—Report of Naval Department, 1916.

with the Naval service; the support given by the Secretary to Naval auxiliaries of the Red Cross and his appointment of 16 women to act as leaders in the work; the enforcement in the Navy of promotion by selection instead of seniority; the declaration of Mr. Daniels in his Annual Report (1917) for an International Navy to enforce international Peace decrees; the official statement at the end of the year that expenditures of the Naval Ordnance Bureau had increased from 31 to 560 million dollars; the fact that over 1,100 vessels had been furnished and equipped with guns, ammunition, spare parts, and all their auxiliaries since the fitting out of the *Campana* on Mar. 14, 1917. At the close of the year the United States joined the Allied Naval Council and Admiral W. S. Benson, Chief of Naval Operations, represented the Department at the Allied Conference in Paris during December. Vice-Admiral Wm. S. Sims was Commander of the American naval forces in European waters.

Meanwhile, Congress had been sitting in special session from Apr. 2 to Oct. 6—and dealing with an unprecedented mass of legislation. The Administration had to face some opposition that was captious and hostile—owing to partisan, Pacifist or pro-German feeling, and some that was honest; but it succeeded, despite delays and disappointments, in getting through an immense amount of business with appropriations for 1917-18 totalling $18,879,000,000 and additional capital authorizations for the future of $2,511,000,000.* The lead given was strong but it came chiefly from without—either from President or people; the spirit, on the whole, was good but it was not initiative. The vital points of legislation were the Selective Draft Bill or Conscription; the Liberty Loan Bill and the "Eleven Billion" Bond Bill, the Army Appropriation Act, the Bill increasing the Naval and Marine Forces, the Enemy Trading Act, the War-Budget Bill, the Espionage, Priority, Shipping and Food Control Acts, the War Revenue Bill and Soldiers' and Sailors' Insurance Bill. In principle, and within a few months of its War declaration, Congress had conscripted men and wealth, regulated food and drink and prices, assumed control of production and distribution, regulated industry and suspended or controlled profits —all in opposition to cherished ideals and practices of American individualism on which the economic structure of the Republic was supposed to be built—and handed many of these powers over to the President or his appointees.

The most discussed measures were the War Revenue Act—caused in some degree by changes due to ever-shifting financial requirements and the irritations of a taxation totalling $2,100,000,000; the Food Conservation measure, which was fought in guerilla fashion because of its inclusion of partly extraneous issues such as Prohibition; the Espionage Bill, which stirred up every bit of pro-German and Pacifist thought in Congress and out of it and, by its inclusion of a vigorous Censorship evoked opposition of another kind from newspapers, politicians, writers, etc.; the Insurance Act, under which a national war Insurance covered officers, nurses and enlisted men and was granted without medical examina-

*Note.—New York *Tribune* review, Oct. 8, 1917.

tion in sums of not less than $1,000 and not more than $10,000 at $8.00 per $1,000—the Government assuming War risks estimated at $556,000,000 in the first two years with, also, cost of administration. In a House of Representatives containing a small minority of opponents to all war and 40 members with German names, some antagonism was to be expected. Yet, practically, all that President Wilson asked was granted—except the Censorship.

Under one of these Acts Herbert C. Hoover, for so long the capable Red Cross Commissioner in Belgium, was appointed Food Administrator by the President on Aug. 10 with a programme outlined by the latter on May 19 when he suggested the legislation: "Full inquiry into the existing available stocks of foodstuffs and into the costs and practices of the various food-producing and distributing trades; the prevention of all unwarranted hoarding of every kind and of the control of foodstuffs by persons who are not in any legitimate sense producers, dealers, or traders; the requisitioning, when necessary for the public use, of food supplies and of the equipment necessary for handling them properly; the licensing of wholesome and legitimate mixtures and milling percentages, and the prohibition of the unnecessary or wasteful use of foods." Authority was also given to establish prices to farmers so as to guarantee a minimum figure and to secure the consumer against extortion at the hands of middlemen. Mr. Hoover at once issued a statement pointing out that the Allied harvests would this year fall short of the normal by 525,000,000 bushels of grain and expressing the hope that the United States would export 225,000,000 in place of its usual 80,000,000 bushels. So, in meats, consumption must be lessened and export increased to help meet a condition in which 33,000,000 head of stock animals had been killed in the Allied countries. Mr. Hoover's successive steps of policy included a sweeping scheme to regulate wheat and flour supplies by the creation of a $50,000,000 Government Corporation to buy and sell wheat; the fixing of the price of wheat at $2.20 a bushel for the 1917 crop; the taking under control of all grain elevators or flour mills with a capacity of over 100 barrels; a request to Grain Exchanges to suspend dealings in futures.

To a Senate Committee on June 19 he stated that in flour, alone, during the past 5 months $250,000,000 in excess of normal profits had been exacted from the American consumer; his basic principles for dealing with this situation were (1) export regulation; (2) control of distribution, including speculation; (3) mobilization of women and men in a campaign for economy; (4) participation of the States in Food administration. He proposed, also, that Federal Commissions to control wheat, sugar, and a few other prime commodities through regulation of production, storage, transportation, and sale be appointed. By way of indicating the vast results to be obtained through economy, he stated that a saving of 6 cents a day per capita in the United States meant a saving of $2,000,000,000 a year and that a saving of 20% in the consumption of flour would give the Allies 100,000,000 more bushels of wheat. In passing it may be said that a semi-official estimate issued at this time showed

that by bad preparation and cooking, over-eating and wrong-eating, $700,000,000 a year of food was wasted in the United States. Appeals from the President and every one in authority were issued to save food supplies, avoid waste, and economize in daily habits; as the year went on shortages abroad from decreased production were enhanced through destruction by Submarines and by shortages in shipping which made it difficult for Argentina, India and Australia to market their products.

On Nov. 1 and for the duration of the War, 100,000 manufacturers, wholesalers, and other distributers of staple food came under license by the U.S. Food Administration so as to check hoarding, speculation and extortionate prices. Other steps for conservation included pledges of personal economy which were signed in immense numbers; an official intimation from Mr. Hoover that wheat, meats, milk, fats and sugar (with fuel) should be the pivot of economy and that fruits, vegetables and local supplies should be eaten freely; the making of 23 States absolutely "dry" through legislation prohibiting shipment of liquor into any territory where manufacture and sale were prohibited, *plus* the Prohibition already passed by Congress against the use of food materials in whiskey-making, with authority to the President to impose similar prohibition on beer and wine-making; urging increased pork production with a statement from Mr. Hoover (Oct. 25) that "the production of fats is to-day a critical necessity for the preservation of the Allies and the maintenance of their constancy in the War."

At the close of the year certain outstanding facts were clear. One was the official estimate of 650,828,000 bushels of wheat as the national production or an increase of only 10,000,000 over 1916, but with a heavy increase in corn and oats and barley—with a total product of 929,000,000 bushels; another was a great saving in the consumption of wheat and meat caused by the tremendous advertising campaign of the Summer, in which some of the higher agencies have been indicated, and in which the whole nation shared, with wheatless, meatless and wasteless meals as the slogan; while prices in many products ran high for a time, they had been greatly reduced and large savings effected by Government agencies as illustrated in the following table given to the Senate by W. S. Gifford, Director of the Council of National Defence, at the end of 1917:

Product	Old Price Per ton	Governing Price Per ton	Reduction Per ton	Annual Tonnage	Saving
Coke	$ 16.00	$ 6.00	$ 10.00	38,000.000	$ 380,000,000
Pig-Iron	58.00	33.00	25.00	40,000,000	1,000,000,000
Bars	110.00	58.00	52.00	6,000,000	312,000,000
Shapes	120.00	60.00	60.00	3,000,000	180,000,000
Plates	225.00	65.00	160.00	4,000,000	640,000,000
Other Products	Varied	Varied	30.00	20,000,000	600,000,000
Total					$3,112,000,000

Akin to saving food for the Allies was the question of shipping. Great things were promised, serious disappointments and delays were caused in this respect, a good deal was achieved in the end. Before the War President Wilson had secured the passage of a Bill for the promotion of construction and the appointment of a Ship-

ping Board; that event hastened action and on Apr. 16, 1917, the Emergency Fleet Corporation was organized with Maj.-Gen. G. W. Goethals as General Manager and a Congressional grant of $50,000,000. Work was begun on what was intended to be a vast fleet of steel and wooden ships; German tonnage was seized by the Shipping Board, refitted and put into service, and power was given the Board to commandeer neutral shipping if required; there followed a prolonged controversy between W. H. Denman, Chairman of the Board, and General Goethals of the Corporation, as to the relative value of steel and wooden ships. It was so vehement as to hold up plans, delay construction and retard all serious production. Finally, the President obtained the resignation of both gentlemen and on July 25 appointed E. N. Hurley as Chairman of the U. S. Shipping Board, with Rear-Admiral W. L. Capps as General Manager of the Fleet Corporation.

At this time merchant ships engaged in the Atlantic trade represented 25,500,000 gross tons and of this amount England operated 13,400,000 gross tons, and the United States over 2,000,000 and it was announced that within a year the United States would be operating 10,000,000 tons. Work was hastened and on Aug. 24 the Board asked Congress for an appropriation of $1,134,000,000 to be used in constructing 433 ships of 1,919,200 tons already contracted for, 452 ships of 2,968,000 tons ready for contract when funds were available, 237 ships of 1,281,400 tons under negotiation, and 150 miscellaneous vessels of 1,800,000 tons. It was also announced that shipping under construction by neutral or Allied Governments would be commandeered at a cost of $515,000,000, and vessels purchased, other than those constructed or commandeered, at a cost of $150,000,000.

The Shipping Board pointed out that contracts for 348 wooden ships had been let or agreed upon by the Corporation, with a tonnage of 1,218,000 at a cost of about $174,000,000. In addition contracts for 100 others were under way. Contracts for 77 steel ships had been let, or agreed upon, with a tonnage of 642,800 at a cost of $101,660,356. To a Senate Committee on Dec. 21 Mr. Hurley stated that there had been delays but that dual organization and control had been abolished and the Corporation—of which Mr. Hurley also was President—now answered directly to himself as Chairman of the Board; one contract had been completed and there were enough contracts to keep all yards working at maximum capacity; he deprecated private construction of steel ships, but was encouraging wooden construction for private owners whenever their building would not interfere with the Board's building plans.

The commandeering of 403 steel ships of over 2,500,000 tons, which were under construction or contract for Allied and Neutral Governments, was, of course, strongly opposed and criticized—especially by Great Britain and France; Britain was interested to the extent of 1,000,000 tons and, finally, a compromise gave the ships to the United States during the War and to Great Britain afterwards; besides the commandeered ships, and the 117 ships

of German and Austrian origin aggregating 2,871,359 tons, there were officially stated on Sept. 26 to be 636 ships of 3,124,700 tons being constructed under contract from the Fleet Corporation. In addition to these 1,039 vessels under construction—353 of wood, 58 composite, 225 steel and 403 requisitioned—Congress was asked to authorize 5,000,000 tons more; three new Government ship-building plants were also asked for.

Meanwhile lumber was difficult to get, labour difficult to handle, and delays serious. The great lumbermen of the United States did not throw their energy and splendid equipment into the work; some of the big steel interests did. Mr. Hurley stated on Oct. 31 that all the United States shipyards turned out in 1916 were 750,000 tons and that between Nov. 1 and Mar. 1, 1918, 1,000,000 tons, dead-weight, would be achieved. Lord Northcliffe was not optimistic and on Oct. 24 said to the Chicago Chamber of Commerce: "We have been told that you must put 6,000,000 tons of ships in the water in 1918. I see no signs of such a tonnage in 1918. I do see signs of filling 16 great cantonments and of the manufacture of immense amounts of munitions, but I do not see the signs for that bridge across the Atlantic without which this recruiting, all this enthusiasm, all this manufacturing, will be null and void. Therefore, I urge you, entreat you, to believe that your army without transports will be valueless."

Meanwhile, private capital had been going into shipbuilding and shipping, or trying to do so, and between January and August inclusive new Companies were started with a capital of $245,193,000; the U.S. Steel Corporation went into construction and, on Nov. 21 laid the keel of its first steel ship with 50 others said to be projected; on Nov. 15 Admiral Capps resigned as General Manager of the Fleet Corporation and was succeeded by Rear-Admiral F. R. Harris. At the end of the year Mr. Hurley told a Senate Committee (Dec. 28) that 42 Government Ship-building yards were under extension and development, with 132 yards under operation; that the first war-shipping contract was let on Apr. 27, and that the number at date was 146, including 996 ships of 5,517,100 tons, but not the requisitioned ships under private construction or order of Foreign owners. During this year the United States had lost 68 vessels of 170,106 tons and 10 ships of 28,493 tons in 1915-16.

In shipping as in railway and other conditions the Labour problem was ever-present. So far as the War issue was concerned official leaders and the American Federation of Labour were, in the main, loyal and helpful; unofficial Labour was divided into varied organizations and classes with varying degrees of loyalty down to the I.W.W., which did not know what it meant. Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation was, from the first, strong and straight upon the vital issue of war and of labour concentration for national service. As early as Mar. 4 he had called a Conference of 113 Presidents of the greater Unions and Railway Brotherhoods to meet on the 12th and discuss preparedness for the coming struggle. He had already accepted a position

on the President's Council of National Defence and he now urged that Labour should be associated with the future constructive policies of national defence. The Conference, representing 2,500,000 organized workmen, formally offered its services to the country "in every field of activity to defend, safeguard and preserve the United States against all its enemies, whomsoever they may be"; but it did not formulate definite plans or endorse President Wilson's policies or appoint Committees to give life to its declaration.

With the evolution of the War-spirit and the organization of the Pacifist element, conditions became more clear, and it was obvious that while a large portion of the workmen would co-operate with Government and country there was also a large, indeterminate, restless Socialistic element which would always be uncertain and which might easily cause much trouble. In August there was a serious shipping strike of 12,000 men in New York and for weeks a great strike on the Pacific Coast was threatened with much war-work held up. On the 25th an agreement was entered into by representatives of the Navy Department, the Emergency Fleet Corporation, and of the American Federation of Labour, providing for the rapid and peaceable adjustment of all labour disputes in shipyards throughout the country. At the same time an Adjustment Commission was appointed to arrange details. In August, also, F. Farrington, President of the United Mine Workers of America issued a loyal appeal to miners to remain at their posts and thus help the nation's soldiers.

As the months passed, however, Labour unrest seemed to increase and was aided by pro-German underground influences in the various organizations, by the unscrupulous falsehoods of the Industrial Workers of the World, by the disproportionate increase of wages in different industries. Strikes curtailed war production as did the unnecessary and frequent movements of workers from one industry to another, or from plant to plant, and their unwillingness to work special hours or to earn extra money for additional work. Mr. Hurley and the Shipping Board in October complained persistently of the shortage of labour; Mr. Gompers and the A.F.L. declared that there was no shortage in the country as a whole. The I.W.W., by all kinds of sabotage and lawless operations, tied up the lumber industry on the Pacific coast in October and November and curtailed Air-fleet construction as well as Ship-building.

In the A.F.L. Mr. Gompers found his authority challenged though he, himself, proved unbeatable at the annual meeting of Nov. 12 in Buffalo; Pacifists led by a Boston Irishman named Tobin, however, obtained some offices and influence; the Convention was told that the 164,000 men in the lumber industry of Oregon and Washington promised to pass under I.W.W. control; on the other hand the Report of the Executive Committee did not mince words in declaring that "it is an imperative duty from which there is no escape that wage-earners, as well as all other citizens of this Republic, support our Government in its righteous effort to defend principles of humanity and to establish democracy in international re-

lations." As to the future a World Conference of Trade Unions was suggested to meet at the same time as the Peace Congress; finally the Convention, after hearing a vigorous denunciation of Pacificism, I.W.W., and German propaganda from Mr. Gompers, condemned the anti-war and anti-conscription campaign by 450 to 15 votes. By the close of the year there was greater stability, better organization and labour, and a larger output in many directions. Meanwhile, a new development in Socialism was taking place in the American Alliance for Labour and Democracy (essentially a war-body) which Mr. Gompers had formed and of which he was President.

Coal was a serious problem all through the year. In the spring, the Government had appealed for a greater output, a Coal Production Committee of the Defence Council was appointed and Mr. Secretary Lane, on May 23, stated that great demands were coming upon War industries from the Allies. T. S. Peabody, Chairman of the Committee, explained that "the total production of coal throughout the country has been seriously curtailed by difficulties in transportation service and unequal distribution of cars, resulting in shortage in the number of cars available for loading, as well as congestion in the avenues leading to the points of distribution." The Federal Trade Commission pointed out (June 22) that bituminous coal was 40% short of the possible maximum—due to "faulty rail transportation" which, in turn, was caused by the use of coal cars for speculative purposes and products other than coal: "The Commission believes that the coal industry is paralyzing the industries of the country, and that the coal industry itself is paralyzed by the failure of transportation. The coal problem cannot be worked out as long as the railroads are allowed to divide and allot traffic; to lay embargoes without regard to their immediate effect upon industry, or the systematic distribution of coal; to give priority to the movement of high freight rate commodities and to use the device of the long haul."

On Aug. 23 Coal was placed under control of Dr. H. A. Garfield, President of Williams College, as Fuel Administrator with the prices of bituminous fixed, at the same time, to run from $2.00 to $3.00 a ton and anthracite from $4.00 to $5.30. Retail regulation was left to Dr. Garfield. The Commissioner, for a period, stopped shipment to Canada from the Lake ports in order to relieve a Northwest shortage,* faced strong opposition as to prices from the mine operators, a succeeding diminution of output and much disorganization in the industry. There had been controversy between the Government and officials and the Operators over prices ever since May—as well as over delays in transportation—and the accumulative effect of these conditions was to delay and confuse buying throughout the country and create confusion through cancellation of orders. On Nov. 15 the Fuel Administrator stated that while production had increased by 50,000,000 tons, the consumption had grown

*Note.—On Oct. 24 it was announced that the Fuel Administrator, after consultation with Canadian authorities, would permit about 2,000,000 tons of bituminous and 700,000 tons of anthracite to move across the Canadian border during the next two months.

by 100,000,000, through munition plants, Government war demands, and public utility requirements. Incidentally, V. H. Manning, Director of the Mines' Bureau, in speaking of the 1916 production of 600,000,000 tons, stated that 150,000,000 tons of this, or 25%, was wasted through inefficient use.

With this shortage came increasing railway troubles. The President had early foreseen difficulties in this respect and, on Apr. 11, a meeting of 50 Railway Presidents convened at Washington, decided to co-operate with the Government, to eliminate all competitive activities and to co-ordinate the operations of the railways in one Continental system. The President at once appointed a Railroad War Board of five experienced Railway officials—Fairfax Harrison, Howard Elliott, Hale Holden, J. Kruttschnitt, and Samuel Rea—with plenary powers along this line and with the single object of transportation efficiency. They had to deal with and organize a system comprising 693 railways, operating 262,000 miles of track, using 1,326,987 freight cars, employing 1,750,000 persons, and owned by 1,500,000 shareholders.

On Sept. 9 the Board reviewed its executive and co-operative activities during five months as having involved the movement of thousands of car-loads of lumber, transportation of large numbers of troops from place to place, the organization of special military equipment, the standardization of settlements with the Government, the reduction of car-shortage from 148,627 on Apr. 30 to 33,776 on Aug. 1, the elimination of passenger trains and saving of 20,000,000 miles of train service, the saving of 52,000 cars by pooling Lake coal and Lake ore, the regulation of grain movement for export and the shipment of 75,000,000 bushels to the Allies between May 1 and July 14. None-the-less the Railways failed to meet the crisis when it came. It was not the fault of this particular Board, nor of the officials; nor was it altogether the fault of extreme industrial production, complex labour troubles and demands—under which the gross earnings of United States railways in 1917 were $4,188,227,185, or an increase of $451,000,000; the operating expenses $2,943,458,000 or an increase of $487,000,000; the Taxes $222,026,753 or an increase of $56,000,000.

There had been for years such endless and persistent criticism, so much political control and rate regulation of the most hampering kind, such litigation and investigations and probes, such limitation of profits in so many ways, that the Railways were more or less starved and without the reserves in cars and engines and supplies to meet a great emergency. At the end of November the National Coal Association issued at Washington a statement that "the country faced a fuel famine which could be averted only by the railroads furnishing adequate car supplies to the mines. . . . There is not a sufficient stock of coal on hand at any place in the country to continue long the operation of the munition plants, or the street railways, the gas, light, heat, power, water and other plants which must have bituminous coal." On Dec. 18 the Senate ordered inquiry into the situation and on the 26th the President took action through the issue of this important statement:

I have exercised the powers over the transportation systems of the country which were granted me by the Act of Congress of last August because it has become imperatively necessary for me to do so. This is a war of resources no less than of men, perhaps even more than of men, and it is necessary for the complete mobilization of our resources that the transportation systems of the country should be organized and employed under a single authority and a simplified method of co-ordination, which has not proved possible under private management and control. . . . Immediately upon the re-assembling of Congress I shall recommend that these definite guarantees be given: (1) of course, that the railway properties will be maintained during the period of Federal control in as good repair and as complete equipment as when taken over by the Government, and (2) that the roads shall receive a net operating income equal in each case to the average net income of the three years preceding June 30, 1917.

The Hon. W. G. McAdoo, Secretary of the Treasury, was to have complete Executive authority as Director-General; and the President pointed out that the Railroad War Board while doing its duty admirably was without sufficient authority or powers. The Presidential action was taken for the duration of the War and was, of course, not Government ownership or expropriation in the usual sense of the phrase. In Aviation much was promised by the press and hoped for by the public men and by Allies; it was not till the end of the year that proofs of either production or progress were apparent. The need was early obvious for both Submarine and battle purposes as, on Mar. 23, official statements at Washington showed that food shipments from the United States in February, 1917, dropped from 105 to 67 millions, while air supremacy on the Western front was held by first one side and then the other. During 1916, before war, for the United States, the Army authorities had ordered 366 aeroplanes and received 64, while nine factories represented the industrial strength of the nation in this respect.

With the coming of war plants had to be improved, production rushed, standardization of parts and the whole carried on, experiments made, material obtained in immense quantities, close co-operation of Army and Navy and factories organized, young men recruited in thousands, competent training aviators obtained. On May 21 the Council of National Defence announced the creation of an Aircraft Production Board with Howard E. Coffin as Chairman and Brig.-Gen. Geo. O. Squier, Rear Admiral D. W. Taylor, and three well-known business men as members; its immediate and modest policy in the first year was stated to be the turning out of about 3,500 air machines, including both training and battle types, and the establishment of schools and training fields with sufficient capacity not only to man these machines, but to supply a constant stream of aviators and mechanics to the American forces in Europe.

By June three Aviation fields were under construction, training planes were being built and 1,100 cadets were in preliminary training at 8 of the greater Universities; General Squier had asked Congress for a grant of $600,000,000 and an American field was under preparation in France to which aviators would go after four months' training in the United States and there receive French instruction in French machines for immediate operations. Mr. Secretary Baker stated on June 18 that "an American Air Navy of 30,000

machines is the Government's aeroplane programme for the first year of war." The United States was to make war aeroplanes, training planes, bombing machines and observation aircraft, according to these plans. American auto plants, in part, would be utilized to make the standardized engines for the first year and furniture factories, typewriter plants and other mills be equipped for work to manufacture the wings and other parts. Early in July the Administration Bill before Congress included provisions for the immediate construction of 22,625 aeroplanes and 45,250 engines, at an estimated cost of $363,140,000 and contemplated an Aviation Corps of about 75,000 men. Under its terms the President was given broad authority in the organization of this force with power to draft men for service if necessary. By July 22 the Bill had passed the Houses and gone to the President with $640,000,000 as the total sum granted. On Aug. 8 Mr. Secretary Daniels announced, in addition to the Military plans, the immediate construction of a Naval Aircraft factory with 1,000 planes a year capacity.

Then something happened. Labour troubles caused delay but the chief element appears to have been a desire to experiment, to get something better than the British or French models, to have a purely American machine. A Liberty motor was finally evolved which the War Department proclaimed satisfactory and, on Oct. 4, Mr. Baker stated that contracts had been let and work was in progress on practically the entire number of aeroplanes and motors for which provision had been made in recent legislation. The types under construction "covered the entire range of training machines, light high-speed fighting machines, and powerful battle and bombing planes of the heaviest design," with training machines and giant battleplanes of the Caproni type: "The work of the Aviation Section has been thoroughly systematized. The training of aviators, the building of motors, and the construction of wings is proceeding uniformly—each keeping pace with the other and with general war plans." A considerable number, also, were being made abroad and many of the accessories were being manufactured at the Front.

As to men the University ground-schools were turning them out steadily, 24 Flying schools had been authorized and besides the thousands under United States training many were being instructed in Canada and the Allied countries. On Nov. 1 names were officially given to 15 Army Aviation training fields. Critics, at this stage, claimed that the advice of experienced Allied aviators was not being taken, that adequate instruction in topography, mapping, etc., was not being given, that civilians interested in existing devices or inventions were in positions of influence—a condition found very dangerous by Great Britain and soon abolished. At the close of the year it was officially stated that 100 Aviation instructors and 166 mechanical engineers and inspectors were at work, with a promised total of 400 of the former and 4,447 of the latter by 1919; that $740,000,000 had been appropriated for building, manning and equipping 20,000 planes; that there had been, however, "enormous deficits in material and accessories, in equipment and necessary

buildings." At the same time the Navy's Flying Corps demanded, and enlistment was authorized of, 8,000 young men as mechanics. No American planes were in France at the end of the year.

Meantime the American Red Cross activities had been greatly increased. By the first months of 1917 $49,868,728* had been collected for this and other War Funds along Neutral lines and of the total $3,830,000 was for the Allied Red Cross with an estimated $4,000,000 for the German Red Cross and $2,570,000 more for other German Funds. War, of course, stopped these latter collections and public attention turned chiefly to Red Cross efforts. On Apr. 11 Miss Mabel Boardman (Head Nurse of the Society) stated that it was "ready, at a moment's notice, to mobilize enough nurses, ambulances and medical and surgical supplies to meet the requirements of an army of 1,000,000 men." A Central Bureau and Supply Service were at once organized, a War Council appointed on May 10, and preparations made to raise a Fund of $100,000,000.

H. P. Davison of J. P. Morgan & Co., retired to give his whole time to the work of organization as Chairman of the War Council of the American Red Cross; he made the statement on May 27 that "hundreds of American doctors and nurses are already at the Front, a force of 12,000 American engineers will soon be rebuilding the railroads of France, and upwards of 25,000 American men are now on the battlefields of Europe, fighting as volunteers in the Allied armies." By Aug. 1 the $100,000,000 had been over-subscribed. Army rank was given to the workers by the President, from Major-General down to Lieutenant. On Sept. 10 Mr. Davison reported that from May 10 to Aug. 31 the Council had appropriated $12,339,-681 for work in Europe—chiefly France; he estimated that the American Army alone would need 20,000 nurses and 20,000 physicians; the accounts of the A.R.C. were audited by the War Department and an Annual Report made to Congress. On Sept. 18 the President called on all school children to become junior members of the Society and help its operations; the National Surgical Dressings Committee, with 25,000 working members, became an Auxiliary of the Red Cross; a Committee of experts was appointed in June to deal with war-sanitation and public health at home and abroad; J. D. Ryan, of Anaconda Copper fame, was on July 13 appointed Director-General of Military Relief and the statement made that the 26 pre-war Base Hospital units had grown to 43, with 5 Navy base hospitals, 18 hospital units, and 50 ambulance companies; on July 26 $1,500,000 worth of foodstuffs was purchased for shipment to France; on Oct. 22 Mr. Davison announced a National Women's Advisory Committee of 16 and a request to each of its 3,000 chapters in the United States to form similar local bodies.

A kindred society in its war aims was the Young Men's Christian Association with its 2,700 Associations in the United States and Canada, its membership of 600,000, its wealth of $106,000,000. Always a strong organization it undertook in November, under the direction of Dr. John R. Mott, General Secretary, Alfred E.

*Note.—*Year Book*, Carnegie Endowment, New York.

Marling, Chairman, and Geo. E. Perkins, Chairman of the Finance Committee, to raise $35,000,000 for providing "care and comforts for American soldiers and sailors at home and on foreign service." It was to be an 8-day drive, and on Nov. 19 the campaign result exceeded the total asked for. It was intended to use the money in work amongst the training camps, in the maintenance of buildings, equipments and officials, and its National War-work Council allotted $11,120,000 for the American Army and Navy, $11,994,000 for American troops in England and France, $3,305,000 for work in the Russian Army, $2,649,000 for work in the French Army, and $1,000,000 for work in the Italian Army, $1,000,000 for work in the war prison camps and $3,932,000 to provide for general expansion. As to these objects Maj.-Gen. Leonard Wood stated (Nov. 14) that: "I believe the work the Y.M.C.A. is now doing in the great cantonments where our troops are being trained is perhaps the greatest and the best it has ever attempted. One has to see it to appreciate it."

Other American organizations associated with the War—before and after the United States came in—were very numerous and notable; some were of exceptional and international importance. The Federal Council of War Relief Associations in July, 1917, had 75 separate Committees within its jurisdiction, a record of $20,000,000 raised and $10,000,000 worth of supplies shipped, a membership of 2,000,000 with 5,000 branches. The American Rights League, organized on Nov. 30, 1915, with Geo. Haven Putnam as Chairman, had as its object: "To uphold the duty of the Republic in its international relations, and to do what may prove to be practicable, with the resources that it can control, to arouse and direct public opinion throughout the country in behalf of the protection of American lives, the maintenance of American rights, and the fulfilment of American obligations." The League maintained that relations with Germany should have been broken at the time of the sinking of the *Lusitania*, and that the United States should, early in the War, have taken part directly with England, France, Belgium, and their Allies. It did much through circulation of publications, the holding of meetings, correspondence with citizens throughout the country, and petitions to President and to Congress, to uphold these views, and in the past two years had distributed more than 1,200,000 of its bulletins and other documents, and printed, in the form of advertisements, many appeals to the country or to the President. It issued in February an earnest appeal by 50 religious leaders urging a final United States acceptance of "loyalty to great and divine ideals." After the War was entered upon it stood opposed to a peace without victory or to an inconclusive settlement; on Mar. 5 it held a great meeting in New York addressed by Mr. Putnam, Rev. Dr. Abbott, W. Roscoe Thayer, James M. Beck, and others, who stood enthusiastically for war and American duty; in July it issued an Address to the Russian people handling, without gloves, the specious "no annexation and no indemnity" motto of the Socialists and Germans and urging the democracy to stand firm with that of America.

Other important Societies were the National Security League, of which Elihu Root was Hon. President and J. H. Choate, President, and which for years had stood for patriotic education, military training and national preparedness and early in 1917, held at Washington a great Congress of Constructive Patriotism; the Navy League of the United States, of which Col. R. M. Thompson was President; the American Defence Society, which aimed to press the active work of war and curb or punish disloyalty and which did effective fighting against street sedition and the work of Hearst, La Follette and others, under the leadership of R. M. Hurd; the League for National Unity, which was formed at Washington on Sept. 12 with the public approval of the President. The objects of the latter body were "to create a medium through which loyal Americans of all classes, sections, creeds and parties, can give expression to the fundamental purpose of the United States, to carry to a successful conclusion this new war for the independence of America, the preservation of democratic institutions and the vindication of the basic principles of humanity." Cardinal Gibbons was Hon. Chairman and Theodore N. Vail, Chairman. In this connection the Cardinal, by letter dated Oct. 6, assured the President of the "unwavering determination of loyal citizens to stand by him in his every effort to bring success to our arms and to achieve those ideals of justice and humanity which compelled our entrance into the War."

The War activities of American women were not at first as well organized as were other popular efforts. There was super-abundance of work and plenty of enthusiasm and Ida M. Tarbell wrote on June 27 that: "Quietly, almost unconsciously, there is going on in this country an extraordinary gathering of its woman power. Multitudes of organizations and of individual women are flowing together in a great union." But voluntary effort bred countless duplications while lack of authority and centralization produced confusion. The Woman's Committee of National Defence had been formed in April with Dr. Anna Howard Shaw as Chairman and it was officially told to act as a clearing-house for Women's activities. It took them some months to grasp what this really meant in a country such as the United States. Finally, State Divisions of the Committee were constituted to represent all local women's organizations regardless of race, creed or colour; Chairmen were appointed to be responsible for the work in each State, to avoid over-lapping and to develop facilities for the gradual entry of women into many spheres of new labour and co-ordinated war-work. The objective announced was the registration for these purposes of 20,000,000 women and the care of those who actually went into new fields of labour. As to this, the American Federation of Labour, on Nov. 12, demanded equal pay for equal work without regard to sex.

Important War incidents of the year included the organization of farm labour in 40 States under a very effective system, and the action of 35 States in compelling a lower price for bread; the National Defence Conference held at Washington on May 2-3 with 47 State

Councils—which had been appointed by the Governor in each case to promote, pilot and supervise the war activities of the State represented; the Report of A. Mitchell Palmer, Alien Property Custodian (Dec. 31, 1917) that he was in control of and liquidating Alien trusts valued at $134,605,231—including Enemy Insurance Companies with gross assets of over $40,000,000; the establishment on May 1 of a censorship upon cables, telegraphs and telephones, the application of cable prohibitions to all lines, and operation against telegraphs and telephones along the Mexican border. On Aug. 27 the President issued an Order forbidding the shipment of any goods to European neutral countries except under license, and largely extending the lists for which license was required; on Oct. 14 the President placed the censorship of mails, cables, radio and telegraph messages passing out of the United States in the hands of a Censorship Board, consisting of representatives of the War, Navy and Postoffice departments, the War Trade Board, with George Creel, Chairman of the Committee on Public Information; vast stores of cotton, steel, copper, nickel, leather, oil, chemicals and other war necessaries purchased in the United States by German agents before the Republic entered the War and since held in their names by American brokers were taken over by the Government on and after Oct. 22.

Other matters included the opening on Oct. 30 of the great store of German scientific information in the country to American manufacturers through the Federal Trade Commission licensing enemy-owned patents and copyrights for use by citizens of the United States; the issue, on Dec. 5, of an American black-list of 1,600 firms in 20 Central and South American countries, with whom merchants of the United States were forbidden specifically to do business except under special license; the fact that amongst the volunteers for Army or Navy in the United States were three of ex-President Roosevelt's sons, one of ex-President Taft's, Sergt. Marshall Field of Chicago, whose fortune was estimated at $300,000,000, and Gnr. Junius S. Morgan, son of J. P. Morgan of New York, while Edsel Ford, son of the motor magnate, had fought bitterly for exemption under the Selective Draft and carried his appeal up to the President.

German Plots and Propaganda; Germans in the United States.

The greatest and cleverest propaganda of all time was that of Germany in the years just preceding 1914; then came the concentrated and effective plots which developed during succeeding war-years. No country or institution, national idealist or natural rebel, was free from underground and often unknown influence; the best elements of human nature and the worst were played upon with music equally attuned to suit the Pacifist or Socialist, the Hindu or the Sinn Feiner, the preacher or the publicist. In addition to the 80,000,000 Germans at home in Germany and Austria there were about 20,000,000 Germans abroad—in the United States, in Great Britain, in Brazil and all through South America, in Austria and South, East and West Africa, in China and Japan, all through Scandinavia and everywhere in Holland and Spain.

They appear, in the main, to have been devoted to their Fatherland and to have had none of the educated or cultured or inherited aversion of the Anglo-Saxon to espionage, supervision and direction from home. This influence was variously exercised. The natural ties of society and race brought correspondence and information to Germany which were at the service of the State; a skilled and world-wide espionage system had paid employees everywhere and travelling experts in every country; trade was used as a prime factor and local politics were manipulated freely; German Consuls in every centre abroad had little centres of propaganda and information for the authorities at home; membership in clubs at London and other foreign capitals and the waiters in club-life everywhere were sources of secret knowledge which rarely failed in some kind of result—whatever the degree of judgment behind it; barbers, governesses and domestic servants all over the world in centres of action and government were paid small sums for periodical reports; business spies were widely utilized in institutions such as an Insurance Company or a national Bradstreet down to the employee of a pre-War concern making guns, or munitions, or chemical products or industrial goods.

German Insurance Companies, as the United States eventually discovered, were sources of continuous information as were the electrical and piano concerns which suited German mechanical aptitudes; the Hamburg-American Steamship Line and North German Lloyds, with their branches at New York and London and world-ports everywhere, were a centre of German propaganda and espionage; school-books in all countries, but especially those of Britain and its Dominions, and the States, were used along subtle lines of education regarding the greatness of the German mind, the historic nobility of the German rulers, the sympathetic geniality of the German character, the wonderful leaps of German science*; the German Professor was omni-present in Universities everywhere and always, or nearly so, with that peculiarly benevolent air of abstracted geniality which often made him an object of popular regard but never of fear; books were written, and published in all languages, so adapted as to build up and perpetuate the belief in German military, scientific, educational and philosophical supremacy; newspapers in every corner of Europe, in many capitals of South America, in every centre of the United States, were found in war-years to have been started, or helped or bribed or otherwise influenced to further German propaganda—if not openly for Germany then in very astute forms of opposition to some existing policy or Government.

The system was wonderful in its completeness. According to Curtis Roth, for many years U.S. Consul at Plauen, Saxony, and other practical students of German administration, there were three main divisions of the German machine: (1) The Admiralty branch with headquarters at Hamburg, (2) the General Staff with headquarters at Munich, and (3) the Foreign Office centred at Berlin.

*Note.—I have before me a Montreal school-book (Royal Series of Readers) which illustrates this statement.

There were five main functions in the work: The gathering of information concerning expected enemy countries, the development of unrest and German propaganda within these and neutral countries, the guarding of home information, the promotion of smuggling schemes and plans for the possible destruction of materials, stores, factories and communications abroad. Stockholm, Copenhagen, Geneva, Berne, Amsterdam and The Hague were the great spy centres where those of Germany met the lesser lights and smaller machines of other countries.

The revelations of 1917 showed the official relations of the German Foreign Office under Von Jagow, Zimmerman or Von Kühlmann with plots in Ireland, Mexico, Japan, Argentina, the United States. The working chiefs of the propaganda and espionage system—two different elements of the same work—were varied. Prince Von Bülow in Italy, and latterly in Switzerland, was the higher type, as was Mgr. Von Gerlach in Italy and Admiral Von Hintze in Russia Mexico and China; other figures in the panorama were men like Baron Reutenfels in Sweden, Bolo Pasha and M. Caillaux in France, Grimm and Hoffman in Switzerland; unconscious instruments were Ramsay Macdonald in Britain, Roger Casement in Ireland, and Senator La Follette in the States; bribed or perverted agents were Soukhomlinoff, Lenine and Trotzky in Russia. The German agents were not necessarily Germans; often the most effective were men of other nationalities used by brainier men at Berlin for definite objects or paid deliberately for definite work. Danes, Norwegians and Swedes were favourite instruments, especially in the lower social strata. Lord Northcliffe stated at Washington on July 7, as to the superior elements, that:

> There were spies who moved about in a good social circle as a rule, picking up any information they could get. Members of this class were entirely unknown to each other, and only known to headquarters by numbers. They were paid a minimum of $3,000 and a maximum of $12,000 a year, and were usually engaged in some other kind of work—very often insurance work, very often as travelling salesmen. Quite a number of them were women.

The espionage system in different countries was subdivided into Naval, Military, commercial, financial, political and diplomatic sections; the agents were distinct and isolated, usually quite unaware of each other's activities, varied in character and standing and capacity, but all directed at the same object by the leaders of espionage work in Germany and abroad, German Embassies and a number of German Consulates at large. Of the American branches of both espionage and propaganda Count Von Bernstorff—assisted by Dr. Dumba, the Austrian Ambassador, Count Von Luxberg, the German Minister at Buenos Ayres, and Herr Von Eckhardt, at Mexico City—was the diplomatic head; Capt. Boy-Ed was chief of the Naval section in the United States and Capt. Von Papen of the Military; miscellaneous leaders were numerous but Karl Fuehr and Dr. Mechlenburg were said to be heads of the German Publicity Bureau, Heinrich Albert of the Austrian Embassy and Franz Von Igel of German notoriety in New York became well known in this connection, as did Franz Bopp at San Francisco and Hans Tauscher in New York.

Great organizations were formed at home and subsidized by the State with this propaganda as an element of their work which, usually, was termed commercial extension. Amongst them were the German Export Bank at Berlin, the Export Association of Saxony, the Commercial Museum of Frankfort, the Export Sample Depôts at Berlin, Stuttgart, Dresden, Frankfort and Weimar, with agents in many centres abroad; several Export Information Bureaux, the German Overseas Bank, Berlin, and the Committee for Colonial Economy; the German Photographic Co., with a specialty in the systematic foreign presentation of German pictorial propaganda; the Auslands-Anseiger, Ltd., whose object was to centralize the German advertising business abroad, and to distribute advertisements to the foreign Press, while safeguarding German interests; the Deutscher Ueberseedienst, Ltd., established for the creation of a foreign News Service, which would enlighten public opinion at home and abroad, give special attention to the requirements of Germany's economic life, and provide for other general propaganda. The League of Truth was one of several supposedly popular organizations which sprang up in Germany and were supported by the Government for purposes of propaganda. It was financed by German-Americans, directed by the Foreign Office through Dr. Hammann, who for ten years had been chief of its Propaganda department, President of the Overseas News Agency, and a directing spirit in the German-American and German-Canadian Associations in Berlin. The Overseas Agency was financed by the Krupps and was in control, amongst other work, of the Tuckerton and Sayville Wireless towers in the States, of all the Berlin "news" and articles which came to the United States, and of much real information which went from there during the first years of the War, under the local direction of Dr. Dernberg, to Berlin.

Success was obvious. The efforts of Portugal were greatly hampered and the natural leanings of Spain toward the Allies checked; the feelings of Scandinavia and Holland tortured and twisted out of all resemblance to the real situation; more than one newspaper and public man in Mexico, Brazil and other South American countries were blinded or bribed; many newspapers were directly organized through the Overseas News Agency—such as *Germania* at Buenos Ayres and others of the same name in Bogota, Guayaquil and Sao Paulo, with similar journals at San Salvador and Guatemala; the Arabs in Egypt and elsewhere were stirred up and linked up—when they did not take the other side and voluntarily stand for Britain and their own liberties—in Holy War with what Count Von Hardenburg, a German Consul-General in the East, called "lordly Oriental races such as the Turks"; attempts were made to organize revolt in India with Wolf Von Igel and Franz Bopp as the unofficial chiefs in the United States and Har Dayal and Jodh Singh as the Hindu leaders; Persia was over-run with Indian seditionists, Swedish officer-agents and German Mohammedan appeals to help the converted Kaiser.

In these and other ways Germany succeeded for a short time in restoring the Manchu dynasty in China and installing German in-

struments in power—with German commercial agents already strong in Thibet, Turkestan and Mongolia, as well as at Pekin and interior points of China; established, through the Bagdad Railway, its stations, which were really fortifications, and its German-trained Turkish officers and the ever-purchasable Oriental in all parts of Asia Minor, an influence which the war proved to be very powerful; did much to keep alive the Raizulli rebellion in Morocco and promote anti-British and anti-French views amongst the restless Moslems of the so-called Spanish territory; tried to plant a Bolsheviki thorn in the side of the United States by financing or inciting Villa or Zapata or Carranza and keeping up a permanent turmoil in Mexico; swamped Roumania during the six months before its declaration of war—according to its chief journalist, Constantin Mille of *L'Adeverin*—by spending 36,000,000 francs in methods of public corruption; controlled, or tried to control, Switzerland by Germanized politicians like Hoffman, by a huge electrical organization manipulated by Walter Rathenau of Berlin, run by 600 German specialists, and capable of stopping all electric works in the country at a moment's notice; established German papers at various and far-sundered places—as the *Muschaw* at Bangkok, the *War* in Pekin, the *Deutsche Zeitung* (in Chinese) at Shanghai, *De Toekomist* in Holland, the *Continental Times* "for Americans in Europe."

In 1917 the total number of Germans and their Allies in the United States (born in enemy countries) was estimated officially at 4 662,000 men, women and children*; of these about 964,000 were male aliens of 21 years and over divided by countries into 136,000 from Germany 447,000 from Austria, 280,000 from Hungary, and 101,000 from Turkey and Bulgaria. Many of the Austrians were really Germans, many of the sons were as German as their German-born parent or parents; many of the Jews, Poles, etc., were of German affiliation as members of the 1,130,000 Irish-Americans were of German friendship. Out of the complicated mass came a situation in which at least a million of more or less prosperous and influential citizens were an excellent basis for disloyal, pro-German, anti-Ally propaganda; various American writers and thinkers estimated this seed-plot of disloyalty at 2,000,000. That it was utilized to the hilt goes without saying; that much was hoped at Berlin from this element in keeping the United States out of the War or hampering its efforts in the War, Mr. Gerard asserted strongly in his Four-Year record of life in Germany; that much could be done in other countries under such conditions has been already indicated.

There can be no doubt as to the relationship between the rulers of Germany and the American propaganda of (1) the years before 1914 and (2) the years 1914-17. General Von Bernhardi indicated the preliminary situation in his visit of 1913 and no German officer undertakes such missions without Government approval; the actions and cables of Von Bernstorff, Von Eckhardt and Von Luxberg proved the matter during the War period, as did the published correspondence of Herr Zimmerman, who as Foreign Secretary, was under the Kaiser's direct and daily supervision. The seizures of

*Note.—Government *Bulletin*, June 12,

papers held by Von Igel in New York were valuable in this connection. Von Igel, in carrying on his manifold pro-German and anti-American activities, was shown to be in constant touch with the German Embassy and with Count Von Bernstorff in person. In the form of letters, telegrams, notations, checks, receipts, ledgers, cash-books, cipher codes, lists of spies, and other memoranda and records, were found indications—in some instances of the vaguest nature, in others of the most clear character—that the German Imperial Government, through its representatives in a then friendly nation, was concerned with:

1. Violation of the laws of the United States;
2. Destruction of lives and property in merchant vessels on the high seas;
3. Irish revolutionary plots against Great Britain;
4. Fomenting ill-feeling against the United States in Mexico;
5. Subornation of United States writers and lecturers and financing of propaganda.
6. Maintenance of a spy system under the guise of a Commercial Investigation Bureau;
7. Subsidizing of a Bureau for the purpose of stirring up Labour troubles in munition plants;
8. The bomb industry and other related activities.

The organized system appears to have begun under Paul Koenig as a secret service agent in the Hamburg-American Line; it soon developed close official relations and the strong support of Herman Ridder of the New York *Staats-Zeitung* (financed by Von Bernstorff), Geo. Sylvester Viereck, Editor of several New York German papers, Baron Von Recklinghausen, Dr. George Barthelme, American correspondent of the Cologne *Gazette*, Hugo Schmidt, representative of the Deutsche Bank of Berlin in the United States, and Heinrich Albert of the German Embassy. The latter handled most of the $60,000,000 which was supposed to have been used in the Propaganda work of placing spies, buying newspapers, paying lecturers and purchasing some of the politicians who tried to prevent the shipment of munitions to the Allies, and some of the Pacifists who struggled to prevent War.

Others of the German crowd of conspirators were Alvo Von Alvensleben of Vancouver and Seattle financial fame; Dr. Arnold Krumm Keller, German-American plotter in Mexico; Paul Carus, the clever, erudite, pro-German Editor of the *Open Court Magazine* of Chicago; Carl Heynen, for years an influential German agent in the States and Mexico—where he was Consul-General; P. A. Borgemeister, a New York banker and afterwards Secretary to Herr Albert; Prof. Jonathan Zenneck, a wireless expert, and H. S. Ficke, New York Auditor of the North-German Lloyds, whose home on Staten Island commanded a view of ships entering and leaving New York Harbour; Franz Von Rintelen, the organizer of the notorious National Labour Peace Council; Marcus Braun, Editor of *Fair Play* and a political Hungarian leader in New York; Lieut. Robert Fay, Wernher Von Horn and A. K. Fischer; Horst Von der Goltz, the agent of Von Papen and other plotters, who gave away his companions in evidence and a book; Baron Von Reiswitz, one-time Consul at Chicago and indicted for conspiring to raise revolt in

India and for paying A. H. Wehde $20,000 for this purpose; Albert Kaltschmidt of Detroit whose special mission was the blowing up of Canadian buildings.

As to official proofs the United States Government at certain intervals throughout 1917 published documents which its Secret Service, or the seizure of mail matter and inspection of ships by British naval representatives, had made available. On Sept. 26 Mr. Secretary Lansing stated that "the Department of State possesses conclusive evidence that on or before Jan. 19 Count Von Bernstorff had received and read the Zimmerman telegram to Minister Eckhardt in Mexico"—which announced the coming of unrestricted Submarine action—and that he, therefore, was fully advised of this policy at a time when he asked for authority from Berlin "to employ funds to influence Congressional action in favour of the continued neutrality of this country." On Oct. 5 many of the late Ambassador's confidential cables to the Berlin Foreign Office—then under Herr Von Jagow—were made public. Amongst them were the extraordinary Bolo Pasha papers which included the Bernstorff request for a credit of $1,700,000 in New York for the Peace work, as it was called, of Bolo. On Oct. 10 further documents were issued, in which one despatch, signed by Dr. Zimmerman, Under-Secretary at the German Foreign Office, and dated Jan. 3, 1916, instructed Von Bernstorff that the General Staff desired the destruction of the Canadian Pacific Railway at several points, with a view to complete and protracted interruption of traffic. Capt. Boehm had been given instructions; "Inform the Military Attaché and provide the necessary funds." Following these instructions as to Canada came others regarding local operations addressed to Capt. Von Papen as Military Attaché, dated Jan. 26, signed "Representative of General Staff" and mentioning that particulars of persons suitable for carrying on sabotage in the United States and Canada could be obtained from certain persons, including Jeremiah A. O'Leary of New York. The document concluded as follows: "In the United States sabotage can be carried out on every kind of factory for supplying munitions of war. Railway embankments and bridges must not be touched. Embassy must in no circumstances be compromised. Similar precautions must be taken in regard to Irish pro-German propaganda."

These little arrangements for war upon a neutral country's industries made full use of other than German agents. Mr. O'Leary was President of the American Truth Society—an Irish-Catholic organization—and in a despatch from Von Bernstorff to Berlin (Sept. 15) reference was made to Wm. Bayard Hale, a newspaper correspondent in Germany, as a friend who could give the Foreign Office useful information. Count Von Bernstorff, therefore, appears as directing German propaganda from Washington and, practically, war activities upon United States interests, upon Canada and Mexico, in South America generally as other documents indicated, and even in France as the Bolo Pasha case proved.

G. H. Putnam, President of the American Rights League, alleged on Jan. 3, 1917, that $27,000,000 had been spent in the United

States on German work and propaganda; it was afterwards claimed in the Senate that fully 400,000 German spies were at work in the country. The methods of operation were varied and almost innumerable. In the first place there was every form of open and obvious propaganda—press articles, books, pamphlets, leaflets, translations of German literature into English and special publications into English, Swedish, Polish, Norwegian, Danish, Italian, Hebrew, Czech, and every language which was largely used in the States or in the countries of Europe, Asia or Africa, which it was desired to reach. In July tons of seditious literature (1,500 bags in all) printed in varied languages and intended for circulation in many countries, were seized by British ships, brought to London, and condemned by the Prize court as part of a gigantic German scheme to spread their propaganda to the four corners of the earth.

Socialist newspapers in various languages were favourable bases for operations. Easily purchased or influenced, edited by vain, or unscrupulous, or ignorant or already deluded persons, they were facile instruments for attack upon Governments, upon organized opponents of Germany, upon elements of war concentration in all free countries. The United States had a number of these sheets; Canada also had some and Russia was full of them; France and England had more than was good for them. In a country where Chicago could call itself the third German city of the world and New York have a third of its population speak in foreign tongues, Socialism was a serious German factor. German language newspapers in the States were weak in news, small in staff, and racial in tone, but with strong and numerous articles upon Teutonic influence in America and in the world—a few of them were really imposing journals and able fighters for the cause of Germany. Of such were the New York *Staats-Zeitung*, the Illinois *Staats-Zeitung* of Chicago, and the Pittsburg *Volksblatt*. Whether little or big, clever or dull, these journals, and a hundred others in the German tongue, with those of other foreign tongues, kept up before and during the first few months of war in 1917 a continued German propaganda and keen criticism of United States policy.

German language schools or Germanized school-books in some form or other were utilized to give an exaggerated view of German greatness and qualities—many such schools being subsidized by the municipality concerned. These German text-books were peculiar. In Newark, N.J., for instance, *Im Vaterland*, a book used in the High Schools, declared in different pages that "Germany must have agreat army because it is surrounded by enemies; Germany is great because of the Bismarck blood and iron formula; Kaiser Wilhelm is a great man and his first wish is to serve the German people." According to the N.Y. *Tribune* (Dec. 24) 13,000 local pupils of the most impressionable age were studying the language of Germany: "More than that, they are absorbing, and from text-books supplied by the Board of Education, the doctrines of Hohenzollernism, so cleverly and subtly distributed through the pages as to stamp them, in the opinion of many, as a far-flung piece of German propaganda conceived years ago at Berlin." A book of German War and Patriotic Songs was one of the volumes.

As to Chicago J. W. Gerard, in one of his statements, said: "When I spoke in the great Medinah Temple on Oct. 22 I was able to show to the audience two German text-books used in the Chicago public schools, stamped with the Royal arms of Prussia. The books had been approved by Ella Flagg Young, Superintendent of Schools in 1914. In one of these books was printed the German patriotic song, 'The Watch on the Rhine.' They were cleverly compiled to impress children at a youthful age with a favourable idea of German royalty." The only foreign language taught in the grammar schools in Chicago was German and parents were compelled to sign a statement as to whether or not they wished their children to be taught that language. The President of Vassar College (Dr. H. N. MacCracken) told the N.Y. *Tribune*, and proved what he said, that the German text for translations at College entrance examinations all over the country were arranged to deal with (1) treachery and plunder in certain wars, (2) the virtues of retaliation in war, (3) the hypocrisy of the English as to slavery described by Goethe, (4) the fanaticism of French religious wars, and (5) Schiller's praises of Peace. He also pointed out that the *personnel* of the Board in charge of these examinations was largely German—three out of five.

Of American Teachers, it was found that there were 11 German aliens in Milwaukee schools and that the De Witt Clinton High School of New York, according to the N.Y. *Times* of Nov. 16 was "a seminary of sedition, anti-Americanism, socialism, pacificism, opposition to the War, attacks upon the Government." Dr. J. L. Tildsley, Assistant Superintendent of New York Schools, stated (Nov. 19) that: "Many teachers are Socialists, pacifists or internationalists, and that Socialist literature is being freely circulated." Cleveland Moffett told the American Defence League (Nov. 28) that the New York public schools had 1,000 disloyal teachers. These were German methods of influencing public opinion which had developed gradually; there were other and immediately effective methods created during war-time. Senators Tillman and Chamberlain stated publicly that there were German spies in all the Government Departments and many newspapers supported the statement; outgoing cables, inadequately censored, outgoing uncensored mails to neutral countries, enemy-owned marine and fire insurance companies, German agents in or near Mexico, were means of conveying information to Germany; wireless messages *via* South America to Spain and thence to Germany, as with diplomatic cables from Mexico and Argentina *via* Sweden, reached the enemy. A Report submitted to Congress on Sept. 17 showed that the United States Army and Navy were well salted with German spies; that "large German corporations, such as the Hamburg-American Line and the North German Lloyds maintained complete organizations which systematically gathered facts such as the date of the departure and the number of our troop-carrying transports"; that "Germany was informed of the sailing date and number of transports carrying the first troops sent to France by an apparently simple business cable from the representative in New York of a big German

firm to a correspondent in Barcelona." Mayor J. P. Mitchel of New York stated in his election campaign (Oct. 14) that he had early prepared the forces of the city to meet a dangerous condition of pro-German activity—such as plots to destroy the water supply and city bridges.

As the first year of American war passed on German intrigue found a place in many spheres. German work in munition plants was obvious and had been well known since 1914; almost equally clear was its effect upon food, coal and transport. The growing of food could not be affected but its transport to the Allies could; on the water it was being dealt with and it remained for German ingenuity to affect the land transport. As to coal, its production could be delayed by strikes and wherever possible Hungarian and foreign miners were stirred up; its transport and that of food, could be affected by a tie-up in the railway system. Just how far the mess in American transportation toward the close of 1917 resulted from these conditions was not proved, but a multitude of small data went to show that where German employees could misdirect a train, delay a shipment, send it to a wrong place, mix up invoices or meddle with credits and rates, it was done.

In such a country as the United States rumour was naturally a great factor and it was utilized to the full. Of such was the charge that British troops were lying low and letting Colonial and French soldiers do the fighting for them; threatened shortages in salt, laundry blue and matches, stated officially to have no existence; the slanders about deplorable cruelties practiced against Germans in Canadian internment camps; the food riots in New York and dissatisfaction elsewhere aroused by statements that Americans were being starved and prices raised mountain-high in order to ship food to the English; the stories told ignorant negroes in the South as to the coming of the Kaiser to effect their liberation and the incitement given them to resist registration and military service; the fight put up in all sorts of insidious ways against food control, or restriction, or self-denial and, directly, against the pledge-card, together with a systematic hoarding of food supplies; the similar fight of rumour and depreciation and organized propaganda against the two War Loans; the influence of German Directors and managers in many United States National and State Banks upon financial issues and conditions.

Overt acts of hostility, sabotage, incendiarism, etc., were many but not easy to prove. The explosions at Kingsland, N.J., on Jan. 11, and Haskell, N.J., on Jan. 12, destroyed property valued at over $15,000,000. Records kept by the Insurance Press of New York showed a distribution of 42 munition plant disasters up to the beginning of 1917, as follows: New Jersey 13, Pennsylvania 11, New York 4, Illinois 2, and 8 other States one each, Canada (Ontario and Quebec) 4. On Feb. 10 the machine-shop building of the Union Switch and Signal Co., Pittsburg, the largest plant of its kind in the United States, and which had filled munition orders for European Governments, was destroyed by fire with a loss estimated at $4,000,000. On Apr. 10 the Eddystone Munition Works at Ches-

ter, Pa., were blown up with 325 workers dead and missing and 30,000 shells destroyed; on Oct. 30 a great fire broke out on the pier of the Baltimore and Ohio Railway at Baltimore where vast quantities of munitions and supplies for the American forces in France and for the Allies were stored, and within ten minutes after the flames were discovered the entire structure was ablaze. On Nov. 11 the factories of the Washburn Wire Co., working on large war orders for the U.S. Government, were destroyed with an estimated loss of nearly $2,000,000. Amongst its 1,000 employees were many Germans and Austrians. Vivid stories were told in United States papers of the prolonged effort of Germans to destroy by dynamite the Sault locks and canals, through which 50,000,000 tons of ore passed yearly, and of the arrest of an estimated 600 spies and plotters; fires in the Brooklyn Navy Yard were said to have been as numerous in months of war as in preceding years of peace; during the war-period of 1917, 32 water-front fires were stated to have taken place at Brooklyn with damage amounting to millions of dollars and large losses of munitions and food intended for the *Entente.*

The hampering of production in isolated or single plants, the tieing-up of industrial work or shipment in small and myriad ways, was so varied and far-reaching as to be impossible of description. As an illustration of what was going on the following telegram of Oct. 27, from H. C. Hoover, Food Administrator, to Seattle, may be quoted: "I am informed of a widespread conspiracy to destroy animals in stock-yards, and grain supplies. In view of the tremendous loss of food sustained by the recent fire in Kansas City stock-yards I urge that you get in touch immediately with all Stock-yard Companies in the State of Washington." Admiral Guffin's statement in February to the Senate Committee on Naval Affairs indicated another phase: "Any hope of the United States being able to steal a march on foreign Navies seems futile. We have long been forced to believe that it is a practical impossibility to keep secret any of our undertakings."

A rather remarkable element in these plots and German propaganda was the work of John R. Rathom, his *Providence Journal*, and the staff with which he surrounded himself. Apparently he had in 1914 sized up the war situation, arrived at some fair idea of the facts, and deliberately organized his whole thought and effort to the discovery of proofs which could be used in affecting public opinion and the conduct of United States policy. According to the story which he told the Canadian Press Association, Toronto, on June 14, he had established two wireless stations on the coast, one at Block Island and one at Point Judith. "When the War began we conceived the idea of 'listening in' on Sayville and four operators were put to work, day and night. After nearly 100,000 messages had been stored in the vaults *The Journal* was fortunate enough to discover the code to read some of these messages. Armed with facts thus revealed our reporters were sent out to take jobs in the German and Austrian Consulates and other places named in the messages. One of them was placed in the German Embassy itself.



Speaker and Chief Officers of the House of Commons of Canada on the 50th Anniversary of Confederation.
Including Hon. E. N. Rhodes, Speaker, in the centre; and T. B. Flint, M.A., D.C.L., Clerk, on his right.



Interior View of Chateau Laurier, Ottawa.
A Centre of crowded interest during the Union Government negotiations.

The material we got would keep us going for 25 years, and we have not touched 50 per cent. of it. We have not printed 10 per cent. of it. We would have gone on doing so, but the result was attained." On June 11, 1917, *The Journal* issued a pamphlet, describing its warnings to the Administration, its exposure of mysterious explosions in powder plants, steamships, factories; its stories of plots in Labour unions and other organizations; its revelation of W. J. Bryan's relations with Dr. Dumba, the Austrian Ambassador; its campaign against Boy-ed and Von Papen of the German Embassy; its publication of facts as to the Embassy's plots against munition plants, aid to German raiders, attempts upon Canadian canals and railways; its 1916 proofs as to the successive fires and explosions said to emanate from German sources; its continuous denunciation of Bryan and the Pacifists as in league with the Germans; its revelations as to German plotting in Mexico, etc. The whole story was one of the most dramatic in the history of world-propaganda and international relations.

Another active element in meeting this propaganda was the American Defence Society, of which Richard M. Hurd, New York, was Chairman. Its plan of organization provided for the enrolment of a small American vigilance corps in every city and town, which classified all residents as either loyal, disloyal, doubtful, or unknown, with a further designation as enemy-alien, pro-German, or anti-government. Good work was done by this Society toward the close of the year. By this time loyal feeling was being vigorously stirred up and J. W. Gerard, ex-Ambassador at Berlin, in an address at Pittsburg on Nov. 13 put considerable opinion into a few strong words: "We should 'hog-tie' every disloyal German-American, feed every Pacifist raw meat, and hang every traitor to a lamp post, to insure success in this war. And our traitors are not all German-Americans; some men high in public life are aiding the Prussian cause."

The worst of these elements of mischief was the I.W.W., composed of a mixture of anarchists, extreme Socialists, fanatics of various kinds, and irresponsible, worthless loafers of varied race and nationality—and all of the unskilled labour type. Their leader was W. D. Haywood, a prominent official at one time of the Western Federation of Miners and an active Socialist but, ultimately, too extreme in his methods, his disloyalty and his violence, for either of those not very mild-mannered organizations. With Moyer and Pettibone of the Independent Workers of the World he had been mixed up in various trials for murder, bomb-throwing, and similar offences, and was believed to be at the bottom of the Colorado mining crimes of ten years ago; he was avowedly an advocate of sabotage and pillage. This organization was in antagonism to the Trade Unions as well as the employers; capital and country and real labour were all alike objectionable. The writer has before him a copy of (1) an appeal by Gordon Lee, Organizer of the I.W.W. of South Africa, and (2) the platform of the Indian (Hindu) Workers' Union of that body. There is the same stamp of sedition in all

"free" countries. Vincent St. John, who preceded Haywood as Secretary, defined their policy as follows:

> As a revolutionary organization the I.W.W. aims to use any and all tactics that will get the results sought with the least expenditure of time and energy. The question of 'right' and 'wrong' does not concern us. No terms made with an employer are final. All peace, so long as the wage system lasts, is but an armed truce. Failing to force concessions from the employers by the strike, work is resumed and 'sabotage' is used—sabotage being a restriction of production by slow, or deliberately inefficient, labour or destructive action.

R. W. Bruere, who was commissioned by the N.Y. *Evening Post* —not a very enthusiastic war organ—to investigate this body and especially its 100,000 members in Washington, Oregon, Idaho and Montana, wrote a series of articles in its November and December issues which were a mine of information in this connection. Writing on Dec. 1, he stated that "the primary interest of the I.W.W. is in the awakening of a revolutionary and rebellious spirit against the whole of capitalistic industry and the wage system in particular. They are the Bolsheviki of the labour movement." During this year I.W.W. activities included various industrial or mining strikes, financial aid to pro-German journals under threat of suppression, such as the N.Y. *L'Avoenire*, and the issue of poisonous leaflets filled with sedition and appeals to violence or passion. One of their speakers named Frank Little, at Butte on Aug. 1, described the soldiers as "Uncle Sam's scabs in uniform" and was lynched for his utterance which, however, was mild compared with the speeches at many other I.W.W. meetings; *Solidarity*, the organ of the Order and under control of W. D. Haywood, fought enlistment, Conscription, war action of any kind, the Red Cross, the War loans, etc., and, in urging Butte miners to strike, stated on July 7 that "no enemy could do more against the physical power of the United States within its borders to-day than to cut off its copper output"; *The Industrialist* of Duluth, another organ, published an open letter to British soldiers in the trenches urging them to refuse to fight, while the New York *Call* declared that "we see the city streets crowded with drunken, blood-crazed 'patriots' yelling for war"; Tom Watson, one of their wild-eyed leaders, contributed to *The Jeffersonian* a series of articles which even England would have forbidden and Canada would have stopped; of similar type were *Il Proletario*, *La Riscossa* and *L'Era Nuova*.

The Italian and other Foreign Socialist sheets were worse than the German because, no doubt, less liable to suspicion and stoppage. *La Parola Proletario* for instance* urged the people to "overthrow all religions, all the bourgeois governments and the infamy of capitalism," and described the calling to the colours of the drafted men as "the bagging of human flesh for the great slaughter." *Obrana*, a Bohemian journal of New York, and the Hungarian *Elore* of New York, were even worse, while some English-speaking journals were fully as bad. The N.Y. *Irish World* was in a class by itself. The *Freeman's Journal*, also of New York, ran it pretty close in abuse of England, while Viereck's *Fatherland* and Hearst's papers throughout

*Note.—N.Y. *Tribune*, Translation: Sept. 12.

the country maintained an almost equal level. Government treatment of this I.W.W. by-product of Socialism was at first cautious; eventually it was firm and vigorous. Enemy agents, spies and doubtful foreign characters were watched and many quietly arrested and interned after Apr. 2, and the acquisition of the necessary powers. There was an active Bureau of Investigation and the Department of Justice helped wherever possible. As early as Apr. 6 Mr. Gregory, Attorney-General, ordered the arrest, without reference to Courts or warrants, of 60 alleged ringleaders in various plots—all German subjects and known to be active enemies; this was promptly followed by the President's Proclamation defining treason, its nature and penalties under American laws; and another prohibiting German-owned Insurance Companies from transacting Marine or War insurance.

The first legislative action affecting these elements was the Trading with the Enemy Bill which, amongst other things, placed all Foreign language publications and also disloyal or seditious English publications, under a censorship composed of local Postmasters and made it unlawful to circulate or transport publications non-mailable under the Espionage Bill. Mr. Burleson, Postmaster-General, issued an explanation on Oct. 26 of the terms of the latter Act and defined the nature of such publications as any which advocated treason or forcible resistance to a law, gave false reports as to the war, taught insubordination in military or naval forces, obstructed enlistment, or violated any part of the Espionage Act, or were printed in foreign languages without the local Postmaster's consent. A barred zone was established (Nov. 10) at certain points within which enemy aliens were not allowed, a Censorship organized, Enemy Fire and Casualty insurance ordered into liquidation and a National Intelligence Service formed to combine the work of all Secret Service bureaux. As the year closed street meetings labelled Socialist and pertaining to the violent branch of that vague-thinking body were prohibited or broken up and their headquarters in Chicago and New York searched and papers seized. On Sept. 5 the Government took drastic action to stop the I.W.W. branch of the anti-War agitation and by a co-ordinated plan the headquarters at Chicago, Minneapolis, Denver, Salt Lake City, Duluth, Detroit, and many other centres right through to the Pacific Coast and San Francisco, Seattle, Los Angeles, Tacoma, Portland, etc., were raided.

Large quantities of letters, checks, literature, and documents were seized and Scranton, Pa., found to be the real headquarters of the organization. On the 28th, under blanket indictment charging a nation-wide conspiracy by 166 leaders of the I.W.W. to hamper the Government's war efforts, wholesale arrests were made in different centres which included W. D. Haywood, Richard Brazier, G. Audreychine and other officials, with R. H. Chaplin, editor of *Solidarity*, C. Rothfisher, Editor of *Berguinkas*, and by Oct. 2, 140 others—of whom more than half were Germans or Austrians. The indictments against these men covered 40 printed pages and alleged 15,000 offences under ten specific heads—one of the worst being a book on *Sabotage* by Emil Fouget, and published by the organization

in different languages, which gave detailed instruction to strikers how to destroy ovens, disable machines and injure industries so as to indefinitely delay production.

There were many other Court cases dealing with matters of sedition or pro-German work. The payment of $60,000 by Wolf Von Igel, acting for the German Ambassador, to the Hindu, Dr. Chakraberty, and a German chemist named Sckunner, for the fomenting of a rebellion in India, as well as a widespread conspiracy to this end, were indicated in papers found when these men were arrested at New York on Mar. 6; at New York on Oct. 5 Hugo Schmidt testified as to the $1,600,000 placed to his credit in 1916 by Von Bernstorff and the German Foreign Office for the French operations of Bolo Pasha; at Chicago in October four men named Boehm, Wehde, Jacobsen and Gupta, were tried before Judge Landis for stirring up sedition in India and receiving, through Baron Von Reiswitz, $20,000 to help in a plot which ran in varied activities from San Francisco to Siam.

A Court-Martial was held during November and December on more than 100 American soldiers for pro-German utterances and activities and the sentencing of one-third to the Penitentiary and the others to dishonourable discharge from the Army; the continued trial from 1916 occurred of Franz Bopp, Von Brincken, Von Schack, Von Koolbergen and others at San Francisco for (1) violating American neutrality by setting afoot a military enterprise against Canada (C.P.R.) in aid of Germany, and (2) of conspiring to dynamite munition shipments, with conviction and two-year terms of imprisonment; at New York on Feb. 21 Sander and Wunnenberg—the latter for 25 years a naturalized citizen of the United States—were arrested on the charge of employing agents, on an extensive scale, to obtain maps, photographs, and other military information in England and Ireland for the benefit of Germany; at Hoboken (Mar. 6) Fritz Kolb and Hans Schwartz were arrested charged with plotting to aid Germany by blowing up munition plants in the States—whether the United States was at war or neutral did not matter.

On Mar. 9 Ali Fritzen was arrested on an indictment charging him, Von Papen, Von Igel and Tauscher, with sharing in a conspiracy to blow up the Welland Canal, pleaded guilty and was given a short term in the Penitentiary; for plotting to place incendiary bombs made at Hoboken in the cargoes of ships leaving New York, six Germans were on Apr. 6 sentenced to terms in gaol; on the 7th a number of Germans were arrested at Buffalo, Chicago, Tuckerton, N.J., El Paso, etc., together with Rao Chandra of the Hindu *Ghadyr*, and charged with plots of varied character—the latter being mixed up with Chakraberty and Gupta in the India plots engineered by Von Papen and Von Igel; at San Francisco on July 7, 139 indictments were fyled against R. Capelle of the North German Lloyds, and H. C. Kauffman and A. H. Von Schack of the local German Consulate, F. Von Papen, C. D. Bunker, local Shipping Agent, Capt. T. A. Anderson of the *Sacramento*, Ram Chandra, Louis Hengsler, Hans Tauscher, husband of Mme. Gadski, and others

prominent in Pacific coast shipping, charging them with assisting to supply German warships in the Pacific with arms, ammunition, coal, and with having planned revolution in India, and acted generally as if the United States were at war with England.

On Aug. 9 Alvo Von Alvensleben and two other Germans were arrested at Seattle and interned on the charge of plotting "to obtain military secrets from the naval station at Bremerton, and the promotion of German propaganda"; at Concord, Mass. (Sept. 19), Gaston Means, when arrested, was found to have a mass of documents connected with Von Papen's spy system; a raid in New York on Sept. 27 resulted in the arrest of 90 skilled German and other foreign mechanics employed in plants working on Government contracts, and the finding in their possession of important Navy details, blue-prints, charts, maps, and other documents; at New York on Oct. 11 indictments against Reister, Zeffert, Uhde, Von Rintelen (already in gaol), Bode, Wolpert, Sternberg, Scheele, and others who had fled the country charged them "with conspiring to destroy Allied ships at this port before the States entered the War" and included the ever-present Von Papen.

Government investigations in October as to the schemes of Bolo Pasha showed that Pavenstedt, a New York banker who conducted Bolo's negotiations with Von Bernstorff, had lent $15,000 to Ridder of the New York *Staats-Zeitung* which had come from Dr. Dernberg when Director of German propaganda in America; others of Pavenstedt's cheques were payable to the *Deutsches Journal* (dated Jan. 12, 1916, and endorsed by W. R. Hearst), and one of Jan. 31, 1917, was payable to the American Truth Society and endorsed by J. A. O'Leary; indictments were returned at Newark on Nov. 9 against Benedict Prieth and other officials of the New Jersey *Freie Zeitung*, charging them with treason based upon 29 editorial extracts from this paper.

At the trial of A. C. Kaltschmidt of Detroit charged with "conspiracy to dynamite private and public property in the United States and Canada," R. Herrman testified that Kaltschmidt engaged him to inspect the tunnel under the St. Clair River between Port Huron and Sarnia, Ontario, in order to see if its destruction by dynamite was practicable, and that he finally decided to use a device which was to be sent into the tunnel with a time-clock bomb. Other evidence showed that this man received $28,000 from the German Embassy, and Fritz Neff, who made the bombs, testified that more than a year before Kaltschmidt told him Germans in Detroit were plotting to dynamite factories in the United States and Canada. Karl Schmidt stated that in 1915 he was sent by Kaltschmidt to Duluth to purchase dynamite and then to the district around Nipigon, Ontario, to inspect the tracks of the C.P.R.—though he did not know of any intended violence. Five of the prisoners were convicted and Kaltschmidt on Dec. 22 was sentenced to four years imprisonment and fined $20,000 and the others in proportion—Neff's wife being given two years and fined $15,000. At the end of the year San Francisco, which had long been the headquarters of Indian sedition on this continent, saw the trial of Bhagwan Singh,

also known in Vancouver, and charged with a share in creating the troubles which arose at Singapore and the later plots at Lahore during the War. Like many of the other Hindus already mentioned he was associated with *The Ghadyr* of San Francisco.

Such were a few of the indications of that strong undercurrent of sedition and violence which moved below the surface of American society and life during these years. It took all forms and used all possible instruments, it was in the main sordid in motive or brutal in plan and practice, it had none of the high ideals which, in mistaken but obvious ways, influence open rebellion against alleged wrongs. Of course, the German-American Alliance, said to represent 3,000,000 members when the United States entered the War, professed loyalty; in fact it did so at an Executive meeting on Feb. 8, and by Resolution stated that "in case of hostilities the Society will organize regiments of German-Americans and fight under the command of President Wilson as loyally as we did under Abraham Lincoln for the preservation of the Union." Dr. C. A. Hexamer, the President, also announced that they had instructed collections for the German Red Cross and other Funds to cease in the Society and that he had written to its members urging loyalty to America. Through its Executive, the New York German Alliance on Sept. 3 re-affirmed its loyalty but did not discuss the War though it did receive a report stating that 21,000 children in the State schools were studying German. It was not considered wise to hold German Conventions, either National or State, in view of the plots publicly known and publicly unknown. Despite the loyalty of men like Maj.-Gen. J. E. Kuhn, Congressman Julius Kahn, Otto H. Kahn, the New York banker, and many private German citizens of the United States, it is not difficult to estimate the danger to the country which centred in this movement and its racial, Socialistic and other collateral elements.

Pacifists in the United States; Peace Organizations and the War.

The result of educational looseness of thought, public ignorance of the complexities of international life or the living lessons of history, contempt for precedent and the products of past thinking or experience—many of the difficulties innate in democracy—were embodied in United States Pacificism during these War years. The conditions created were not fundamental but the vicious and the weak, the corrupt and the foolish, the merely selfish and the wholly German, the American sentimentalist and the Germanized militarist, were merged in a confused mass which tried to control public opinion by vigorous agitation in favour of Peace. As the New York *Tribune* put it (Aug. 24): "Sedition has gone hand in hand with Pacificism, and the pro-Germans have joined hands with the anarchists. There has been a din and disturbance on the surface unparalleled in our history."

Yet the great majority of the people swung into line behind the President and presented a strong war front—weakened only in places by the treachery and folly of the Pacifists. The commonplaces of this school were and are well known and were summarized

in a spirit of earnest belief by Rev. J. Howard Melish (Holy Trinity Church, New York) in *The Outlook*. United States rights to him were equally menaced by Germany and by Great Britain; the assassin's bullet of a German Submarine was preferable to the slow starvation of a British blockade; all the belligerents were beyond the pale of morality; to spread and advance democracy the best course was to keep out of the War and ensure a peace without victory; it was the duty of America to suffer and endure and to appeal from Germany drunk to Germany sober!

Such views in varied form were preached hourly and daily during these years, from the public rostrum and the pulpit down to the soap-box of New York parks—with millions of the people also reached by the literary propaganda which went into every city, town and hamlet. Some of the advocates were sincere and honest; others were described by Elihu Root on his return from Russia (New York, Aug. 14) as follows: "Here, as in Russia, German money is seeping through the country seeking to undermine the press and public men and to establish a structure of treason. Here, as there, are weak sentimentalists who lend themselves to the most terrible enemy of peace and justice and humanity since the fall of Ghengis Khan. Here, as there, are men who proclaim their patriotism and sell their country." There were Pacifists such as Prof. Bushnell Hart of Harvard, who described the causes of the War as too numerous, deeply concealed, and involved, for common understanding; Prof. D. A. Muzzey of Columbia University, who said in a speech on Feb. 6 that "before going to war I would wait until they had sunk seventy times seven ships, and then I wouldn't go to war—I would wait until they had insulted us and then till they were sick of insulting us"; Prof. Scott Nearing of Toledo University, who was a leader in the anti-war movement and thought the matter of going into the War could be settled best by a Referendum; Amos Pinchot, who denounced "the dollar patriots and undesirable citizens" who were forcing the Republic into war; Prof. Simon N. Patten of the University of Pennsylvania, who was a conspicuous and respected believer in the ideal side of Pacificism; Tom Watson of Georgia, whose paper *The Jeffersonian* was so scurrilous as to be unquotable.

These men, and others of every type. were mixed up together with a common label of Pacifist. It was sometimes unjust, just as was the suspicion that any but a small minority of the 60 per cent. of American University professors, whom Prof. W. H. Wood of Hamline University stated to have studied in Germany, were disloyal. Most of them were loyal Americans and only a minority were Pacifists (even in principle) but those that were so became prominent. Henry Ford continued to be a type of many Americans—active in Pacificism until his country was in the War and then publicly loyal to his Government. As he put it at Detroit on Oct. 16, so many felt: "Although there is not a man in the world more opposed to war than myself, I feel that we must support our Government to the limit in this war because our President is pledged to abolish future wars as far as possible." Yet, only

a few months before (Feb. 8) the N. Y. *Tribune* had contained an interview in which Mr. Ford said:

> What I fear are the machinations of roaring lions, who really are the tools of the interests which make money out of war. If the Germans do not sink one of our ships without warning I fear that one will be sunk, anyway, by agents of the influences which do not desire peace. I could not help having a feeling of that kind in regard to the *Lusitania*. Although there had been warning that the ship would be attacked, she ran into the war zone at half speed and was not provided with an escort.

Waiving this covert charge against the British Government it is interesting to note that according to statements presented to Congress in July, 1917, Mr. Ford had a net gain in materials, cash and buildings for his Company, during this War period, of $86,000,000, while his War orders to December, 1917, totalled $200,000,000! Of the political Pacifists Senator R. M. La Follette was the leader. In addition to his part in holding up the President's War measures at the close of the 64th Congress he tried on Aug. 11 to embarrass the Administration by presenting a long Resolution to the Senate which demanded an explanation and re-statement of the reasons for which the country was going to war, urged a disavowal of all advantages, acquisitions, privileges or economic benefits to be derived therefrom, and declared that:

> This Government will not contribute to the efforts of any belligerent for the purpose of prolonging the War to annex new territory, either in Europe or outside of Europe, nor to enforce the payment of indemnities to recover the expenses of the War; but the Congress does hereby declare in favour of the creation of a Common Fund, to be provided by all the belligerent nations, to assist in the restoration of the portions of territory in any of the countries most seriously devastated by the War, and for the establishment of an International Commission to decide the allotment of the Common Fund.

Senator W. H. King offered another Resolution which in set terms demanded German confession and expiation of crime as a preliminary to peace. Neither came to a vote during this Session. Besides these and similar actions wide discussion was caused by Senator La Follette's speech at St. Paul* in which he said: "For my own part, I was not in favour of beginning the War. I would not be understood as saying we didn't have grievances; we did, but they were insufficient, considering the amount and the rights involved." Much newspaper denunciation, many petitions to Congress, many speeches and letters, were the result of his policy and views. Action was urged and investigations started by Congress but Mr. La Follette told the Senate on Oct. 6 that "not by the breadth of a hair" would he turn from his course, and he did not do so. With him in the Senate were others of both parties such as W. J. Stone, who presided over the Foreign Affairs Committee, opposed many of the President's measures, and made public on Mar. 3 a description of certain plans for protecting United States ships in the War zone —while receiving a position of illustrated honour in Viereck's *Fatherland* as "the champion of peace and Democracy;" J. A. Reed of Missouri, Gronna of North Dakota, T. W. Hardwick of Georgia, L. Y. Sherman of Illinois, T. P. Gore of Oklahoma, J. K. Vardaman

*NOTE.—Reported in N.Y. *Tribune* of Oct. 5.

of Mississippi, and a few others who were either pro-German or to whom the sun rose and set solely for the States which they individually represented.

In the House of Representatives on Sept. 27 J. T. Heflin of Alabama, in dealing with Von Bernstorff's request to Berlin for money to influence Congress, demanded an investigation into the activities of the following members: Senator La Follette and Congressmen W. E. Mason and F. A. Britten, Illinois, P. D. Norton and J. M. Baer, North Dakota. Nothing came of it however. Claude Kitchin, a leader of this House, opposed much of the War legislation and was an avowed Pacifist; Champ Clark of Canadian annexation-reciprocity fame was a vigorous opponent of the Draft policy and James R. Mann, a Republican candidate for Speaker, was a strong Pacifist; the only woman member, Miss Rankin, was regarded as an ally of the most sentimental and strenuous peace-advocates. Outside Congress W. H. Thompson, Mayor of Chicago, was a vigorous leader of this school of thought and made himself conspicuous by refusing to invite Marshal Joffre and Mr. Balfour to his City. All kinds of protests poured in upon him and all sorts of action were taken by public bodies, but he had a large German-foreign electorate and did not seem to care. His organ, *The Republican*, was bitterly anti-war—"Peace crucified on the altar of commercialism" being one of its phrases.

New York's Mayoralty contest in 1917 was fought between Pacificism, said to be represented by the Irish Tammany candidate, Judge J. F. Hylan, who was also supported by W. R. Hearst; Morris Hillquit, the Socialist and alleged pro-German candidate, and Mayor Mitchel. Mr. Hylan, who was ultimately elected, was charged with being an Hon. Vice-President of the disloyal "Friends of Peace" organization and on the Board of a subsidiary Printers' Association, of which two Germans—Schwartzer and Weismann—were the chief officers; an advertisement appeared in German, signed by Germans in New York which declared him "the only non-German official in Brooklyn who had a good word for the German cause." He denied pro-Germanism and after his election, by the biggest plurality ever accorded in New York, declared himself back of the President in his War policy. Mr. Hillquit, who received 142,178 votes to Mr. Hylan's 149,307, had the strong Socialist support with that of all the elements crowding under its red flag. He emphatically stood for peace, or as he put it on Sept. 23: "Not warfare and terrorism, but socialism and social justice will make the world safe for democracy." He had the support of the extreme Irish organizations and stood for "a democratic revolution in Ireland"; while "we want Peace, we are opposed to War," was the strident note of his campaign. Mayor Mitchel described him on Oct. 1 as the "avowed Socialist and Pacifist, avowed opponent of military service and of this War."

Standing out all through this period as an opponent of friendly relations with the British Allies, or of conflict with Germany, was Wm. Randolph Hearst and his string of newspapers. To him La Follette was "the conscience of America"; to him and his

press Mayor Mitchel and his candidacy owed, in part, their defeat; to him Bolo Pasha was introduced and he attended a dinner given by that German agent when in New York; of him and his papers the German press at the outbreak of the War spoke highly and the Caillaux press in France at a latter date warmly; for his European press-cable agencies both the British and French Governments sought suppression on the ground of inaccurate and padded, anti-Ally and pro-German material. According to the New York *Tribune*, in its "Who's Who Against America," Mr. Hearst had three general principles in this anti-war campaign: "The 1st was to advocate peace proposals on Germany's terms; the 2nd to magnify, if not actually glorify, Germany's virtues and formidable powers and incidentally, to instil distrust of the Allies; the 3rd was to hamstring war measures necessary for the United States."

On the entry of the United States there was in the Hearst papers some *camouflage* as to the great things which America must do; afterwards pessimism was an abounding product—the War to last 7 or 10 years and the result to be a draw and so on. The Hearst correspondent in Germany, Wm. Bayard Hale, was described in German despatches, which were caught and published, as a friend of their cause; his correspondence in the New York *American* certainly was as pro-German as could be desired. During 1917 Mr. Hearst obtained control of the Washington *Times* and it at once became a Peace organ. Speaking of him on Nov. 2, 1917, James M. Beck referred in New York to his ownership of 17 newspapers and magazines in Boston, New York, Atlanta, Chicago, San Francisco and Los Angeles with a daily audience of 5,000,000 people and added: "It is thus within Mr. Hearst's power to convey to these millions the subtle poison of insidiously disloyal utterances, and it may be said without exaggeration that the greatest menace to the part which America is destined to play in the struggle, comes from the Hearst press."

The Irish element was to a considerable extent Pacifist—so far as this War was concerned. J. A. O'Leary was the most conspicuous of the extremists and was President of the American Truth Society—composed of a number of organizations originally formed to resist the celebration of 100 years of peace between Britain and the States and to foster interest in German development. He was mentioned as trustworthy in one of the secret German documents made public by the Government and he published a paper called *Bull* which proclaimed that the United States was conducting an unjust war as "the vassal of England," that an early peace must be made, that anything must be done to avoid a hideous American partnership with a bankrupt and disintegrated British Empire.

In the private papers of the New York *Staats-Zeitung* the authorities found a letter in which O'Leary urged Herman Ridder to oppose the War and put more "punch" into his editorials. Associated with O'Leary were Judge Daniel Cohalan, John Devoy of the *Gaelic-American*, Viereck, Braun and other Germans, whom Washington indicted publicly as working for the German cause; with him, also, were the Friends of Irish Freedom who filled New York

streets and parks for a while with anti-war orators. On the other hand a large section of Irish-Americans were conspicuous in their loyalty when war was once declared—President John Whalen of the American Federation of Catholic Societies, for instance, stating on Aug. 27 that "whether the struggle be long or short we pledge the undeviating loyalty to our country of 3,000,000 Catholic men and women"; Cardinal Gibbons was an outstanding opponent of Pacificism as a principle and of war as a practice, while urging "an abiding faith in the wisdom and judgment of the President."

There were many Pacifist organizations at this time in the States but the older ones, based upon real principle and not sedition or Socialism, were more or less quiet in face of the great issue—as, for instance, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace which stood behind the President, the International Peace Forum of which men like W. H. Taft, Andrew Carnegie, etc., were officers, the American Peace and Arbitration League. Of quite a different character were the League for World Peace, of which David Starr Jordan was a Vice-President, the Women's Peace Party, of which Jane Addams was the leader and Henry Ford a victim, and the German-American Alliance; the American Embargo Conference organized by Von Bernstorff to prevent shipments of Munitions to Great Britain, and which from its German friends in Chicago, Cleveland, Boston, New York, etc., sent in April, 1916, 100,000 telegrams to Congress demanding that the "enormous crime" of war with Germany be not perpetrated; Labour's National Peace Council which had a similar origin and ex-Congressman F. Buchanan, David Lamar, Franz Von Rintelen and other seditionists as the chief officers, and was associated with O'Leary's American Truth Society; the Neutral Conference Committee, another organization of the same nature and the Collegiate League against Militarism with members in 35 colleges and the publication of a Peace journal called *War;* the Anti-Militarism League, and the Committee for Democratic Control headed by Amos Pinchot, pro-German Pacifist, and Max Eastman, Socialist; the American Peace Society of which G. W. Kirchwey was President.

There were three main organizations, however, in 1917 and the most conspicuous was the Emergency Peace Federation founded in New York on Feb. 6 with G. W. Kirchwey as President, G. F. Peabody as Treasurer, and a platform of "Keep America Out of War and Its Intended Consequences," with an immediate programme of sending telegrams, letters and advertisements to all parts of the country urging people to wire their Representatives and Senators to vote against war. Mr. Bryan led its Peace lobby at Washington and a Woman's Committee of the Federation was formed with Mrs. Henry Villard, owner of the N. Y. *Evening Post* and widow of its German founder, as Chairman. On Feb. 24 a Manifesto was issued urging concerted action to influence Congress against war, separate telegrams were sent to Senator Stone, Champ Clark, Claude Kitchin and Vice-President Marshall, supporting "Peace" and emphasizing these points;

1. No declaration of war without an advisory Referendum by the people.
2. Warn the President and Congress against taking any steps which may lead us into virtual belligerency without a declaration of war by Congress.
3. Protest with all your might against the Spy Bill which has passed the Senate by a vote of 60 to 10 and is now before the House. Mention especially clause three, which provides life imprisonment for any one who causes disaffection in army or military forces.

A mass-meeting was held in New York on Mar. 9 with vigorous anti-British and pro-German sentiments expressed. "Do we want to crush Germany?" was received with a roar of "Noes"; the same question as to British sea-power was received with a roar of cheers. A keen campaign was meanwhile urged against the arming of merchantmen and meetings were organized all over the country. A Commission was appointed by the Federation with Dr. Starr Jordan, the Pacifist leader, as Chairman, and L. P. Lochner of Chicago, of German antecedents and Ford Commission fame, as Secretary, to plan "immediate measures for keeping the country out of war and to work for an international peace." The country was placarded with advertisements, signed by Mrs. Villard for the Woman's Committee, describing the horrors of war and adding: "Your men are to be sent into this horrible butchery—your husbands, your fathers, your sons. We have no real cause for War." $200,000 was also asked for with the concluding message: "Mothers, save your sons! Daughters, save your Fathers!" Money came in and the Pacifists advanced on Washington with all the personal and political pressure they could bring to bear.

Following this and the declaration of war the People's Council of America for Democracy and Peace came to the front—not in Europe—as a merger of the above and other Societies. It apparently had plenty of means, its offices in New York, etc., were imposing, its pamphlets urged amongst other things "an early, general and democratic peace, to be secured through negotiation and in harmony with the principles outlined by the new Russia." They denounced the alleged abrogation of United States rights of free speech, free press and free assembly, and undertook to flood the country with propaganda organized by J. D. Cannon, a labour leader, A. W. Ricker, a magazine writer, J. D. Maurer, a labour agitator, and Prof. L. M. Keasbey of the University of Texas. David Starr Jordan was Treasurer and L. P. Lochner Executive Secretary; other noted Pacifists on the Committee were Rev. Dr. J. L. Magnes, Morris Hillquit, Max Eastman, Prof. H. W. L. Dana of Columbia University; several were of German names.

A great Peace Conference was announced to be held at Minneapolis on Sept. 1-6 but the Governor of Minnesota decided to prohibit the meeting as hampering the Federal Government in its prosecution of the War and endangering public peace; an invitation came from Governor L. J. Frazier of N. Dakota to meet at Fargo but that city refused to permit anything of the kind; Hudson, in Wisconsin, Milwaukee, and Washington, followed suit and on Aug. 30-31 a thousand Pacifists were wandering in the wilderness trying to find a meeting place. Finally, a gathering was held in Chicago with the State Governor and Mayor Thompson at loggerheads in the matter.

At this time Prof. Scott Nearing of Toledo University took the Chairmanship of the Council and branches were organized wherever possible—some of those in New York having Chairmen with such names as L. P. Goldberg, Dr. I. Kaufman, A. C. Wyman, S. E. Fructer, C. A. Schneider, Oscar Alter, etc. The Cincinnati branch was organized by Colon Schett and D. Kiefer, local pro-Germans, with Rothenberg of Cleveland as the chief speaker. Their literature teemed with such statements as this: "The savage orgy has dragged itself over three of the blackest years that modern history records. . . . Sooner or later we must begin the process of stopping this war. Why not now?" How this was to be done was unimportant, apparently; the main thing was to create disaffection, pessimism, division, weakness, amongst American people. A weekly journal commenced issue by the Council on Oct. 10 with extreme Pacificism as its principle and denunciation of everybody and everything except themselves and their own views. A membership at this time of 1,500,000 was claimed with branches in 75 cities.

A third organization of this kind was the American Union against Militarism; with its subsidiary American Legal Defence League intended to defend and help supporters who were arrested or who defied the Draft, etc. Its Publicity Bureau in February started a post-card canvass of 100,000 people, asking them if they thought the States should go to war or if they did not prefer a Referendum —and declaring that "for 2½ years (before entering the War) President Wilson had given the country an inspiring example of patience and thoughtful deliberation." In June—after the War declaration—they published advertisements broadcast over the country opposing private manufacture of munitions and compulsory military training, or service, and demanding a Conference of Neutral Nations to maintain neutral rights! The signers of this document included Jane Addams, Amos Pinchot, Eastman and Maurer, A. A. Berle, and Crystal Eastman. A Civil Liberties Bureau was organized as a centre and defence for conscientious objectors to military service and other affiliated societies were the No-Conscription League and the Federated Union for Democracy while *The Blast*, edited by Alex. Berkman who was in gaol for sedition, and *Mother-Earth* of similar repute, were approved organs.

Meanwhile many lovers of real peace, of honourable national life, had abandoned or altered their Peace affiliations. Men like C. E. Russell, A. L. Benson, John Spargo, broke with German-created and manipulated Socialism; journals such as *The Advocate of Peace* stood by the war-policy of the nation, while many Leagues and organizations of a War and Nation-first character sprang into existence. Incidents of the year which must be mentioned were the fact of 100 newspapers and magazines being under Government investigation in September as either dangerously Socialist, Pacifist, anarchistic or pro-German; the refusal of Geraldine Farrar, in New York on Feb. 11, an admitted pro-German, to sing the National Anthem; the enforced retirement of Dr. Karl Muck, a Prussian, from the Directorship of the Boston Symphony Orchestra, because of a refusal to play "The Star Spangled Banner"; the decision of

the Board of the Metropolitan Opera Co., New York, to ban German songs and release Ober, Kurt, Sembach, Braun and other German singers from their contracts; the strong sentences passed by Judges in different parts of the country upon Pacifists opposing Conscription and the Draft, on the ground of treason.

War Production, Trade, Industry and Finance in 1917.

The wealth of the United States, according to the official estimates of its Census Bureau, was $43,642,000,000 in 1880, $65,037,000,000 in 1890, $88,517,000,000 in 1900, and $187,739,000,000 in 1912. The increase in the last 12 years was $8,000,000,000 a year and John Skelton Williams, Comptroller of the Currency, stated on May 26, 1917, that the increase during 1914-16 was at the rate of $40,000,000,000 per annum or a total increase of $100,000,000,000 in about three years of the World-war. The surplus earnings of the people in this war period were estimated by Mr. Williams at $20,000,000,000 or twice as much as the 1917 call of war to the Republic. Mr. Williams continued as follows: "Much of this accumulated wealth, produced by over 40,000,000 intelligent workers, has been re-invested in mills and factories, in the enlargement and expansion of business enterprises of all kinds, and in loans to foreign countries, while our deposits in banks have increased by billions. It is believed that the investible earnings or profits of the citizens of the United States are now increasing at the rate of $2,000,000,000 every three months."

As to the Banks the total resources of the National and State institutions on May 1, 1917, one month after the American War declaration, were $16,000,000,000 or the greatest ever held, and since July, 1914, the resources of National and State banks together had increased by $8,000,000,000 or more than the total deposits of all the banks of the United Kingdom. According to M. W. Harrison, an official of the American Bankers' Association (N. Y. *Times*, Apr. 15, 1917), the people of the United States could obtain and utilize, if necessary, $75,000,000,000 for war purposes. In its natural resources the production of the United States in 1917 was as follows:

Crop	Acreage	Production	Value on Dec.1
Corn	119,755,000	3,159,494,000	$4,053,672,000
Wheat	45,941,000	650,828,000	1,307,418,000
Oats	43,572,000	1,587,286,000	1,061,427,000
Barley	8,835,000	208,975,000	237,539,000
Potatoes	5,343,000	529,677,000	639,986,000
Hay	69,988,000	94,930,000	1,567,325,000
Tobacco	1,446,000	1,196,451,000	297,442,000
Cotton	33,634,000	10,949,000	1,451,819,000
Fruits		129,382,000	323,079,000
Gold and Silver (1916)			141,543,300
Pig-Iron (1916)			663,478,118
Live-Stock			8,263,524,000

As to Trade the merchandise totals in three calendar War-years, with the annual excess of exports over imports, had been as follows: 1915, $5,333,167,542 and $1,776,074,152; 1916, $7,871,617,266 and $3,089,184,596; 1917, $9,178,000,000 and $3,274,000,000 respectively. The excess imports of gold in 1917 were $166,000,000 compared with $530,000,000 in 1916. The exports of breadstuffs in 1917

totalled $602,241,223 compared with $456,197,826 in 1916; of meat and dairy products $362,415,400 and $281,621,982 respectively; of cotton $575,306,634 and $545,228,684 respectively; of mineral oils $253,027,075 and $201,721,291 respectively. Of course, increased prices and values had a good deal to do with these expanding figures and the London *Times*' financial writer in its October Supplement estimated that such advances during the 1917 fiscal year in wheat, corn, flour, bacon, hams, sugar, mineral oil, brass plates, copper pigs, steel billets, steel rails, structural steel, cotton cloth, and raw cotton accounted for nearly 75 per cent, of the increased value of the total. As to other trade conditions the National Foreign Trade Convention of 1917, at Pittsburg, approved a statement drawn up by J. A. Farrell, Chairman of its Council, which declared that "to meet world competition United States business must be relieved of disadvantages imposed by legislation and be protected by governmental action from possible discrimination in foreign markets." At the same time the United States should "adopt the principle of a flexible or bargaining tariff."

Industry showed great expansion in these War years. The net incomes of the 104 chief American industrial concerns were as follows: 1914, $263,153,892; 1915, $575,045,979; 1916, $1,273,-854,854. When President Wilson on July 11, 1917, intimated that the Allies should not be charged a higher price for War supplies than was paid by the United States Government he gave a decided check to undue profits which was increased by succeeding taxation legislation. In the fiscal year of June 30, 1917, 78% of United States exports consisted of manufactured, or partly manufactured, goods, as against 59% in 1914, before the War. The greatest items were iron and steel products of which the 1914 export was $251,480,-677 and that of 1917 $1,129,341,616; Explosives, which were $6,272,-197 and $802,789,437 respectively; Manufactures of brass, copper, mineral-oil (refined), cotton, chemicals and dyes, motor-cars and leather, totalled $481,000,000 in 1914 and $1,570,000,000 in 1917. Commercial failures in 1917 totalled 13,855 with liabilities of $182,-441,371 (R. G. Dun & Co.) compared with 16,993 and $196,212,256, respectively, in 1916. It may be added that a Tariff Commission was created by President Wilson in March with Prof. F. W. Taussig of Harvard University as Chairman to investigate and report upon the trade and tariff policies of other countries.

It will be seen that the United States had a splendid financial basis upon which to enter the War; there was nothing small or narrow in the expenditures, Loans, undertakings and popular hopes of the months following April; neither the President, Congress nor the people as a whole, showed the least desire to develop their preliminary operations on anything but the largest scale; beside the figures, which soon developed, the $3,478,000,000 of Civil War expenditure in 1860-5 were trivial. Much of what Great Britain had gone through in transforming the economic, political, social and general life of an unarmed and peaceful nation into that of a formidable, armed, combatant Power, was faced in 1917 by the United States. During the year W. G. McAdoo, Secretary of the

Treasury, suggested to Congress and obtained the power of raising $2,000,000,000 by the sale of War-Savings and Thrift Stamps, and issued Treasury certificates to Nov. 1 totalling $3,388,698,000; the gold monetary stock in the United States on Nov. 1, 1917, was $3,041,500,000 or one-third of the world's total.

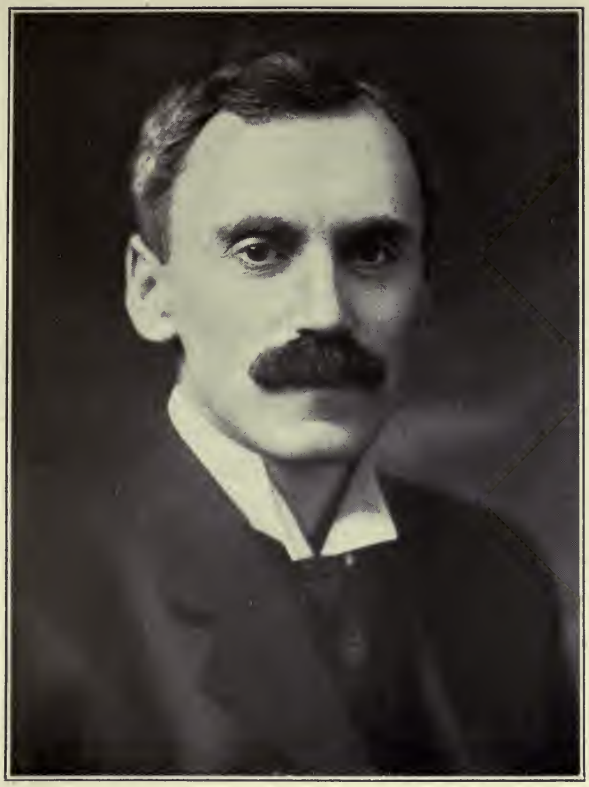
At the close of the year the annual Report submitted by Mr. McAdoo for distinctly War services included in the year ending June 30, 1918, was, for the Army, $8,668,000,000, for the Navy $1,300,000,000, for purchase of obligations of Foreign Governments $6,115,000,000 and for the Shipping Board $901,000,000.* The total of all estimated Receipts (1917-18) including Liberty Loans, was $12,580,732,800, the similar Expenditures $18,775,919,955—including the Loans to Allies. The Estimates for June 30, 1919 (submitted by Mr. McAdoo on Dec. 3) included $6,615,936,553 for the Army, $1,014,077,503 for the Navy, and $3,504,918,055 for Public Works which were practically all fortifications. The total Receipts were put at $5,176,000,000 and Expenditures—exclusive of Allied Loans—at $12,804,034,440. The actual National Debt on Dec. 31, 1917, however, was only $5,615,000,000. To meet these heavy calls (about $36,000,000,000 for two years of War) new taxation and large borrowings were necessary. The War-tax Revenue Bill, as it finally passed both Houses on Oct. 2, was expected to produce $2,534,000,000 of revenue and included the following estimated returns:

Income Tax.....	$ 851,000,000	Transportation.....	$145,000,000
Excess Profits Tax.....	1,000,000,000	Automobiles.....	40,000,000
	Wines and Spirits.....	$193,000,000	

Under the Income Tax returns of 1917 there were recorded over 22,000 millionaires, and of these about 3,700 were multi-millionaires.† Meanwhile the Banking system held an important place in financial War-work. The National Banks were increasing largely in numbers and wideness of distribution and on June 30, 1916, their capital, surplus, and profits, deposits and circulation, totalled $29,358,000,000 or an increase of 15% over 1915. Their lack of cohesion and organized efficiency was, however, a serious matter to which Mr. McAdoo, in his Annual Report for 1917, drew explicit attention as an element of national weakness. He urged them to join the Federal Reserve system and thus consolidate their strength. This system, organized on Nov. 16, 1914, was tested by the War and financial strain and under it the 12 Reserve Banks had increased their Assets from $943,410,000 on Nov. 17, 1916, to $3,012,406,000 on Nov. 16, 1917, with gold holdings of $1,584,328,000. Practically, it formed a Government Bank and acted as banker for the National and State institutions, while the Board in control of the combined operations had a powerful influence upon the general banking policy. As the total resources of United States Banks in May, 1917, was $35,000,000,000 this fact meant much in a financial sense. A statement of the Board on Nov. 28, 1916, had produced a serious effect on Bank investments in Foreign

*NOTE.—U.S. *Official Bulletin*, Dec. 5, 1917.

†NOTE.—Report of Commissioner of Inland Revenue.



The Hon. Newton W. Rowell, K.C., M.P.,
President of the King's Privy Council for Canada.



Maj.-Gen. The Hon. S. C. Mewburn, M.P.,
Minister of Militia and Defence.

The Union Government of 1917.

securities and this, on Apr. 1, 1917, was reversed as follows: "Since that date the country's gold reserve has been further materially strengthened and supplies a broad basis for additional credit. The Board considers that Banks may, with advantage, invest a reasonable amount of their resources in foreign securities."

In May the Government issued its first War Loan for $2,000,000,000 at 3½% and the public (4,000,000 of them) promptly subscribed $3,035,226,850, though only the original sum was allotted. On Oct. 1 a new Liberty Loan issue was offered of $3,000,000,000, 4% convertible gold bonds, due Nov. 15, 1942. Mr. McAdoo announced that the money was wanted for military and naval equipment, payment of soldiers and sailors, construction of a great fleet of merchant vessels and creation of a large fleet of aeroplanes. Eventually, on Nov. 8, he was able to announce that $4,617,532,300 had been subscribed by 9,400,000 persons and institutions; 50% of the over-subscription was allotted.

Message to Canada from the U.S. Secretary for War

3rd Anniversary of the War

August 4, 1917

Our hearts go out to Canada to-day, when the great Dominion is entering on her fourth year of the battle against German autocracy. I cannot speak excepting for my own Department, but with Canada we face a common foe with ten millions of our men registered under a plan for selective draft, with our regular army trebled and our National Guard more than doubled through enlistments, or a united force of half a million men, with an aircraft programme of great proportions in process of realization; with weapons ranging from small arms to the heaviest artillery in hurried manufacture; with great camps through the country beginning to turn out their thousands of intensively trained officers for the new troops; with huge cantonments being rushed to completion for the housing of half a million men called into action under the selective draft; with special forces such as engineers, forestry men and aviators being despatched to the side of the Canadians now so bravely working in France and Belgium.

It is not for me to fix a value on what we are accomplishing or how much sooner our efforts will enable our Allies to bring to its successful end this horrible war, with its sufferings and burdens which have been so keenly felt by our neighbours across the Lakes; but this we know, that our common effort will do much to strengthen the friendly relations which have existed always between the people of Canada and the United States.

Newton D. Baker

The Governor-General in Public Affairs and the War.

H. E. The Duke of Devonshire did not, of course, touch the military side of Canadian life and the War as his Royal predecessor had done, but he and the Duchess during 1917 took effective interest in all public matters associated with the War and Imperial interests in Canada. At the beginning of the year the Governor-General was in Toronto and on Jan. 22 inaugurated the Patriotic Fund Campaign at a Massey Hall meeting—the first large public gathering he had addressed in Canada. During his speech the Duke said: "I would also like to add that the King takes a great and, indeed, the liveliest interest in the work this Fund is doing. He knows all of the great work Canada has done." In conclusion he declared that when the War was brought to a successful conclusion "it will be our business to see that the British Empire shall be the greatest instrument for maintaining peace the world has ever seen."

During this visit His Excellency received the Hon. degree of LL.D. at the University of Toronto; inspected the Housing scheme of G. Frank Beer and his associates, and accepted an Address presented by Mr. Beer; visited the Spadina Military Hospital and College Street Convalescent Home; inspected the new Connaught Laboratories associated with Toronto University and the generosity of Col. A. E. Gooderham. At Montreal on Feb. 9 the Duke helped to launch the local Patriotic Fund at a crowded luncheon of the Canadian Club and by addressing an afternoon meeting of the Women's Canadian Club and an evening mass-meeting in the Monument National. Sir Herbert Ames, at the latter meeting, stated that $18,000,000 had been contributed by the people and $12,000,000 more was required. Victor Morin, President of St. Jean Baptiste Society, was in the chair and Archbishop Bruchési was one of the speakers. An Address was presented to the Duke who replied in French and congratulated the Society upon its work in this connection and urged that all its force and energy be utilized to uphold in the War the time-honoured rights and privileges secured to Canadians by the bravery and sacrifice of their fathers.

To the meeting of women was proclaimed the fact that Great Britain would never have asked the aid of the Dominions if it had not first been generously offered and the further fact that at the time of speaking the British Empire, in numbers of men, manufacture of munitions and warlike supplies, supply of money, and almost complete control of the sea was "the greatest war machine ever created." On Feb. 22-25 the Duke and Duchess and Ladies Maud and Blanche Cavendish were again in Toronto, when the Duke first attended a meeting of the Red Cross Society and heard reports of much work done from Col. Noel Marshall, Col. G. A. Sweny and Brig.-Gen. the Hon. James Mason. Visits followed to

the soldiers at Exhibition Camp, to Loretto Abbey and St. Joseph's College, to several important War industries and to Upper Canada College, with a Dinner at the Speakers' Patriotic League. The Duchess visited the Toronto General Hospital. Winnipeg was then visited by Their Excellencies and the chief items of their round of public duties in the succeeding months of the year may be briefly summarized as follows:

PLACE	DATE	SPECIAL FUNCTIONS
Winnipeg	Feb. 28-Mar. 7	Visit to Children's Hospital.
"	"	Visit to Agricultural College and C.P.R. Shops.
"	"	Visit to I.O.D.E. Convalescent Home.
"	"	Address to Women's Canadian Club and Grain Exchange Visit.
"	"	Visit to the General, Grace and St. Boniface Hospitals.
"	"	Legislative and Civic Addresses and Government House Reception.
"	"	Receipt of Hon. LL.D. from University.
"	"	Presented V.C. to Father of late Leo Clarke.
"	"	Inspection of Schools and Visit to Red Cross Offices.
"	"	Y.M.C.A. Banquet.
"	"	Review of Troops and Boy Scouts.
Brandon	March 6	Opening of Winter Fair and Address to Canadian Club.
Ottawa	April 10	Opening of the 4th International Roads Congress.
Hamilton	May 19-21	Visit to Red Cross and other Patriotic Headquarters.
"	"	Opening of Mountain Hospital and Public Reception.
"	"	Visit to Mountain Sanitarium and Collegiate Institute.
"	"	Attending Civic Dinner and Address to Canadian Club.
"	May 22	Visit to Niagara Falls.
Quebec	June 13-30	In residence and Fishing trip to Magdalen Islands.
Ottawa	Aug. 9	Conference of Political leaders at Government House.
Toronto	Aug. 28	Signing of Military Service Bill.
Whitby	Aug. 31	Opening of Military Hospital.
Cobalt	Sept. 24	Reception by Mayor and Citizens.
"	"	Visit to Crown Reserve Mines, etc.
Haileybury	Sept. 25	Civic Reception and Welcome.
Timmins	Sept. 26	Visit to Hollinger Gold Mines.
Kapuskasing	Sept. 27	Inspection of Internment Camp for Alien Enemies.
Sudbury	Oct. 1-2	Civic Welcome and Visit to Mond Nickel Co. Works.
"	"	Visits to British-American and Canadian Copper Mines.
Brantford	Oct. 24	Unveiling of Memorial to Alex. Graham Bell.
Toronto	Oct. 25	Visit to Bishop Strachan School.
"	"	Receiving of Navy League Deputation.
"	"	Attended Y.M.C.A. Campaign Fund Dinner.
"	"	Opening of Connaught Laboratories for the University.
Chapleau	Nov. 12	Address to a gathering at the Station.
Edmonton	Nov. 17	Presented War Decorations to Veterans.
"	"	Review of Military Units and acceptance Provincial Address.
Victoria	Nov. 20-26	Accepted Provincial and Civic Addresses.
"	"	Address to Canadian Club and Inspection of Cadet Corps.
"	"	Opening of Fair of the Allies and G.W.V.A. Headquarters.
"	"	Visit to Connaught Seamen's Institute and Esquimalt Sailors' Club and Hospital.
"	"	Inspection of Military Units and Military Hospital.
"	"	Inspection of Royal Jubilee and St. Joseph's Hospitals.
"	"	Attended Provincial Government Reception and Victory Loan Ball.
"	"	Inspected Ship-yards and urged Construction.
"	"	Address at High School.
Nanaimo	Nov. 23	Civic Welcome and Address.
Duncan	Nov. 24	" "
Ladysmith	"	" "
Vancouver	Nov. 26	Accepted Civic Banquet.
"	Nov. 27	Address to the Canadian Club.
"	"	Opened Returned Soldiers' Club.
"	"	Visited Hastings Lumber Plant and Opened Holy Rosary Bazaar.
Calgary	Dec. 1-2	Civic Address and Luncheon.
"	"	Attended Veterans' Concert.
"	"	Visit to Victory Loan headquarters; Review of Boy Scouts and Cadet Corps.
"	"	Attended National Pageant and visited the P. Burns Ranch.
Regina	Dec. 5-8	Visited St. Chad's, East Grey, Military and Regina General Hospitals.
"	"	Received Civic Address and visited Grey Nun's Hospital.
"	"	Addressed Canadian Club and presented Military Decorations.
"	"	Visit to Public, Separate, Normal and Collegiate Schools.
"	"	Inspected Boy Scouts and visited Regina College.
Regina	Dec. 5-8	Received Legislative Address and attended Government Reception.

Place	Date	Special Functions
Winnipeg	Dec. 10	Visited St. Mary's Academy.
"	"	Address to Business and Professional Men.
"	"	Inspected Tuxedo Military Hospital.
"	"	Banquetted by local Patriotic Bodies.
Halifax	Dec. 22	Visit to Devastated Area and Address to Relief Executive.

From Halifax to Victoria, therefore, the Duke's activities had spread and everywhere he left the impression of common sense, patriotic feeling and insight into war conditions. An interesting function of his first year at Ottawa was the marriage of Lady Mary Hamilton, daughter of the Duke and Duchess of Abercorn, to Capt. R. O. R. Kenyon-Slaney, A.D.C., on May 25—said to be the first wedding from historic Rideau Hall; the Duke's visit to Cobalt and the North country was, also, the first one of a Vice-regal character. In June it was announced that the Governor-General had donated 26 bronze medals for competition in the Public and High Schools and Collegiate Institutes of Saskatchewan; on Sept. 15 the Duke, as Patron, and the Duchess as President of the Canadian Red Cross Society, issued an appeal for the British Red Cross funds: "The ever-widening theatre of war involves an ever-increasing call upon the resources of the Red Cross, which depends entirely upon the voluntary offerings of a grateful and generous Empire."

Through a letter to Sir Thomas White His Excellency on Nov. 11 urged support to the Victory Loan in order "to provide funds for Canada's continued, vigorous prosecution of the War and to furnish needed credits whereby the Imperial Government may be enabled to purchase in the Dominion, grain, foodstuffs, munitions and other supplies." A curious incident in connection with the Governor-General's visit to Calgary developed in a formal protest from the local Ministerial Association against his visit to Mr. Pat. Burns' ranch on a Sunday. On Christmas Day there went a Message from His Excellency to the Canadian forces in France of congratulation upon "the ever-increasing lustre" of their deeds, and from the Duchess a contribution of 2,000 boxes of specially-prepared chocolates for the children of unfortunate Halifax. Flowers went also to the Halifax hospitals and on Dec. 31 the Duke, as President, issued his formal appeal for renewed support to the Canadian Patriotic Fund—"for the families of the gallant men who on land and sea are so nobly defending the Empire and maintaining the principles of liberty and justice."

H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught, ex-Governor-General, had not forgotten Canada in 1917 and took a continuous interest in Canadian troops, hospitals, institutions and interests abroad. On Jan. 23 he visited Shorncliffe Camp and inspected the forces in training, visited the Canadian Military Hospital at Beachborough and paid special tribute to the work of the Y.M.C.A., for which he opened a new Hut. The Duchess of Connaught died on Mar. 14 and various tributes were paid to her memory in Canada with kindly recollections of her personality and work. The funeral took place on the 19th with the Dominion represented by Sir Robert Borden, Sir George and Lady Perley, and others; a Memorial Service was also held at Westminster Abbey with other services in Toronto, Ottawa and various Canadian centres.

In Parliament at Ottawa (Apr. 19) Sir George Foster referred to Her Royal Highness as having taken part in Canadian social and war and charitable interests "unobtrusively, kindly and effectively"; while Sir Wilfrid Laurier paid tribute to activities carried on in spite of ill-health and to the trouble caused by war between her own country and the adopted Empire to which she had been so loyal. Similar words were spoken in various Provincial Legislatures. During the year the Duke was appointed Inspector-General of Oversea Troops and inspected Canadians throughout the United Kingdom as well as at the Front; while the Princess Patricia visited, frequently, the Ontario Military Hospital at Orpington where she taught Needlework to wounded soldiers and became, also, Patroness of the Canadian War Contingent Association in London. Another former Governor-General of Canada passed away on Aug. 29 in the person of Earl Grey. His services to the Empire had been considerable and his patriotism pronounced; memorial services were held at Westminster Abbey, in Ottawa and at Salisbury, Rhodesia.

The Premier and the War: Sir Robert Borden in England and in Parliament.

While the Duke of Devonshire represented the King in Canada, Sir Robert Borden was, for part of 1917, representing Canada at the heart of the Empire, sitting in the Councils of Great Britain and contributing Canadian personal judgment and official co-operation in the conduct of the War. The general proceedings and results of the Imperial War Conference and the Imperial Cabinet meetings have been considered elsewhere;* the personal influence and opinions of the Canadian Premier have here to be dealt with. At Ottawa on Jan. 22 the Speech from the Throne referred as follows to the matter: "The Government of the United Kingdom have invited the First Ministers of the Dominions to attend a series of special and continuous meetings of the War Cabinet (of which for this purpose they will be members) to consider urgent questions affecting the prosecution of the War, the possible conditions in which the Allied Nations could assent to its termination, and the problems which would then immediately arise. This invitation has been accepted on behalf of Canada."

Sir Wilfrid Laurier intimated an Opposition willingness to facilitate business and make the Premier's absence possible; though he did not quite see how the Prime Minister of Canada—not being a member of the British Parliament—could sit in the Imperial Cabinet. He did not raise objections, however, and Mr. Lloyd George had simply put all questions of precedent and practice to one side. The Empire, like the War, was making its own precedents and Sir Robert Borden, in following, drew attention to the fact that he had sat in the British Cabinet during 1915 and Mr. Hughes of Australia in 1916. As to the views to be presented for Canada he was explicit: "I can give the Conference this firm assurance: that the people of this country are united in their determination to throw all their efforts into the War, and to bring it to that con-

*—See Page 206 of this volume.

clusion which alone can bring about a lasting peace. As to the conditions of peace I think the people of this country will be satisfied to abide by the conclusion which has already been announced by the British Government—that peace will only be granted upon the condition of reparation for the past and guarantees for the future."

On Feb. 12 the Premier and his Canadian colleagues—Hon. Robert Rogers and Hon. Douglas Hazen—left Ottawa and arrived safely in London on the 23rd, despite the fact that Germany had shortly before commenced the more ruthless phase of its Submarine campaign. To the press on this date he issued a statement that Canada had sent 300,000 men across the seas, given 300,000 workers to Canadian munitions, borrowed $300,000,000 within the Dominion for war purposes, and contributed $60,000,000 by voluntary gift. He described the summoning of the War Conference as "a memorable event in the development of a world-wide Commonwealth, as opening a new chapter in its history, and challenging the imagination as to even greater events which that chapter shall record." On the same day Sir Robert accompanied the Colonial Secretary to the House of Commons where he heard Mr. Lloyd George make his speech on Import prohibitions; lunched with the Duke and Duchess of Connaught and on the following day was received by H.M. the King. On Feb. 26-28 he held consultations with the Colonial Secretary and the Committee of Imperial Defence, discussed demobilization problems with Sir George Perley, who also entertained the Canadian Ministers at dinner to meet the Duke of Connaught and Mr. Lloyd George, and had an interview on Naval matters with Admiral Sir John Jellicoe. Meanwhile the Premier and his colleagues were flooded with offers of hospitality and social kindness but Sir Robert announced on the 27th that they were in England on urgent business and had placed themselves, as to time, in the hands of the British Ministers.

There was delay in the actual meeting of the Conference owing to Australian difficulties and, after transacting much preliminary business Sir Robert, with Messrs. Hazen and Rogers, passed over to France, and visited the Canadian front. It was the Premier's first experience since 1915 when the Canadian troops were holding Ypres under historic conditions. On Mar. 9 a portion of the troops marched past in review and, later, the Canadian Premier and his party—including Prince Arthur of Connaught—visited a part of the Front from which they had a view of the German lines and obtained a general idea of the configuration of the ground held by the Canadians. Of these and other incidents Stewart Lyon, the Canadian correspondent, stated on Mar. 10 that: "Sir Robert was deeply stirred by the sights of the day. He had seen many thousands of men inured to the life in the trenches, hardened veterans, while yet lads or young men. He had bidden a Nova Scotia Battalion, of which he is Hon. Colonel, God-speed. He had observed Battalion practice in which great attacking waves were being sent against the trenches, with other evidence of the evolution of the weapons of destruction."

British headquarters were visited and the Premier was cordially received by F.-M. Sir Douglas Haig; so with the French headquarters and General Nivelle. At the suggestion of Sir Douglas Haig the Somme region was inspected and the Canadian Premier saw Courcelette and stood upon the churned-up ruins of Thiepval; he saw Vimy Ridge and the four Divisions which were about to take it and from Mont St. Eloi watched preparations for the coming attack; several Canadian Hospitals also were inspected and various tributes received as to the gallantry of the Canadian troops, the effective work of the Railway Construction and Forestry Corps, the work of the Medical Staff. On Mar. 13 Sir Robert was back in London and told the press that he found the spirit, physique and training of the Canadian forces all that could be desired and was proud to learn that in the fighting which resulted in the splendid gains of recent months, the Canadians had taken their full share and borne themselves worthily. In a cable to the Canadian Minister of Militia the Premier used similar terms and stated that there were 130,000 Canadians in France: "We are entering upon the most critical period of the War, and I voice the feeling at the Front when I appeal to Canadians to support with the most earnest efforts the proposals which you are putting forward to partially mobilize the active militia of Canada. Splendid response to these proposals is vitally necessary in order that the full strength of our Dominion, in co-operation with the whole Empire, shall be thrown into the struggle with the least possible delay." On the 14th a visit was paid to the forces training at Shorncliffe and to the Canadian Hospitals in that area.

On Mar. 21 the first Imperial War Conference and the first Imperial War Cabinet began their Sessions and, until Apr. 27, the sittings were held at various dates but usually on alternate days. The duties of the Delegates were more, of course, than attendance at formal meetings. There was much necessary preparation, a mass of documents dealing with important subjects had to be considered, and many consultations held with officials and Departments apart from the actual sittings of Cabinet or Conference. There, also, were various functions of a public character. On Apr. 2 Sir Robert Borden and Lieut.-Gen. J. C. Smuts were the chief guests at a luncheon at the House of Commons given by the Empire Parliamentary Association. Mr. Walter Long, Secretary for the Colonies, presided, and among those present were Mr. Balfour, the Lord Chancellor, Lord Milner, Lord Harcourt and General Sir William Robertson. Sir Robert Borden in speaking said: "Little more than 20 months have elapsed since I last addressed you. We had some realization, but hardly an adequate conception even then, of the tremendous task which still lay before us in this war. In these Islands you have risen splendidly to the need; we of the Dominions have striven also to do our part. I then reminded you that 350,000 men had joined the colours in the Oversea nations. To-day I can tell you that not fewer than 1,000,000 men in those Dominions have taken up arms for the Empire." Of the Conference he spoke as "taking counsel with you of the Motherland upon the

needs of the situation so as better to co-ordinate our common effort and consummate our common purpose." Of the Imperial Cabinet he spoke clearly:

> The Imperial War Cabinet as constituted to-day has been summoned for definite and specific purposes, publicly stated, which involve questions of the most vital concern to the whole Empire. With the constitution of that Cabinet a new era has dawned and a new page of history has been written. It is not for me to prophesy as to the future significance of these pregnant events; but those who have given thought and energy to every effort for full Constitutional development of the Oversea nations may be pardoned for believing that they discern therein the birth of a new and greater Imperial Commonwealth.

General Smuts also spoke at length along similar lines and the press of Apr. 3 dealt with the two speeches as very significant while *The Times* urged an Imperial Constitutional Convention after the War. On the 4th the Canadian Premier attended at the Guildhall to receive a new Mace proffered by Sir Charles Wakefield when Lord Mayor of London, and following the Ottawa fire of 1916. Sir George Touche and Sir Samuel Shead, ex-Sheriffs of London, shared in the gift. There was a representative audience and Sir Charles, in making the presentation, stated that the general design of the Mace was similar to that used in the British House of Commons, and that in it there had been incorporated a portion of the original which had been rescued from the fire. Sir Robert Borden, in acknowledging the gift, said it would be, indeed, an emblem of that tie which bound the Mother Country and the Overseas Dominions in a union, the strength of which had been amply demonstrated during the past three years of war: "We in Canada have taken part in this war for the Empire because we are one of the nations of the Empire; because the existence of the Empire was and is threatened; because its ideals and its liberties were endangered."

On Apr. 6-7 the Premier visited the Canadian Hospitals at Orpington and Epsom—the latter one of the largest of its kind, where many Australians and New Zealanders, as well as Canadians, had been treated; on the 9th he inspected Bramshott and Whitley Camps, reviewed the troops and decorated some of the veterans, and on the 10th was at Edinburgh where, with the Maharajah of Bikaner and General Smuts, he received the Freedom of the City. In speaking Sir Robert paid special tribute to General Smuts as being, with General Botha, a great asset of the Empire: "We come from different Dominions. We have sprung from different but kindred races. We have grown up under widely different conditions. Is there not some evidence that our Empire rests on broad foundations when I find that his conception and my own, as to the course and method of future constitutional relations and development, are substantially the same?" The week-end of Apr. 7 was spent with Lord and Lady Midleton in Surrey; on that of Apr. 14-15 Sir Robert Borden, with General Smuts, the Premiers of Newfoundland and New Zealand and the Archbishop of York, were guests of the King and Queen at Windsor Castle.

On the 18th the Premier attended the annual meeting of the Canadian War Contingent Association and paid high tribute to the

Beachborough Hospital so largely supported by that Association. On the 21st he received the Freedom of Manchester and, after dealing with Empire topics and future conditions under which "the industries of Germany will be supported and developed by a more thorough, powerful State organization than has ever been known," he turned to the United States and said: "I have spoken of the responsibilities of our Empire; let me emphasize, even more strongly, the joint responsibility of the American Republic and the British Commonwealth. Inspired by the same ideals, united in a common purpose and acting in unselfish and loyal co-operation they possess a power, both moral and material, which can command the peace of the world." During the week-end of Apr. 21 Sir Robert visited the Canadian wounded from Vimy at the Epsom and Cliveden Hospitals and had a cheering word for large numbers of the 800 patients whom he saw. On the 24th Conference business and long interviews with the Premier, Colonial Secretary and the President of the Board of Agriculture illustrated the character of his crowded days.

A luncheon of the Empire Press Union (Apr. 25) with Lord Burnham in the chair evoked a speech from the Canadian Premier in which he said: "I am not at all confident that the Empire has yet realized itself, or that Britain, which represents it, has realized herself. I do not conceal from you my view that the constitutional development of the Empire will proceed along the path of equal nationhood and equal status, united by a tie of common and devoted allegiance to the same Crown." As to the War "the people of Canada would regard their sacrifices in vain unless it were brought to such a conclusion as will insure peace in the world for generations to come." To the convalescent officers in the Perkins Bull Hospital Sir Robert gave an address on May 1 and referred to the almost unnoticed and revolutionary change that was taking place in the government of the Empire through the creation of the Imperial War Cabinet and Conference.

It may be added that, in addition to other work recorded, the Premier visited Shoreham, Crowborough and Hastings Camps, that of Forestry at Windsor Park, and Canadian hospitals at Folkestone, Shorncliffe, Taplow, Brighton, Eastbourne, Roehampton, Edinburgh and Manchester. Before leaving Great Britain, at the close of the War business for which he and his colleagues had come over, Sir Robert took formal action of two kinds. He wrote the British Premier on Apr. 30, declaring that the "deliberations in which we have taken part have made us realize more fully the vastness and complexity of the problems involved" and referring to the summoning of the Imperial War Cabinet as follows: "A notable advance in the development of constitutional relations, and I am confident that the usage thus initiated will gradually but surely develop into a recognized convention." Mr. Lloyd George replied on May 2 that it had been "of immense advantage to bring to bear upon the vital problems of war and peace, fresh minds and fresh angles of vision from the Overseas Dominions," and he hoped, also, that the experiment would prove "a permanent convention

of our constitution." In the second place Sir Robert issued a public statement (May 9) in which he dealt with the purposes and achievements of these weeks:

> The importance of the step taken has hardly been realized. For the first time in our history representatives of all the self-governing nations of the Empire sat around the Council board tendering advice to the Crown upon matters of common Imperial concern. That such a development was possible was due to three considerations: (1) Stress of great events brushed aside precedent; (2) the flexibility of British conditions and the British practical instinct for meeting a need as it arises; (3) the great power and authority with which the Prime Minister is invested under the British constitution.

On May 14 the Premier arrived at Quebec with his colleagues and told the press that: "The summoning of the Imperial War Cabinet is regarded as an event of the highest significance and there is reason to anticipate that the practice thus established will develop into recognized usage." To Parliament on May 18 he submitted a detailed and elaborate report upon the public issues of this visit. The Imperial War Cabinet was reviewed constitutionally and Sir Robert pointed out one important development which had sprung up as a necessity and without design: "On days when the Imperial War Cabinet did not sit the War did not wait; therefore it was necessary that the British Cabinet itself should sit on those days to deal with questions arising out of the War. This result, therefore very early obtained: that the Imperial War Cabinet was differentiated from the British War Cabinet; that the Imperial War Cabinet sat for the purpose of dealing with matters of common concern to the whole Empire, and the British War Cabinet sat for the purpose of dealing with those matters which chiefly concerned the United Kingdom. There were, for the first time in London, two Cabinets advising the Crown."

> This practice and the ideal back of it so impressed itself upon the people of the United Kingdom, and upon their statesmen, that at the very last meeting of the Imperial War Cabinet a definite offer was made to the Overseas Dominions that this experiment should be continued in the future; that it should develop into a usage and into a convention; and that annually at least, and, if necessity should arise, oftener, there should assemble in London an Imperial Cabinet to deal with matters of common concern to the Empire. . . . The future of this proposal will be a Cabinet of Governments rather than of Ministers. Having regard to the declarations of the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and his colleagues, the proposal will carry with it much of advantage to the Overseas Dominions. I say that for this reason: It is not proposed that the Government of the United Kingdom shall, in foreign affairs, act first and consult us afterwards. The principle has been definitely and finally laid down that in these matters the Dominions shall be consulted before the Empire is committed to any policy which might involve the issues of peace or war.

As to the rest Sir Robert declared that the experience of sitting in this Empire Cabinet had given a clearer and wider view of war conditions, duties and responsibilities than would have been otherwise possible: "The day I examined the correspondence of the War Cabinet, I suppose there were at least 200 telegrams dealing with every conceivable subject, with matters arising in almost every country, neutral, allied, or enemy, in the world." He quoted the Resolutions moved at the War Conference and recorded elsewhere, and stated that the Special Imperial Conference to be called after

the War "for considering constitutional readjustment" should include representatives of the recognized political parties in all the Dominions of the Empire. The Premier then dealt with the development of Empire resources, declared that before the War "Germany had a better knowledge and conception of the natural resources of the Dominions of this Empire than was to be found in the United Kingdom," and urged better and cheaper facilities of communication as an essential element in development. He declined to urge a change of Fiscal policy upon the people of Great Britain. As to Naval Defence "it will be necessary for the United Kingdom and the Overseas Dominions to take up the question in co-operation and with a view to concerted action" and for this purpose the Admiralty would prepare, after the War, a scheme for consideration.

During the Parliamentary Session the Premier took his usual position of careful leadership and courteous conduct of controversial affairs and, in the main, dealt with the larger issues of war administration. On Feb. 1 he introduced the Resolutions for a $500,000,000 National War Loan and stated the War expenditure to date as $448,850,053; on the 2nd he replied to F. B. Carvell and dealt at length with the Ross Rifle question. He referred to the fact that the rifle was good in some respects and inferior in others but that supplies in 1914-15 were badly needed with a year required in which to change a factory from one kind to another and, in this case, a year's notice, also, in which to abrogate the contract with the Company; that defective ammunition had something to do with the original trouble while the fault of jamming was not confined to the Ross alone; that no one at first thought of trench warfare as a permanent thing and that this had proved the most trying test to which the rifle could be put; that changes in construction were made in accordance with British advice and that when the troops lost confidence in the rifle it was withdrawn and the Lee-Enfield substituted. His summary was as follows: "The rifle had been approved by the late Government in the form in which we found it when war broke out. The Minister of Militia believed it to be a good rifle. We had no evidence before us that it was not a good rifle until experience in actual warfare, under conditions of the utmost severity, demonstrated, in the opinion of the military authorities at the Front, that it ought to be put aside and the Lee-Enfield substituted for it. They made that suggestion to us, and we acquiesced in it."

The question of Demobilization was discussed on Feb. 5 and the Medical Service in England and Dr. Bruce's report on the 6th. After the Premier's return from Great Britain the question of Woman Suffrage was brought up, on May 16, and Sir Robert expressed the view (1) that it should not be granted because of women's war services but when given it should be done as a fundamental right; that (2) there was an irresistible impulse in democratic countries to recognize this right and that the time was coming for it to be given in "all the Parliaments of the nation and the Empire"; that (3) in the words of his amendment to a Resolution presented

by D. Sutherland, declaring that the question should engage the attention of the Government at the present session, it should rather "engage the attention of Parliament before an appeal to the people is made."* The Military Service Act was presented by the Premier on June 11 and will be dealt with separately; so with the Extension of Parliament Bill moved as an Address to the King on July 17. Speaking on Aug. 14 to the 2nd reading of the Bill for acquisition of the Canadian Northern Railway, he said:

> I do not for one moment repudiate the responsibility which the present Administration has in this matter. We had before us just two alternatives: One was to let these roads go to the wall, to injure the credit of this country beyond measure, to bring about grave detriment to the public interest, to discourage the public sentiment of Canada, to make it appear to the world that all this development in this country rested on no sure foundation, and to put Canada back a quarter of a century. That was one alternative. The other alternative was to go forward. I believe that the proposals which we now submit to Parliament are thoroughly in the interest of the people of this country, and that, in the years to come, when that assured development which awaits Canada shall have had its fulfilment, the C.N.R. system, acquired by the people of Canada under these proposals, will be one of the greatest assets in the ownership of our people.

On Aug. 29 he continued the discussion of this question and of three alternatives—liquidation, acquisition by the C.P.R., or by the Government of Canada—stood firmly for the latter. In dealing with the argument as to taking over the physical assets and not the balance of the common stock he was emphatic. Under the latter method the credit of the country was maintained, justice secured to the Company through a recognized tribunal, the corporate entity, organization, efficiency and service of the Railway not interfered with. The following important statement was made: "I am convinced it will be necessary for the Railway companies and the Government to get together in the immediate future, and establish a system of co-operative management of all the railways in Canada. . . . There has been effective and efficient co-operative management of railways in England; we can surely carry out something of the same kind in this country. One result would be that we would save every year $15,000,000 or $20,000,000 in the operation of these roads." The Premier dealt with the War-Time Elections Act on Sept. 10. In all these and other speeches clear thinking and debating skill of the most approved Parliamentary kind were shown; Sir Robert maintained in fact his undisputed leadership of the House.

National Finance and Sir Thomas White; War Loans and Taxation.

The financial administration of affairs continued during 1917 to be a pivot upon which national action turned and the personality and policy of Sir Thomas White remained high in public esteem—despite the difficulty of pleasing everyone in days of high taxation and higher expenditures. In one respect the Minister had a satisfactory basis for his operations; the resources of the country were great, their development was substantial and national credit stood high. The expansion in agriculture, industry

*NOTE.—The debate was adjourned and not renewed during the Session.

and business was steady though, of course, the high and ever-growing prices inflated the statistical figures to some extent.

Still, with all allowances, the progress and prosperity of the country were remarkable. The exports of domestic produce between the year ending Feb. 28, 1915, and that of Feb. 28, 1917, increased from $391,000,905 to $1,117,374,693, or 154 per cent.*; the value of field crops rose from $825,270,600 in 1915 to 1,144,000,000 in 1917; industrial production rose in value from $1,392,000,000 in 1915 to an estimated total of $2,000,000,000; in the years 1915-16, inclusive, British and Allied orders for shells, munitions, food supplies and ships had totalled $1,095,000,000 and by the end of 1917 the total was in excess of $1,500,000,000; immigration, though reduced in number, improved in quality and from Mar. 31, 1915, to Mar. 31, 1917, totalled 268,720, of whom 137,000 were from the States; the values of Canadian Live-stock in 1917 were $1,102,261,000, or an increase of $200,000,000 in the year; Bank clearings grew from $7,797,430,800 in 1915 to $12,469,426,435 in 1915; between Dec. 31, 1914, and Dec. 31, 1917, the Deposits in Canadian Banks had increased from $1,012,739,990 to $1,565,419,884.

As against this condition of obvious prosperity was the undercurrent of doubt and the waves of depression and pessimism which a world-war made inevitable, the dangers which were ever present to shipping and products, to individuals and nations, to all financial calculations and conditions, to markets and stocks and basic values. The first war shock had been well met by Sir Thomas White in the latter months of 1914 and in succeeding years, as conditions of confidence returned, production steadily increased and the financial demands of war attained enormous dimensions, the Minister had to adjust his policy to ever-changing problems of revenue, taxation and debt. Canada had been, essentially, a borrowing nation and now its British market for loans, and for a time the American market, were closed, or partially so, and a debtor nation changed into a creditor. In 1914 Canada had sold bonds in Great Britain totalling $200,000,000; in 1916 none were sold there, $170,000,000 in the United States, and $99,000,000 within Canada; in 1917 the United States absorbed $186,000,000 and Canadians took $772,000,000†. Meanwhile the Public Debt had grown from $335,996,850 on Mar. 31, 1914, before the War, to $976,428,504 on Dec. 31, 1917. The following list of Government issues and War Loans indicates the detailed borrowing for which Sir Thomas White's policy, and war requirements, were jointly responsible:

Issued	Place	Amount	Issued	Place	Amount
March, 1915	London	$ 25,000,000	September, 1916	Canada	$100,000,000
July, 1915	New York.	25,000,000	March, 1917	Canada	150,000,00
"	New York.	20,000,000	July, 1917	New York.	100,000,000
November, 1915	Canada	100,000,000	November, 1917	Canada	150,000,000
March, 1916	New York.	25,000,000			
"	New York.	25,000,000			
"	New York.	25,000,000	Total		$745,000,000

The increase in the Public Debt was accompanied, fortunately,

*NOTE.—At the same date in 1918 it was $1,562,588,114.

†Yearly statistics issued by E. R. Wood, President, Central Canada Loan and Savings Co., and an acknowledged authority.

by increased revenues and production but, on the other hand, Canadian securities of various kinds showed clear depreciation in values and the leading stocks were all, during 1917, upon lower levels than in 1916—the total depreciation in 128 securities being estimated by the Montreal *Financial Times* at $210,000,000. The chief illustration was the C.P.R., which began the year at the high price of 167½ and closed at 139, or a depreciation of $74,000,000. As was to be expected Building permits or operations continued to decrease, registering in Montreal $4,387,000, in Toronto $7,630,000 in Vancouver $768,000 and in Winnipeg $2,212,000, compared with a total for the four cities in 1913 of $83,000,000.

There still was a heavy consumption and importation of luxuries. Despite the appeals and advice of the Finance Minister Canadians, in the year ending Mar. 31, 1917, imported $19,000,000 worth of fruits and nuts; $8,550,000 worth of motor-cars, with $7,200,000 of auto-parts and, in the preceding three years a total of $16,000,000 worth; $3,500,000 worth of gasoline, of which at least one-half was for pleasure purposes; $669,000 worth of perfumery and $1,717,000 of precious stones, $12,943,000 of silks and manufactures of silks, $4,000,000 worth of spirits, wines and ales. Of other such items there might be mentioned ribbons, confectionery, jewelry, musical instruments and paintings, totalling over $7,000,000. Working people lived better than they had ever done before; so did many newly-rich persons benefiting by the profits of war. On the other hand large numbers of thinking, patriotic people denied themselves everything except necessities and they more than balanced the unthinking and selfish.

Meanwhile, Sir Thomas White was doing his best to control the problem of national finance which underlay all other problems. Speaking to the Toronto Board of Trade on Jan. 3 he was explicit in his advice: "The people of Canada should practice economy, which results in greater national saving. Every man over 21 understands how to economize, and every man can carry it out if he wants to carry it out. Let us economize. Let us make our savings serve the purpose of war. Let the people of the Dominion, by thrift and economy, make their dollars fight the Huns." He criticized increased business dividends, slackness in labour, self-indulgence of any kind. The cause was worth some sacrifice and, as he pointed out to the New York Canadian Club on Jan. 29: "What man, what people, would not feel a noble pride in the citizenship of the glorious British Empire? We stand for Canada, but Canada within the Empire, one and indissoluble. We are fighting for the ideals of the Empire, the ideals of liberty, freedom, equality before the law." It was estimated in March that during two years the people of Canada had saved by thrift and economy about $500,000,000.

The Budget speech was delivered on Apr. 24 and was brief beyond all precedent. For the fiscal year of Mar. 31 the revenue was stated as $232,000,000 or $100,000,000 over the first fiscal year of war (1914-15). The total current and capital expenditure—apart from distinctively war items but including war interest,

charges and pensions—was $172,000,000 and left a surplus of $60,000,000 to devote to war purposes: "Since the beginning of hostilities our total war outlay, including estimated and unadjusted liability to Great Britain for the maintenance of our troops at the Front and inclusive of withheld pay, totals, so far as we can calculate, about $600,000,000. As the result of this large war expenditure, the net National Debt of Canada, which was $336,000,000 before the outbreak of war, has risen to over $900,000,000. By the end of the present fiscal year (Mar. 31, 1918) it may reach $1,200,000,000." He added that the policy of the Government was "to fund the War indebtedness so as to postpone its maturities to periods well beyond the end of the War, and by increased taxation on the one hand and the reduction of current expenditure on works on the other, to meet from annual income all annual outlays, including increased interest and pension charges and, in addition, a substantial amount of the War expenditure itself." As to War Loans, the Minister stated that:

> Since the outbreak of the War we have floated in Canada domestic loans aggregating $350,000,000 and have, in addition, furnished $150,000,000 through our chartered banks to the Imperial Treasury to meet its commitments for munitions and supplies purchased in Canada. Everywhere, I believe, this is regarded as a very notable achievement on the part of Canada. It has not only made possible our participation on a large scale in the War but it has, in greater measure than we realize, brought about the present state of prosperity in the Dominion. Without the aid afforded by the savings of our people the expenditures which have been made in Canada by both Governments for supplies and munitions could not have been made.

Trade conditions of unprecedented prosperity were due, in part, to this policy and he pointed out that, while the trade balance, or excess of imports over exports, was against Canada in 1912 and through 1915 (fiscal years), to a total of $650,000,000, it had turned in 1916 to an excess of exports totalling $249,000,000 and in 1917 to $314,000,000. Higher prices and War production were chiefly responsible, of course, but so also were greater grain exports. The only safeguard against the expected trade declension of Peace times was private saving and business husbanding of resources. It may be stated here, though not included in the Budget speech, that the exact official statistics of Revenues and Expenditures and Debt for the calendar, instead of fiscal, years 1915-17 were as follows:

Particulars	To Dec. 31, 1915	To Dec. 31, 1916	To Dec. 31, 1917
Revenue	$122,027,821	$166,856,349	$190,659,370
Ordinary Expenditure	74,469,455	81,696,505	96,982,537
Capital Expenditure	27,369,792	18,973,635	17,015,417
War Expenditure	85,748,898	170,229,748	171,748,839
Net Debt	515,144,019	722,111,449	976,428,504

A most interesting point in these figures was the obvious care as to ordinary expenses and capital outlay; it may be added that the Interest on the Public Debt rose from $15,700,000 in the fiscal year 1915 to $21,400,000 in 1916 and $35,800,000 in 1917. There were no Tariff changes announced in the Budget but an increase in the Business Profits War-Tax of 1916 was stated for a new Excess Profits Tax as follows: 50% of all profits in excess of 15% but not exceeding 20% per annum and 75% of all profits in excess of 20%

per annum upon capital: "That is to say up to 15% they (business interests) will be liable in the existing legislation and in addition we shall take one-half of their profits between 15% and 20% and three-fourths of their profits beyond 20 per cent. The increased tax will chiefly affect manufacturers of munitions and other war supplies. While the percentage of excess profits which is taken is large, sufficient is left to provide incentive to effort on the part of all subject to War-tax." The Minister discussed Income Tax proposals but declared that in view of competitive, continental conditions in wealth and population, with the balance in favour of the United States, this taxation should not be resorted to until absolutely necessary.

Financial interests were, in some measure, opposed to this Tax legislation and Sir Thomas White was strongly criticized by the *Financial Times* of Montreal, in particular, on the ground that (1) the Tax was not equitable, and discriminated against one small group of citizens; (2) that it would remove the incentive to War activities of an industrial character and restrict production; (3) that it would eliminate the source of large contributions to War loans and War requirements; (4) that it was a tax on enterprise, on special ability, on capital, on efficient production; (5) that the basis of so-called excess profits was the keeping of capital and labour occupied 24 hours a day instead of 8 hours in order to meet war emergency, and that the profits, therefore, were not really excessive; (6) that War industries required capital but only for a limited and doubtful period and that in order to get and keep investments and increasing plants for a temporary business large profits were essential. The Montreal *Gazette* did not like the taxation nor did the Montreal *Daily Mail* or Montreal *Herald*. The manufacturers' organ, *Industrial Canada*, objected not to the principle, but to its application and the Legislative Committee of the Manufacturers' Association at Winnipeg on June 13 claimed that "no amount of revenue which the increased taxation of profits could possibly yield would compensate for the detrimental effect of such taxation upon the industrial future of the country."

The measure passed in due course with little change and on July 25 the Minister of Finance announced to the Commons a proposed national measure of Income taxation. He explained his previous objections to the levy on the ground of Provincial direct taxation already applicable, the cost of administration of such a Tax in a large country so sparsely populated as Canada, and the possible effect it might have upon after-war immigration. But "in view of the financial situation, the increased demands which will be made upon us and the purpose of the people of Canada in this war, it is manifest to me that the time has arrived when we must resort to this measure." He stated that in the plans developed the Government had regard to the greatly increased cost of living, the municipal taxation upon incomes, running in some places as high as 3%, and the Income tax of some of the Provinces:

> We propose to levy an Income Tax of 4% upon incomes exceeding $2,000 per annum in the case of unmarried men and widowers without children, and exceeding

$3,000 in the case of other persons, and in addition thereto a supertax of 2% upon the amount by which the income exceeds $6,000 and does not exceed $10,000; 5% upon the amount by which the income exceeds $10,000 and does not exceed $20,000; 8% upon the amount by which the income exceeds $20,000 and does not exceed $30,000; 10% upon the amount by which the income exceeds $30,000 and does not exceed $50,000; 15% upon the amount by which the income exceeds $50,000 and does not exceed $100,000; 25% upon the amount by which the income exceeds $100,000.

The Tax was to apply on incomes of the current year and when liability under the Profits Tax came to an end on Dec. 31, 1917. "It is not the intention to renew that measure." Sir Thomas added that there were provisions for an income tax on corporations and joint stock companies, earning an income exceeding $3,000, of 4%, with the shareholders liable also to the supertax. No time limit was imposed but the Minister hoped that after the War the taxation would be deliberately reversed. A. K. Maclean, for the Opposition, approved the principle involved. There was wide discussion of this measure and it was pointed out as a preliminary fact that an Income tax in some form or other was already in existence in most European countries and had, in 1916, been established in the United States with exemptions of $3,000 and $4,000, a tax of 2% and a graded additional tax on incomes of $20,000 and upwards. Some changes followed the initial proposal—the chief one being a change in exemption of unmarried persons, widows or widowers without dependent children, from $2,000 to $1,500. As finally passed it applied to all persons or individuals and all syndicates, trusts or associations and all companies or corporations, or their legal representatives not expressly exempted; a business partnership and persons carrying on business as a partnership were taxable in their individual capacity. As finally worked out the rates on certain specific Incomes were as follows*:

Unmarried Persons and Widows or Widowers without Dependent Children.

Income	Normal Tax	Super Tax	Total Tax
$ 1,500	Exempt		Nil
2,000	20		20
3,000	60		60
4,000	100		100
5,000	140		140
6,000	180		180
8,000	260	40	300
10,000	340	80	420
15,000	540	330	870
25,000	940	980	1,920

All Other Persons

Income	Normal Tax	Super Tax	Total Tax
$ 3,000	Exempt		Nil
4,000	40		40
5,000	80		80
6,000	120		120
7,000	160	20	180
8,000	200	40	240
9,000	240	60	300
10,000	280	80	360
15,000	480	330	810
25,000	880	980	1,860

Incidents of this taxation included the vigorous attacks of the Toronto *Star* upon the legislation as an insufficient impost upon large corporations and as letting many of them out of the net—illustrated by the Wm. Davies Co., which, it was claimed (July 26) would be taxed $55,200 in 1917 in place of $223,063 levied in 1916 under the Business Profits Tax; exception taken by some financial journals to the practical exemption of farmers from taxation and the claim that their money was more assured, their prosperity greater, their cost of living less, their total returns larger, than with the average business men in cities who made incomes subject to this tax; the

*NOTE.—Trusts and Guarantee Co., Toronto, Booklet.

wide and loose talk as to Conscription of wealth as well as men without any definition—economic or exact—of the meaning of the Socialistic phrase but with a vague, popular feeling that it would be a means of getting more money out of the rich for the benefit of the poor; the suggestion of J. B. Musselman, Saskatchewan Grain Growers' Secretary, in the Regina *Leader* (Sept. 29) that all profits on War business—not agricultural profits—should be invested by "compulsory subscription," in Government bonds at a rate of interest similar to that which obtained before the War; protest from many quarters against any abandonment of the Excess Profits Tax during the War and the final announcement by Sir Thomas White in the House on Aug. 17 that the Tax would be continued; the semi-official estimate at the close of 1917 that the Business Tax would, during its 3 years, have realized $50,000,000 for the Treasury and the new Income tax $25,000,000 in its first year.

Of Sir Thomas White's other legislation during this Session a few words must be said. He amended the Bank Act so as to authorize Banks to loan money to farmers and those engaged in raising stock, on the security of their Live-stock, taking a simple form of assignment which might be registered at a trifling expense instead of the chattel mortgage or bill of sale necessary under the existing Act. His Insurance Bill was an important and complete revision of the Dominion Insurance Act. The amendments were of three classes—those considered necessary to remove from the Act features which had been decided by a Privy Council judgment to be *ultra vires;* those necessary to meet changed conditions which had arisen since the old Act was passed; those needed to remove certain serious defects in the Act which had come to light in its administration. Among the new clauses was one enlarging the definition of "Explosion insurance" to include insurance against damage caused by bombardment and other factors incidental to war. The clause making a paid-up capital of $300,000 necessary in Fire and Life in order to obtain a license was modified to admit certain British companies with large surpluses but small capital; another amendment permitted Fire and Automobile insurance companies to invest in the Rural telephone Debentures of Saskatchewan and other similarly secured issues, and provided that no Canadian Company could invest in the stock of any other company transacting the same class of insurance business so as to check the inter-locking of Companies; there, also, was a clause compelling the maintenance of an adequate reserve by Hail Insurance companies.

The Minister presented on Aug. 1 and carried through the House, with careful speeches and through much debate, the purchase by the Government of the 600,000 shares of the Canadian Northern Railway (par value $60,000,000) on terms to be set out in an agreement and with the appointment of an Arbitration tribunal to determine the value of these shares and the amount to be paid therefor. A further Loan of $7,500,000 was also carried by the Minister for the use of the Grand Trunk Pacific in paying interest on its securities and for Railway betterments and purchases. Another Bill facilitated financial arrangements between the British Government

and the C.P.R. to permit the former to utilize the Company's securities held in England as collateral to War loans obtained in New York—through the C.P.R. issue of collateral trust bonds to be exchanged for its consolidated stock and other securities. In August the Minister announced that $10 War Savings Certificates were to be offered the public at once, purchasable at $8.60 and bringing the holder face value at the end of three years—$860 would in this way bring in $1,000.

A notable feature of Sir Thomas White's policy was a continuous financial co-operation with the British authorities. On Feb. 1 the Minister of Finance stated that the total of Canadian advances to the Imperial Munitions Board to date, for the British purchase of Munitions and supplies, was $150,000,000, but that on the other hand $97,000,000 was owing by the Canadian Government to the Imperial Government together with $122,000,000 for special advances made by Great Britain for the war equipment and supplies of Canadian troops—which latter had been repaid by Dominion bonds. Credits continued during the year based upon Bank action and National Loans and on Aug. 27 Sir Thomas stated that the Dominion Government had advanced to date to the Imperial Munitions Board the sum of $285,000,000. There had also been advanced to the Board by the Banks of Canada $100,000,000, and other advances to the end of the year would total $170,000,000: "In order to provide the farmers of Canada with an export market for their Cheese, we arranged to provide $40,000,000, to be paid out during July, August, September and October. In addition to that sum $10,000,000 was supplied for the purchase of hay, oats and flour."

On Sept. 21 the Minister met the Canadian Bankers' Association, Canadian Bond dealers, etc., to discuss a situation which involved the granting of still further war credits to Great Britain and the purchase of wheat on her behalf. Arrangements were completed for the advance of $75,000,000 by the Banks to finance meat and bacon purchases and the Banks also agreed to facilitate a temporary advance of $80,000,000 for the payment of wheat at Western points of delivery while holding the wheat as security until it reached the seaboard. At the seaboard the British Government, through the Wheat Export Company, was to accept the wheat and repay the Banks. The latter plan was the result of agreement between Lord Reading for the British Government and Sir T. White for Canada. The record of Bank and Dominion advances on British account to the end of the year showed the following total as against $300,000,000 advanced by Great Britain on Canadian account for the maintenance of its forces in Britain and France:

Date		Source of Credit	Amount
December,	1915	Dominion Government	$ 50,000,000
April	1916	Banks	75,000,000
July	1916	"	25,000,000
September,	1916	Dominion Government	50,000,000
November,	1916	Banks	20,000,000
January,	1917	Dominion Government	25,000,000
March,	1917	" "	10,000,000
May,	1917	" "	40,000,000
June,	1917	C.P.R.	10,000,000
June,	1917	Dominion Government	75,000,000
July,	1917	" "	35,000,000
August,	1917	" "	35,000,000
Sept.-Dec.,	1917	" "	100,000,000
Total			$550,000,000

Meanwhile Canadian-British trade had produced another complicated condition; in the three fiscal years, 1915-16-17, the total Canadian exports to Britain were $2,419,953,679 and Imports therefrom $1,808,485,635; the trade balance in favour of Canada was, therefore, more than equal to its total obligations abroad for interest on the $3,000,000,000 of British money invested in Canada. During the year Canada floated its 3rd and 4th War Loans. Up to this time the Government borrowings in the War had included one 4½% Loan in London for $25,000,000, two 5% Loans in New York totalling $120,000,000, and two in Canada, 5%, totalling $200,000,000. On Mar. 11 Sir Thomas White issued an Appeal to the people of Canada, together with a Prospectus of the new issue of $150,000,000, 5%, bonds maturing Mar. 1, 1937, with interest payable half-yearly in gold and an issue price of 96. Within three days the bulk of the Loan was taken up—the Bank of Montreal taking the largest single sum—$8,700,000. Finally, the Loan was over-subscribed by $100,000,000 and the Minister announced on Mar. 27 that the Banks would be eliminated and other allotments scaled down to meet requirements: "The result is a most notable and significant success for the Canadian people. In the eyes of the outside world it will be regarded as our greatest achievement of the War next to mobilizing our army and sending it overseas."

The second Victory Loan (as these two were called) was issued in October as $150,000,000, 5½%, gold bonds, bearing interest from Dec. 1st, 1917, offered at par and free from taxes in three maturities—5-year, Dec. 1, 1922, 10-year, Dec. 1, 1927, and 20-year, Dec. 1, 1937. The proceeds were to be used for War purposes only and be spent wholly in Canada. Elaborate preparations were made for the canvass with a Dominion Executive composed of A. E. Ames, Toronto, Chairman; J. M. Mackie, Montreal, and J. H. Gundy, Toronto, Vice-Chairmen; C. H. Burgess, Toronto, Secretary, and other prominent financial men. Within a short time the Minister and Mr. Ames had, practically, a vast selling organization in shape with thousands of agents in every part of Canada, hamlet or city, lumber or mining camp, country and town alike, and a machine graded down from Dominion to municipal in its scope and work. There also was a representative Bankers' Committee and a Publicity Committee headed by F. W. Kerr of Toronto, and with J. H. Woods of Calgary as Chairman of a Press Committee which sent out 25,000 news articles, suggestions, patriotic cartoons, etc., to every publication in Canada. The larger Committee issued 30,000,000 pieces of educational matter—exclusive of the Press items and advertisements in 1,300 Canadian publications. These latter were exceptionally good and did much to bring the War and its import home to every citizen.

To a great audience in Toronto on Nov. 9 Sir Thomas White described (1) the prosperity of Canada and (2) the purpose of the Loan as helping to sustain Canada's military efforts and standing behind the soldiers with food supplies, munitions and money. Canada must "produce and save and invest in Dominion securities"; its people must get upon a War basis and practice self-sacrifice and

self-denial. The first subscription (Nov. 12) received at the Finance Department was from H.E. the Duke of Devonshire; President H. G. Kelley of the Grand Trunk issued an appeal to his officials and employees; Lord Shaughnessy promised to take $10,000,000 for the C.P.R. if Canada took up $300,000,000 and as Hon. Chairman of the Montreal Committee was active in his personal help. President Gompers of the American Federation of Labour announced, on Nov. 22, a subscription of $10,000 from that body, while Mme. Sarah Bernhardt raised $50,000 for the Loan in Hamilton on the same day; on Nov. 26 Theodore Roosevelt addressed a great meeting in Toronto on behalf of the Loan and told Canadians that "the duty incumbent on both of our nations is to fight this war through to a finish, no matter how long it takes, and at no matter what cost of life and treasure, until we win the peace of overwhelming victory"; on the 28th a much-discussed campaign sheet was issued describing a supposed landing of Germans in Canada and the fearful results; at the same date Samuel Gompers spoke in Toronto and declared that: "I hold it to be the first duty of every Canadian, by birth or citizenship, to do everything within his power to unite the people in winning of this war." Harry Lauder at Hamilton, Toronto, Montreal and other places, gave time and songs and witty speech to the sale of bonds which ran up into the hundreds of thousands and at one Rotary Club luncheon in Toronto totalled $700,000.

From Ottawa on Dec. 2 the Minister of Finance issued a statement congratulating Canada on having doubled the subscription asked for and "gone over the top" to a total of $300,000,000: "The success of this Loan was vital to Canada. We have now the means of carrying on the War, and for the establishment of needed credits for Great Britain. This means that business will be maintained and will help in turn to support the War." He thanked the Committees, the Press, the Boy Scouts, the splendid organizers of victory, the staff of 3,000 Canadian Banking offices, the women who had worked so hard, the masses who had contributed so freely. Two days later the subscriptions were still coming in with a total received of $401,530,100, and despatches of congratulation came from the King and the Duke of Connaught. As to details Toronto's total up to Dec. 3rd was $76,256,000, Hamilton $12,623,000 and London $6,505,000. Up to the 15th the official figures issued by W. S. Hodgens, Chairman, Dominion Business Committee, were (1) as follows, while (2) the other table below gives particulars of the whole four Loans issued:

I. Province	Population	No. of Subscribers	Per Capita	Amount Subscribed	Subscription Per Capita
Alberta	496,000	55,408	1 in 8.9	$ 16,515,150	$33.29
British Columbia	394,000	45,834	1 in 8.5	17,820,500	49.29
Manitoba	555,000	78,856	1 to 7.0	32,326,600	85.23
New Brunswick	350,000	20,000	1 in 17.5	10,250,000	25.25
Nova Scotia	508,000	39,521	1 in 12.8	18,588,150	36.59
Ontario	2,582,000	362,900	1 in 7.11	203,823,500	78.94
Quebec	2,263,000	125,867	1 in 17.97	93,798,100	41.45
P.E. Island	93,000	5,300	1 in 17.54	2,331,350	25.07
Saskatchewan	650,000	73,675	1 in 8.82	21,777,050	33.50
Total	7,891,000	807,361	1 in 9.77	$417,230,400	$52.87

II. Record of Loans	1st War Loan Issued Nov. 22, 1915	2nd War Loan Issued Sept. 12, 1916	3rd War Loan Issued Mar. 12, 1917	4th War Loan Issued Nov. 12, 1917
Amount of Loan(1).....	$ 50,000,000	$100,000,000	$150,000,000	$150,000,000
Public Subscriptions.....	78,729,500	151,444,800	200,768,000	419,289,000(2)
Bank Subscriptions.....	25,000,000	50,000,000	60,000,000	
Total Subscriptions.....	113,729,500	201,444,800	260,768,000	419,289,000
Total Over-Subscriptions.	53,729,500	101,444,800	110,768,000	269,289,000
Total Over-Subscriptions by Public.....	28,729,500	51,444,800	50,768,000	269,289,000
Number of Subscribers...	24,862	34,526	40,800	820,035

(1) Ultimately increased to $100,000,000.
(2) Approximately $400,000,000 was allotted.

The financial record of Sir Thomas White for the year—and all the years of war—was, obviously, a remarkable one because, without capacity and understanding of the situation on his part the people would not have responded so well or the country prospered so greatly. By the close of the year the War expenditures of Canada for 1914-17 totalled $705,183,000 of which nearly two-thirds had been spent in Canada. At this time, also, the Minister of Finance had to meet a great fall in New York exchange during October and a still more difficult rise in the next month which went to the other extreme—coupled with an American embargo upon gold. His representations at Washington, backed by the Bankers' Association, succeeded in lifting the embargo and in December exchange was becoming normal—despite the growing trade balance against Canada. A personal matter may be noted in Sir Thomas White's answer to a query in the Commons on Aug. 13 which stated that his interest in the National Trust Co. of Toronto, prior to becoming Minister, was that of General Manager with the ownership of ten shares.

In December the Minister appointed W. F. Nickle, M.P., and Sir Herbert Ames to assist him with legislative and other duties and, on the 31st, issued an appeal to the people for personal and national economy, increased production and the elimination of luxury, postponement of public works' construction, and preservation of liquid capital for the essential industries and commercial needs. It may be added in connection with the work of the Department of Finance that under the terms of its working arrangements with the Bank of England over $1,000,000,000 in gold coin and bullion had been received at Halifax and Vancouver, brought across the continent, weighed and held and disposed of for the Bank or the British Government.

The Militia Department in 1917: National Service and Recruiting.

The picturesque personality of Sir Sam Hughes was replaced during this year by the business-like administration of Sir Edward Kemp. There was less driving force with fewer results in the Militia Department; there, also, was much less friction with fewer frills. The new Minister, however, had to meet a condition in which the voluntary system was reaching its limit and, in order to postpone the inevitable but undesirable method of Conscription, he and the Government tried all possible plans for increasing the Army. They seemed to feel, and no doubt wisely,

that the public must be thoroughly convinced of the failure of voluntaryism before compulsion could be made effective. Of this nature, perhaps, was the National Service Board and its operations. Created by Order-in-Council on Oct. 5, 1916, its primary object was to facilitate recruiting by a sort of voluntary co-ordinating of labour in the various industries* with army requirements and to obtain a National registration of man-power. Aggressive action was ensured by the Chairmanship of R. B. Bennett, K.C., M.P.; work was hampered and the policy of the 13 Directors of National Service under him affected by the absence of exact legal authority. Cards for signature had been prepared with questions as to work or occupation and willingness to perform National Service, either by enlistment or special labour, and these were issued at the first of the year in all parts of the Dominion.

Leaders in public life and effort were prompt in support of the plan and in urging the signed return of the cards. Lord Shaughnessy issued a circular in Montreal declaring it "important that an inventory should be made from time to time of the man-power of the country, with a view to determining our national, industrial, agricultural and commercial efficiency." Archbishop Bruchési stated that he would sign and added: "I hope all my priests will sign as well, and that this same act of patriotism will be performed by our citizens generally." The Toronto *Globe* (Jan. 3) was incisive as to duty: "To every man between the ages of 16 and 65 inclusive there comes a call. It cannot be ignored or set aside by any man who boasts of his loyalty and his patriotism. The National Service registration card is more than a formal registration of the man-power of the country. It is a test of the patriotic spirit of its citizens." In Toronto Sir Wm. Hearst, N. W. Rowell, M.L.A., Archbishop McNeil and others urged a popular response. Hon. T. C. Norris, Manitoba's Premier, was still more emphatic: "I believe that the men who oppose the Government's request at such a time as this should be put into gaol or some other place."

There was, however, a pronounced Labour opposition to Registration. In Vancouver the Trades and Labour Council passed a Resolution urging workmen to decline answering the questions of the cards; the Montreal Council decided not to sign the cards, as did a gathering of Socialists at Port Arthur; the Winnipeg Council, led by R. A. Rigg, M.L.A., opposed registration by Resolution because "the Canadian people have had no opportunity to express themselves with regard to its principles, because it may lead to Conscription, because it involves coercion of Labour by private capital." The Trades Congress as a body had previously stated its opposition to both Registration and Conscription.

On Jan. 4 Hon. F. Cochrane, Minister of Railways, authorized a circular to 12,000 employees of Government railways, urging prompt answers and return of the cards; Mr. Bennett and Hon. J. D. Hazen addressed a mass-meeting in St. John on the same day and described this plan as a last chance to prove that the voluntary system had not failed; the International Typographical Union

*NOTE.—See 1916 volume of *The Canadian Annual Review*, Pages 325-30.

of Winnipeg endorsed the plan as did that of Regina; the Edmonton *Bulletin* of Jan. 8 did not understand the matter and wanted to know if Registration meant military or industrial conscription and, if the latter, for whom the conscripts were to work and whether farmers were to be drafted from Western fields to make Ontario munitions! All the official speeches, including a 1916 statement of the Premier, declared that the cards would not be used for military purposes. Lieut.-Col. G. F. Carruthers at Winnipeg on Jan. 12 declared that "we have to-day a class of men who are talking sedition and practically treason" and expressed the belief that German money and intrigue were behind these elements. On Feb. 12 Mr. Bennett announced that the National Service campaign had been successful beyond expectations and that nearly 80 per cent. of the cards sent out had been filled in and returned and were still coming in at the rate of 35,000 per day. The time for completion was extended to Mar. 31.

A little later the Board stated that, in view of the United States coming into the War, action should be taken by the Dominion Government (1) to mobilize a large army for home defence and make effective the provisions of the Militia Act in that behalf and (2) to utilize aliens as farm labourers. On Apr. 23 the Finance Minister stated in the Commons that incomplete card returns from each Province were as follows: Nova Scotia, 92,767; New Brunswick, 70,927; P. E. Island, 21,479; Quebec, 290,866; Ontario, 627,152; Manitoba, 131,265; Saskatchewan, 149,649; Alberta, 88,278; British Columbia, 76,977, and Sir George Foster on May 14 stated the total to date for all Canada as 1,549,360. Sir Robert Borden told the House on June 20 that 108,965 cards were returned without any question being answered but that the names of most of the senders were obtained; that 252,034 single men, 18 to 45 years old, indicated that they were British subjects and apparently fit for military service; that returns were received from approximately 80% of the total males in Canada between 18 and 65 and that of the 20% who failed to send in cards the majority would likely be single men fit for military duty. In June the National Service Board issued a series of advertisements urging citizens "to produce more, to waste less, particularly of food; to eliminate extravagance of every kind; to save intelligently and systematically, and to lend the savings to the nation through the purchase of War Savings Certificates."

Early in August 175,000 letters were mailed, asking specific persons on the National Service cards to volunteer for farm labour during the whole or part of their time—the names being selected out of the 300,000 men who had stated a willingness to do special work. The response was not made public and a little later, as a result of the Military Service Act coming into operation, the Board went out of existence, with a Parliamentary valedictory from Mr. Bennett on Sept. 20. In it he expressed regret that the signing of the cards had not been made compulsory and that no penalty had been provided for failure to sign; stated that they had tried to create an atmosphere which would produce cause for signature and had used meetings, advertisements and 150,000 letters to arouse senti-

ment; divided the returns, totalling 1,549,360 cards, into 286,976 military prospects in non-essential occupations and 183,727 in farming, with 4,660 skilled workers in mines and ships and munitions, or a total of 475,363; the Industrial classes reporting totalled 143,995, soldiers 48,496 and the "discards" 679,511 with incomplete or blank cards 206,605. He deprecated the vagueness of the Board's original scope and duties and its lack of statutory powers.

Even this partial analysis of man-power showed plenty of available men for recruiting purposes and the year 1916 had seen 178,537 enlistments, making a total since the War commenced of 383,955. There had been a falling off in December, 1916, and this continued and grew worse during each succeeding month of 1917. At the same time the United States, with 100,000,000 people to draw upon, only obtained 30,000 men for its regular army in the first three weeks' war-call of Apr. 1-24 as compared with Canada's 35,000 in a similar period in 1914! In this connection and the charges as to cost of Canadian recruiting in money it may be mentioned that, in 1861-5, 23 States of the American Union paid $290,000,000 to promote enlistment.* Various recruiting schemes were tried at this time in Canada with the never-failing speeches and personal efforts of indefatigable officers of Overseas battalions. The Joint Committee of the Recruiting League and Canadian Club of Hamilton, and similar recruiting organizations in Toronto, Winnipeg, Montreal, Vancouver, etc., were persistent in their efforts. The demand for labour, the high wages, the standard of luxury, high living and selfish pleasure, however, fought against the appeals of conscience, duty and patriotism; the Battalion system, also, was blamed though not altogether justly because, whatever its faults, it brought into play the elements of local personality and pride.

With the new year the Minister of Militia and Council had decided to lower the standard of fitness somewhat, to place the height at 4 feet 11 inches, to loosen the sight and flat-foot test, to accept one-eyed men otherwise fit, to apply a similar rule to hearing in one ear or the loss of one or two fingers or toes, to make the age limit 18 and 45 years, to classify men medically unfit for the infantry or artillery as available for Medical, Ordnance or Forestry units, to have all recruits pass a final Board before being attested. A little later mobilization depôts were established at various points where the proposed recruit could, after examination by the local A.M.C. officer or a civilian doctor appointed by the medical authorities, go to the mobilization point to be thoroughly examined by a Board and classified as fit for the Infantry, the Army Service or Railway construction. It was decided by the Minister, at this time, also, to re-organize the Canadian Army, so far as possible, on a territorial system—to give its units in a partial degree the local place and standing and opportunity for creating war traditions which so many wished had been done in a complete form from the first.

* The Rev. Dr. G. B. Cutten, at Halifax on May 20, stated that the recruiting of the unfit in Canada had cost $10,000,000.

In England there were to be 26 reserve battalions and these were to feed the forces in France with men from the same part of Canada as the original battalions had come from. Sir Edward Kemp's announcement of Mar. 20 stated that to further ensure the territorial association between Canada and the linked overseas battalions being maintained, and for facility of administration, the regimental system was to be adopted by grouping together into one regiment the reserve battalions and linked battalions at the Front. There were 4 Ontario Regiments, 2 of Quebec, 1 each for Manitoba, British Columbia, Alberta and Saskatchewan with P.E. Island and New Brunswick included in Nova Scotia. On Apr. 2 the Department stated that the large number of men holding officers' qualifications but not on active service were expected to volunteer for overseas in connection with the officers' drafts which would shortly be formed. Under this arrangement they would go overseas and serve in the ranks until an appointment was available. Under date of May 15 the Government classified the soldiers entitled to War Badges as (1) those who had seen active service in England or at the Front and been honourably retired or discharged; (2) those who had offered themselves and been rejected as medically unfit; (3) those who had offered and been refused on the ground of services being more valuable to the State than if on active service. Regulations were announced on May 22 which applied the new medical tests and arranged the various classes.

Meanwhile, throughout the country, there was a last dying effort to obtain recruits. Lieut.-Col. W. S. Dinnick, with the aid of the Great War Veterans, tried, unsuccessfully, to get one Overseas Company in Toronto. General Lessard and Colonel Blondin made, also, a vigorous effort in Quebec. Letters from the Front, such as that of Canon F. G. Scott published in the press of Feb. 27, appeared to be in vain: "To shirkers at home, nothing but hisses are due. I never want to take the hand of any man who is physically fit and has not volunteered to come to the Front." In this connection an Ottawa despatch in the Toronto *Globe* on Mar. 9 stated that: "Cabinet Ministers on their way to their offices this morning had a forceful object lesson as to the need of some drastic method of stimulating recruiting. For several hours two blocks on Sparks Street, in the heart of the city, were crowded with hundreds of young men, all apparently physically fit and of military age, trying to secure tickets for a hockey game." Local recruiting officers could not persuade one to enlist. At this very time, and it was one of the difficulties in the way, there were 44 units recruiting in the Toronto and Hamilton district. As a matter of fact J. M. Godfrey, President of the Canadian National Service League, represented the opinion of all concerned in recruiting when he said in Toronto as early as Jan. 4 that: "Everyone engaged in active recruiting for any length of time becomes a conscriptionist. He soon sees that the voluntary system is ineffective, unfair, unequal, undemocratic, wasteful, and not really British." By June 30, according to the Minister of Militia in the House on Aug. 6, the figures of enlistment, etc., were as follows:

Reported enlistments to 30th June, 1917	424,456
Overseas to same date	329,943
of whom 142,779 in France; 756 elsewhere than in France; 124,399 in England (of whom 23,265 in hospitals and convalescent camps as of 31st May); 31,955 killed, died, missing, and prisoners; 3,944 en route from Canada, and about 26,000 discharged or returned for discharge after wounds, etc.	
In Canada	18,475
Discharged, etc., in Canada	76,038

During these months not only had recruiting decreased but wastage from casualties and the discharge of men in England, or in Canada for various causes, had increased. The enlistments and wastage of the year ran as follows by months: January—Enlistments 9,194, wastage 4,396; February—6,809 and 21,955; March—6,640 and 6,161; April—5,330 and 10,894; May—6,407 and 13,457; June—6,348 and 7,931; July—3,882 and 7,906; August—3,117 and 13,232; September—3,588 and 10,990; October—4,884 and 5,929; November—4,019 and 30,741; December—3,921 and 7,476. The total casualties—killed and wounded, died of wounds, prisoners or missing to Dec. 31, 1917, were 145,671, of whom 25,138 were killed in action, 102,726 wounded, and 2,740 prisoners of war. Meanwhile, co-operation had been effected with the British Recruiting Mission in the United States, headed by Brig.-Gen. W. A. White, C.M.G., and assisted by a Canadian as well as British staff. Recruits were accepted for the Canadian Forces and forwarded for attestation to the nearest Canadian depôt—Vancouver, Calgary, Winnipeg, London, Toronto, Kingston, Montreal, Valcartier, St. John and Halifax—which was selected for the purpose. Men were permitted to make their own choice at these points as to the unit they joined and the total number reporting to July 17 was 2,194 while 679 recruits in Canada reported for service in the British forces.

In obtaining the 400,000 men who joined the forces voluntarily in Canada, one of the great basic elements was the Militia. It was utilized in connection with the battalion system and drawn upon both for men and experience in training; it could have been still more helpful then and serviceable in the future had its traditions and *esprit-de-corps* been considered by the linking of Overseas Battalions with Home regiments. This idea was emphasized by Brig.-Gen. James Mason in the Senate on May 1 when he asked if the Government could find some means of allotting the Fighting Battalions among the Militia Regiments as was done in the Imperial Army, so as to preserve on their colours the honours won in battle; it was dealt with to some extent by the Government in connecting Overseas battalions with reserves at home and in England. During the year General Mason endeavoured to ascertain how far the Canadian home Regiments had been associated with recruiting and what would have been their Overseas strength had a connecting system been developed at first. The statistics collected were valuable and interesting and by his courtesy—with some additions—are given here as follows:

APPROXIMATE NUMBER OF ENLISTMENTS FROM, OR BY, THE EFFORTS OF CANADIAN REGIMENTS*.

Corps	Address	Officers	N.C.O.'s and Men
62nd Regiment	St. John's	83	2,483
110th Irish Regiment	Toronto	33	2,609
19th Battery	Moncton, N.B	16	45
40th Regiment	Cobourg	52	1,500
72nd Regiment	Vancouver, B.C	220	4,791
96th Regiment	Port Arthur	96	1,001
17th Battery	Sydney, N.S	5	338
90th Regiment	Winnipeg	175	5,000
78th Regiment	New Glasgow	46	2,200
50th Regiment	Victoria, B.C	90	2,100
91st Regiment	Hamilton	106	3,330
86th Regiment	Three Rivers	2	29
66th Regiment	Halifax, N.S	36	513
63rd Regiment	Halifax, N.S	51	493
71st York Regiment	Fredericton, N.B	79	2,153
1st G.G. Foot-Guards	Ottawa	103	641
16th Battery	Guelph	9	200
106th Regiment	Winnipeg	203	5,545
20th Battery	Fraserville	2	53
104th Regiment	New Westminster	92	2,394
14th Regiment P.W.O.R	Kingston	59	529
77th Regiment	Dundas	118	1,900
31st Regiment	Owen Sound	40	1,500
16th Regiment	Picton	24	400
57th Regiment	Peterboro	46	(N.C.'s) 45
10th Battery	Woodstock, N.B	12	80
43rd Regiment	Ottawa	102	1,950
2nd Regiment, Q.O.R	Toronto	210	8,524
44th Regiment	Niagara Falls	50	3,000
97th Regiment	Sudbury	110	5,000
68th Regiment	Prince Arthur	39	2,000
7th Regiment	London	142	1,000
48th Highlanders	Toronto	..	5,000
33rd Regiment	Clinton	64	1,200
84th Regiment	St. Hyacinthe	3	260
11th Battery	Guelph	19	150
45th Regiment	Lindsay	70	3,000
109th Regiment	Toronto	174	4,274
65th Regiment	Montreal	55	4,000
17th Regiment	Levis, Que	10	50
13th Royal Regiment	Hamilton	..	5,993
85th Regiment	Montreal	52	2,800
29th Regiment	Galt	53	2,000
55th Irish Regiment	Montreal	47	1,473
14th Battery	Toronto	32	175
28th Regiment	Stratford	58	3,000
1st Battery	Quebec	7	178
99th Regiment	Brandon, Man	110	1,328
54th Regiment	Sherbrooke	9	996
5th Battery	Kingston	65	60
30th Regiment	Guelph	101	600
79th Regiment	Winnipeg	145	3,552
25th Regiment	St. Thomas	29	383
94th Regiment	North Sydney	52	2,500
10th Royal Grenadiers	Toronto	154	3,222
58th Regiment	Westmount	80	2,000
70th Regiment	Hull, Que	28	1,280
20th Regiment	Milton, Ont	65	900
28th Battery	Picton	20	250
36th Regiment	Brampton	160	3,600
6th Regiment	Vancouver, B.C	83	3,648
21st Regiment	Windsor, Ont	84	3,800
100th Regiment	Winnipeg	259	4,021
8th Regiment	Quebec	55	752
80th Regiment	Nicolet	24	276
22nd Regiment	Woodstock, Ont	48	195
9th Regiment	Quebec	35	492
7th Battery	St. Catharines	23	952
5th Royal Highlanders	Montreal	175	4,500
12th Regiment, York Rangers	Toronto	108	3,135
95th Regiment	Regina	20	1,000
81st Regiment	Hants	45	300
11th Regiment	Vancouver	85	4,250
60th Regiment	Moose Jaw	113	5,387
3rd Victoria Regiment	Montreal	95	2,200
103rd Regiment	Calgary	100	2,000

*NOTE.—A few Regiments or their C.O.'s did not respond to inquiries and are not included; others reporting were inclined to include men who never actually passed through their Regiments.

Corps	Address	Officers	N.C.O.'s and Men
67th Regiment	Woodstock, N.B	37	600
15th Regiment	Belleville	61	1,750
101st Regiment	Edmonton	187	2,910
13th Battery	Winnipeg	23	343
15th Battery	Montreal	7	197
105th Regiment	Saskatoon	130	575
22nd Battery	Montreal	17	233
35th Battery	Montreal	4	235
39th Battery	Montreal	9	90
69th Regiment	Williamstown	32	325
38th Regiment	Brantford	91	2,211
102nd Regiment	Kamloops	..	4,386
51st Regiment	Sault Ste. Marie	20	602

A vigorous effort developed in March to raise a force for Home defence which would be distinct from the Army on active service. As the young and eligible men would no longer volunteer in any large numbers it was hoped to obtain their support for a service which would not divorce them from home-ties and occupations and yet would give them a certain amount of training and perhaps develop a military and patriotic spirit which, in turn, would induce them to enlist for active service. Meanwhile, they would help to guard Canada against complications from Germans in the States which then were feared, and enable the 50,000, or so, of troops in local training for the Front to go overseas. It was understood to be a last effort of Sir Edward Kemp as Minister to obtain voluntary enlistment and, on Mar. 16, he announced the details of the scheme. By it 50,000 men were asked for in a Canadian Defence Force so that troops still in Canada might be released and sent overseas. The Minister's Memorandum put it as follows: "An appeal is now made to the manhood of Canada for an equal number of men to volunteer for home defence by joining the active militia. An opportunity is now afforded to those who have been prevented from undertaking Overseas service to join this movement." Men enlisting for Home defence or Overseas service would be trained together; the pay and separation allowances in the former case were slightly less, the term of enlistment was the same—six months after the close of the War—and the time for training was two evenings and one afternoon a week; there was to be a joint summer camp and the men of the C.E.F. would have a distinguishing badge. From London Sir Robert Borden sent a despatch appealing for support to the scheme.

From the first, however, the proposal was not popular. Opposition papers described it as a weak Government effort to avoid Conscription and its problems; military men regarded it as a compromise with the real issue and many were frank in saying that it would fail; the real slacker would not give up his comfort or risk his position for Home service any more than for Active service; the young man who really thought himself unable to go was not interested, did not want to pose as a sort of half-and-half soldier and was unwilling to sacrifice position and salary for what looked like a dying effort of voluntaryism. Maj.-Gen. S. C. Mewburn of Hamilton, an officer of great organizing experience, was put in charge of the C.D.F. as Director-General and Maj.-Gen. W. A. Logie, the efficient, energetic commander of Military District No. 2 for nearly three years, gave all support possible to the project.

In Toronto on Mar. 24 a Conference of military men was held with Generals Mewburn and Logie present and, despite doubts, the officers undertook to give the scheme a fair trial. The Toronto-Hamilton district, from which a large return was hoped, was divided into four sections with Lieut.-Colonels P. L. Mason, B. H. Belson, Wm. Hendrie and J. I. McLaren as Brigadiers. General Logie on Mar. 29 addressed the Royal Grenadiers in Toronto and appealed through them to all militiamen to make the new Force a success—"to enlist for drill on a few more nights a week than you have been doing, and then to go into camp on the first of May, for the defence of Canada." At the same time appointments to command of the ten proposed Battalions in the Toronto District were announced and during the next few weeks vigorous efforts were made to interest the public in the proposal. Advertisements filled the press asking men to come forward and release others to fight in France; to the Queen's Own, Toronto, on Apr. 10 and on other occasions General Logie urged patriotic men to help in preventing Canada from being denuded of fighting forces; Militiamen were told that this was the purpose for which they originally had put on a uniform and that they should live up to their obligation.

To the Commons on May 3 Sir Edward Kemp stated that returns to date were small and by this time the general opinion was that the project had failed. As a matter of fact those who enlisted in the C.D.F. side by side with others going into the C.E.F. said, in effect, that they would make sacrifices and could serve in the Army at home but would not make the same sacrifices to serve abroad where there was fighting to be done! Hence the situation which developed and made General Mewburn tell the military officers of Victoria, B.C., on May 10, that their recommendations for conscription by enforcement of the Militia Act voiced a sentiment which he had heard throughout Canada. On May 25 orders were issued that no more appointments of officers or enlistment of men would be made for the C.D.F. It was understood that out of 10,000 men called for from the Toronto District only 1,000 had been obtained. In Parliament on June 25 Sir Edward Kemp gave his reasons for the effort and its valedictory at the same time: "Because of this request for troops from the Overseas authorities, and because of the depleted condition of the Militia force in Canada, and because of the general idea that there were a great many men in this country who would enlist for Home defence but not for Overseas service, it was thought desirable to institute this campaign as a last new effort in voluntary recruiting."

An important issue raised at this time was the question of what had become of many thousands of men enlisted but not then on the strength of the Expeditionary Force. At Ottawa on Mar. 2 Lieut.-Col. C. S. McInnes, Assistant Adjutant-General, testified before a Parliamentary Committee that the total number of men weeded out in Canada before their battalions went Overseas was 50,000. The monetary loss to the country, he said, had been a heavy one, as the recruiting and training costs for each man were very considerable: "In England many who were not fit for all

purposes at the Front were assigned to other duties, some going to the Forestry units, some to technical work, etc." Out of 10,000 men who had returned to Canada up to the end of 1916 Col. McInnes thought that probably 1,000 should never have been allowed to go over at all. On May 15 the total of Canadian enlistments was 414,402 and in the Commons on May 30 it was officially stated that up to May 1st 312,503 men had left Canada for Overseas, while 25,475 men and officers of the C.E.F. were on service in Canada. Obviously, about 76,000 men were not accounted for and much was made of this in the press hostile to the Government. On Aug. 6 Sir Edward Kemp gave the exact total up to June 30 as 76,038. Then the issue turned upon the latter figures and the Regina *Leader* put it as follows: "Why were they discharged? What was the reason? And where have they gone? All these men were accepted after medical examination, so that they cannot be placed in the class of the medically unfit!" The answer had already been given by the Minister in the House on July 6 up to May 31 as follows:

Not likely to become efficient.	5,345	Special cases	1,127
Medically unfit	33,887	Deaths	573
Absentees struck off	13,081	Miscellaneous	1,085
Under age	2,086	Not classified	1,106
By purchase	1,248	Irregularly attested	1,725
Misconduct, Undesirables, etc.	2,371		
To accept Commission	919	Total	64,553

Criticism then switched to the recruiting system which could take on so many unfit men, train them at great expense and then find that they had to be discharged—and Dr. H. A. Bruce and Sir Wm. Baptie, in their respective Reports, commented unfavourably. It was a condition due in fact to (1) haste, (2) carelessness, and (3) enthusiasm of men and officers alike. By Oct. 31, 1917 (Conscription came into force on Oct. 15) the following were the total figures of enlistment by Provinces: Ontario 191,632, Quebec 48,934, Nova Scotia and P. E. Island 23,436, New Brunswick 18,022, Manitoba 52,784, Saskatchewan 26,111, Alberta 35,279, British Columbia and Yukon 42,608—Total 438,806. By country of birth this total showed Canadian born 197,473, British Isles 215,769, others 26,564.

Associated with military affairs were various Departmental orders and regulations. On Feb. 1 the Minister issued a statement as to personal requests about soldiers which had become very numerous. He stated that the services of every available man, in whatever capacity his physical and other capabilities fitted him to occupy, was urgently required both in England and at the Front: "It should, therefore, be clearly understood that the exigencies of the Military situation must be the primary consideration." It was further explained that (1) the only channel for obtaining a commission Overseas was through an application from the soldier to his Commanding Officer; that (2) on request of the British authorities no further requests for return of men to take out commissions in Canada would be forwarded; that (3) all promotions were "according to efficiency and seniority" and must be seconded by superior officers; that (4) transfers from one unit to another Overseas were undesirable

and, in any case, could only be made through the soldier and his C.O.; that (5) as to leave or discharge on medical grounds the recommendations of the Medical Officer of the Unit were invariably followed; that (6) applications for leave or discharge on "compassionate grounds"—death, illness or domestic troubles at home—could be very seldom granted and, in any case, must go through an O.C. of a Canadian Military District.

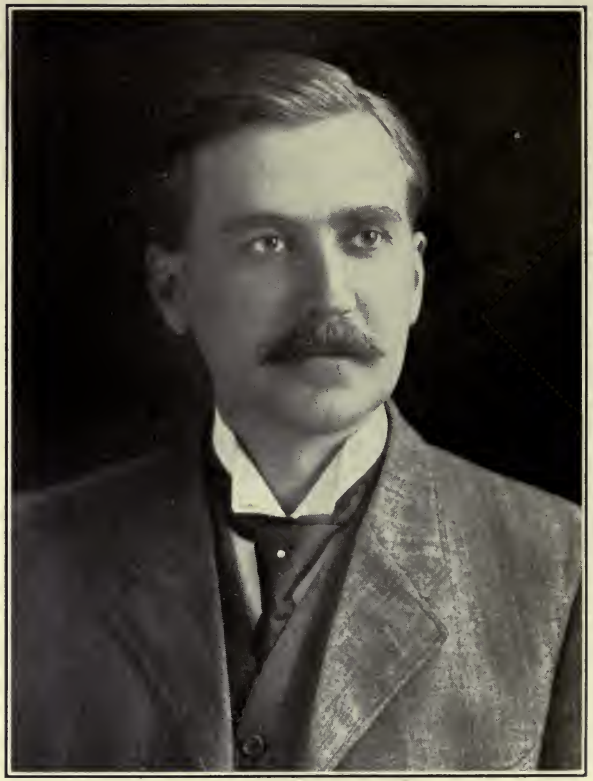
On the same date orders were issued to prohibit travel to the United Kingdom without passports obtained from the Secretary of State for External Affairs—in order to check the thousands of persons going to England and adding to the war-burdens of that country in the way of food and shipping. On Mar. 27 a Departmental letter stated that there were "in Canada many lieutenants qualified and awaiting appointments in the Expeditionary Force with no chance of going Overseas unless they were either seconded or resigned their commissions"; that it was hoped many would enlist and the assurance given that promotions would be rapid; that "the intention was to grant no more commissions in the Expeditionary Force *in* Canada." A system of travel permits for Canadians between 18 and 45 years of age was inaugurated on May 24 which involved photograph and references and was intended to prevent the avoidance of military service—a fine of $2,500 or 5 years imprisonment, or both, being the extreme penalty.

An Order-in-Council of June 29 regulated the wearing of military uniforms and forbade "any person, not an officer or man of the Militia, or an officer or soldier of any other Forces of His Majesty, to wear any uniform or any articles of clothing similar to the uniform of the Militia or other Forces"—except retired officers and soldiers honourably retired, having permission in writing from the C.O. of the District. Official instructions of July 18 dealt at length with problems of venereal disease, ordered vigorous action on the part of District Officers Commanding, and gave rules for dealing sharply with any neglect of instructions by subordinate officers. It was described as "the greatest remaining cause of military ineffectiveness" and as essentially a disciplinary matter.

In Parliament, on Aug. 18, the re-organization of the Royal North-West Mounted Police, as a result of the establishment of Provincial Police by Alberta and Saskatchewan, was discussed and it appeared that the authorized strength of this splendid Force was 1,200, exclusive of officers, and the present strength 742; that 76 men had purchased their discharges in order to enlist and that many others had applied to go at a time when it was not deemed wise to reduce the numbers—56 Imperial reservists being, however, permitted to do so. On Nov. 5 Regulations were issued making vaccination against smallpox, inoculation against typhoid, dysentery, cholera, etc., and blood-examinations in respect to venereal disease, compulsory in the C.E.F. An Order-in-Council, Mar. 15, had dealt with the complaints as to Insurance companies disputing official death certificates of soldiers; stated that "the casualty records had been carefully searched, and not a single instance found of any man having been found to be alive" after certificates



The Rt. Hon. Sir George E. Foster, G.C.M.G., M.P.,
Minister of Trade and Commerce.



The Hon. Sir W. T. White, M.P.,
Minister of Finance.

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were issued; and provided that "all Insurance companies transacting business of life insurance in Canada shall accept as satisfactory proof of death such official certificates of death." On Aug. 25 new regulations were issued as to Separation allowances—the Government grant to dependants of officers and men on the strength of the C.E.F. The rates were stated as follows:

	per Month		per Month
Rank and File	$20.00	Lieutenants	$30.00
Sergeants and higher rank below that of W.O. (1st Class)	25.00	Captains	40.00
Warrant Officers, (1st Class)	30.00	Majors	50.00
		Officers of higher Field rank	60.00

Military incidents of the year included a statement of Sir Edward Kemp on Feb. 5 that since the outbreak of war voluntary subscriptions by the people of Canada for the purchase of machine guns had totalled $1,271,257 and that the total amount spent by the Government for the purchase of such guns, spare parts, etc., was $3,527,894; the depositing of the Colours of the 169th Battalion, an active service unit of the 109th Regiment, with solemn ceremony in St. Paul's Church, Toronto, on May 13; the organization work attempted by Brig.-Gen. the Hon. James Mason as Chief Organizer of the Reserve Militia in Canada and the Government decision at the close of the year that no man of military age could be accepted as an officer in this Reserve—which made it difficult to maintain the units; the authorization in September of a Reserve of Officers, C.E.F., with retention of rank and preference for employment when fitted—especially those sharing in active war operations.

During this year the long-continued controversy as to the merits or otherwise of the Ross Rifle came to an end and with it, for the moment, the effort to manufacture rifles in Canada. In 1915 the expressed opinions of F.-M. Sir John French, and in 1916 of F.-M. Sir Douglas Haig, had been unfavourable to the further use of the rifle at the Front; the Canadian troops themselves had lost confidence in it and the Lee-Enfield had been gradually substituted with the consent and approval of the Canadian Premier. Sir Sam Hughes, however, continued to believe in its efficiency and value, while some Liberals in Parliament and some journals in the country were bitter in denunciation of its use—even for a time—and especially of its continued manufacture. F. B. Carvell (Lib.) brought up the subject in the Commons on Feb. 2, 1917, and urged the Government to make a Ross rifle with a Lee-Enfield bolt, chamber and magazine, or an improved Lee-Enfield such as the United States was making; the Premier dealt in reply with the original contract made under a Liberal Government, with the attempted changes in the rifle, and the difficulties of cancelling or repudiating the contract; Sir Sam Hughes maintained his defence—and defiance—as to the rifle and all its works.

On the 5th Sir Robert Borden gave a detailed list of 10 changes or improvements made in the rifle and stated that a formal notice had been given the Company as to making one of the Lee-Enfield character. A prolonged discussion followed in Committee—General Hughes declaring that the Lee-Enfield was found defective in South

Africa and was so considered by the Japanese Government and was altogether unfit compared with the Ross. Hon. Arthur Meighen spoke for the Government and Hon. F. Oliver against. The Hon. G. P. Graham urged the nationalization of the Ross Factory at once and the manufacture of a new rifle, and the Toronto *Globe* endorsed this proposal. On Mar. 18 it was announced by the Government that the contract for 100,000 Ross rifles, entered into with the Ross Rifle Co., in February, 1916, had been cancelled because of the Company's default in deliveries. The Imperial Government had, prior to this, cancelled its orders and the works at once closed down; on Mar. 28, under Order-in-Council, the Government took over the Rifle Factory and placed it under the Militia Department; a little later W. Shires Fisher of St. John was appointed Commissioner in charge.

Meanwhile, Sir Sam Hughes, though no longer on the front bench in the Commons, still, at times, held a conspicuous place in military discussions. Always "thorough," he told the Canadian Club at New York on Jan. 8 that Germany should hand over its Navy to the Allies as a guarantee of peace, the Kiel Canal be made free to the world and the Hohenzollern autocracy overthrown. At a Masonic meeting in Toronto on Jan. 9 he reiterated his belief in universal military training for the youth of the land while living at home, or in schools where they had proper associations, and from 10 to 16 years of age. On the 28th he stated in a Montreal address that if he were Minister of Militia again he would have no hesitation in applying the Militia Act and claimed there still were 700,000 single men of eligible age in the Dominion. He advocated enrolling from 100,000 to 300,000 men for home defence in Canada and denounced the British authorities for alleged efforts (1) to prevent Canadian control of its Forces in England, (2) to prevent Canadians from voting in the trenches, and (3) to oppose his desire to use Canadian equipment in England and at the Front.

In the Commons on Jan. 30 he presented a vindication of his work as Minister which was characteristically vehement, bitter against British officers and officials, deprecatory of regular soldiers in comparison with volunteers and civilian troops, assertive of Canada's rights and his, as Minister, against all and sundry British regulations, customs, traditions or military precedents. He wanted General Currie or General Turner in command of the Canadian Army Corps and freely criticized Sir Thomas White for interference (on financial grounds) with his Department when he was Minister, and also Sir George Perley's English administration of Canadian affairs. Speaking at Belleville (Feb. 25) he said that "if the labour supply of Canada was properly organized and the women workers properly mobilized, there would be no dearth of help, either for agricultural or war munitions production." On Apr. 6 he wired President Wilson at Washington, offering congratulations on his War policy and any personal help he could render in suggestions or advice. In a speech at Lindsay on Apr. 28 he accused the Prime Minister and Munition makers of holding up recruiting in March, 1916, and in the Commons on June 19 repeated the charge in general

terms and without specific proofs. He declared that German gold was behind the anti-recruiting movement with so-called Labour leaders influenced by it *via* United States Germans; that Canadian journalists, in the pay of Germanized peace organizations were preaching Pacificism; that manufacturers wanted cheap labour and big profits and influenced the Imperial Munitions Board, the Cabinet and the Premier.

The Premier, on July 6, emphatically denied the allegation as to recruiting in terms similar to his denial of Jan. 29; his idea was not to hold up enlistment but re-arrange and properly organize it. This denial applied, also, to the alleged terms of a conversation with J. M. Godfrey of Toronto; Sir Thomas White and M. H. Irish, M.L.A., of Toronto, whose names had been brought in, also denied the statement. Meanwhile the Union Government had been formed, the Elections had come and gone, and since Oct. 12 Maj.-Gen. S. C. Mewburn of Hamilton had been Minister of Militia and Sir Edward Kemp in charge of military affairs Overseas. There were a number of important military changes and appointments during the year in Canada. Maj.-Gen. W. E. Hodgins retired as Acting Adjutant-General to accept an appointment on the Overseas Mobilization Committee as representative of the Militia Department and General Mewburn took his place; Maj.-Gen. D. A. Macdonald, C.M.G., I.S.O., retired as Quartermaster-General at Headquarters and was afterwards knighted for his services; other appointments were as follows:

Acting Adjutant-General	Colonel E. C. Ashton.
Director-General of Engineer Services	Col. A. P. Deroche.
Hon. Colonel	The Rev. J. M. Almond, C.M.G.
Hon. Colonel 28th N.B. Dragoons	Brig.-Gen. H. H. McLean.
O.C. of Military District No. 11	Maj.-Gen. R. G. Edwards-Leckie, C.M.G.
Hon. Colonel	Lieut.-Col. J. J. Carrick.
Hon. Colonel A.M.C.	Surg.-Gen. G. Sterling Ryerson.
O.C. of Military District No. 12	Maj.-Gen. J. C. MacDougall, C.M.G.
Commandant, Exhibition Camp, Toronto	Lieut.-Col. John I. McLaren.
Major-General (T)	Brig.-Gen. R. G. Edwards-Leckie, C.M.G.
Major-General (T)	Brig.-Gen. Hugh H. McLean.
Military Secretary to Minister of Militia	Lieut.-Col. Henry C. Osborne.
Colonel in Militia	Lieut.-Col. I. H. Cameron, M.B.
Acting Quartermaster-General	Col. J. Lyons Biggar

The Government and the War; Departments and Commissions.

The Government on Jan. 1, 1917, through H.E. the Governor-General, greeted King George V., all the Allied rulers and the Indian, South African, New Zealand, Australian and Newfoundland peoples with felicitations upon the part taken by their respective troops in the War, with earnest hope for success in the coming battles and with a statement of Canada's position which was summarized in the despatch to His Majesty at London: "They desire to express once more the firm and unwavering resolve of the Canadian people to spare no effort and shrink from no sacrifice which may be necessary on their part." On Jan. 11 a Conference was concluded at Ottawa between Provincial and Federal Government representatives as to a despatch from the British Government which expressed the desire to retain ex-soldiers within the United Kingdom as far as possible, but to co-operate with the Dominions in retaining them within the Empire in case they should desire to emigrate. In-

formation was desired as to amounts and quality of land for settlement, size of holding, extent of Government assistance, etc., and also openings for employment, if any, afforded by the Governments of the Overseas Dominions. It was also proposed that a central body should be established in the United Kingdom to take such action as might be necessary there for this purpose, and the suggestion was made that each of the Dominions should be represented. The subject was discussed very fully at the Conference and all possible information by the Provinces promised to the Federal authorities; methods of co-operation and questions of employment were dealt with.

In June it was announced that the Government had filled 3,686 vacancies in the public service of 18 Departments with returned soldiers while 9 Postmasterships were being held vacant for returning men. On Sept. 2 a telegraphic leased wire service, operating day and night and linking up for the first time the daily newspapers of Canada, East and West, was inaugurated as the result of united action by the Borden Government and Canadian publishers. The Service covered 6,000 miles of wire and was to be operated by The Canadian Press, Ltd., of which the Head Office was in Toronto with C. O. Knowles as General Manager, various News Bureaux at Winnipeg, Montreal, Halifax and Vancouver and a strong inter-Provincial Directorate. To E. F. Slack, President at Montreal, came congratulations from the Premier in which he said: "It should be the means of bringing into closer touch widely-separated communities; make their people more familiar with the ideals and aims of other provinces or districts; assist in bringing mutual understanding to all, and thus aid in the growth of a national consciousness and a truly national spirit."

The Government completed the Quebec Bridge during this year at an estimated cost of $17,000,000 or a total—with that of the disasters which came to this great undertaking—of about $35,000,000. It was said to be the most remarkable steel structure ever built and was designed to carry the main line of the Transcontinental Railway across the St. Lawrence near Quebec. The length of the suspended span was 640 feet and from shore to shore 3,739 feet, the total steel used was 66,655 tons. The central span was duly placed on Sept. 19, with Phelps Johnson, President of the St. Lawrence Bridge Co., G. H. Duggan, Chief Engineer, and W. L. Montserrat, H. P. Borden and Ralph Modjeski, members of the Government Bridge Commission, present. In September the Canadian Government adhered to an Imperial Treaty with Portugal, under which certain commercial advantages were accorded the countries concerned; on Sept. 23 Capt. J. E. Bernier returned from his 7th Arctic trip and reported with special knowledge as to Baffin's Land and an alleged 40,000 miles of fishing rights and of a "Middle passage" free of ice; on Dec. 26 the Minister of Naval Affairs received word that V. Stefansson, the explorer, was in safety and that the Government expedition which he led to the Arctic regions in the *Karluk* from Victoria on June 17, 1913, was for the moment at an end after discovering three lots of new land of more or less geogra-

phical import. To the Halifax sufferers from explosion and fire the Government accorded $5,000,000 on Dec. 20; on Oct. 24 Sir Robert Borden issued a statement as to Patronage abolition:

> The work of the War Purchasing Committee has been so satisfactory and effective that the Prime Minister has under consideration the retention of its organization as General Purchasing Commission for all Departments of the Government. . . . In pursuance of the Government's intentions to abolish patronage both in respect of appointments to the public service and in the purchase of supplies, there will hereafter be no patronage lists in any Department of the Government. There has been no such list in the War Purchasing Commission which has purchased all supplies by tender after public advertisement or circular addressed to all known sources of supply in this country.

Meantime Orders-in-Council—largely under the War Measures Act—had been infinitely varied and covered a wide field of war requirement, Government policy and Canadian needs. The Censorship Orders were co-ordinated and consolidated (Feb. 3); military and naval officials were given certain powers in respect to alleged spies (Feb. 13); the entry of American farm labourers during the agricultural season was facilitated and regulated (Feb. 28); Naval Service Separation Allowances were re-organized and regulated (Jan. 5); no assignment of any right in Dominion lands, waterpowers, mining, school and timber lands, etc., was to be granted except to a British or Allied subject before and since the outbreak of war (Mar. 5); the Expropriation Act was extended to cover the taking over of buildings, machinery, materials, tools, plants, etc., as well as land in cases concerned with munitions and other warwork (Mar. 17); women and girls and children under 12 were forbidden passage from Canada through the enemy war zones (Feb. 20); male persons of military age or national service capacity from 18 to 45 were forbidden to leave Canada—subject to specific regulations (May 24); the exportation of wheat flour was forbidden except to the United Kingdom and other British countries and made subject to license (Aug. 18); passports were made necessary for any person travelling by ship to any point outside of Canada and the United States (Aug. 9); the exportation of arms, ammunition, fuel, food, cotton, wool, machines, implements, and a long list of necessary articles and products were forbidden to Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Holland (Sept. 8); the possession of matches or anything with powers of ignition or explosion, or attempt to introduce them into any factory where explosives were made, was forbidden (Sept. 20); the importation and sale of Coal in Canada was regulated and placed under control of a Fuel Controller (Oct. 26); the use of grain in the distillation of potable liquors was prohibited (Nov. 2); special regulations as to Separation Allowances were issued on Feb. 16 and Sept. 13; the exportation of various grains and foodstuffs was forbidden to the United Kingdom and British countries except under license from the Food Controller (Dec. 3); the British statutory Black List of enemy traders was accepted, subject to certain exceptions, and complete to June 22, 1917, (Aug. 25) and additions were afterwards accepted up to Nov. 9. On Apr. 10 various War Orders-in-Council from 1914 up to date were consolidated into the Defence of Canada Order, 1917.

There were a number of Government changes in 1917—apart from the Coalition developments which are dealt with separately. On Jan. 8 the Hon. J. P. Albert Sévigny, B.A., M.P., since 1911, and Speaker of the Commons, was appointed Minister of Inland Revenue; Hon. P. E. Blondin, Secretary of State, became Postmaster General in succession to the late T. Chase Casgrain; Hon. E. I. Patenaude, Minister of Inland Revenue, took Mr. Blondin's place. On Mar. 21 it was announced that the latter intended to go on active service and devote his energies, first, to raising a Battalion in Montreal. His resignation was offered but not accepted; he was created a Lieut.-Colonel, took command of a volunteer Battalion in course of formation and, with General Lessard, tried to arouse sentiment in Quebec. Later he went to England with his men. A curious incident of the year was the publicity given to the personal use at Quebec by Mr. Sévigny of some furniture borrowed from the Speaker's Chambers at Ottawa after the Fire and at a time when he held the position of Speaker. The Minister told the House on June 6 that it was done with the assent of the Officers concerned and with no idea of permanent use, and that the effects had since been returned. Some party capital was made out of the matter. On June 5 Mr. Patenaude resigned his Portfolio in a letter to the Premier expressing his loyalty to the Allied cause but inability to support Conscription: "The proposed law threatens to destroy unity and to give rise throughout the country to deep internal divisions, of long duration, and even detrimental to the needs of the present moment."

The retirement of Hon. Robert Rogers, Minister of Public Works, was an important political event which developed out of matters which were widely discussed. The personality of Mr. Rogers was popular and likeable; his reputation and record had been as bitterly attacked by political opponents as were those of Sir Clifford Sifton by the Conservatives when he held office in the Laurier Government; his great ability as a business man, a politician and an organizer was generally recognized. During 1916 the Hon. A. C. Galt, as a Special Commissioner of the Norris Government, in Manitoba, had been investigating alleged scandals in the location and construction of the new Agricultural College of that Province under the Roblin *régime*. Mr. Rogers' name and policy, when Minister of Public Works in the Roblin Government, had come up and Mr. Justice Galt was severe in his strictures and implications. Mr. Rogers had been examined and in turn had denounced the Commissioner as acting with impropriety in holding such a position while a Judge in the Manitoba Courts, and with "graft" in accepting remuneration for his work.* On Jan. 30 an interim Report was submitted to the Legislature and in it the Commissioner handled Mr. Rogers very freely. He refused to accept various statements made by the Minister in his evidence—six of them in detail; he found (1) that Mr. Rogers had suggested to a contractor named Carter the increasing of his tender which was done to the extent of $8,700,

*NOTE.—Mr. Justice Galt had been a Conservative and was appointed to the Bench by the Borden Government in 1912.

(2) that this was added to the original amount of the Order-in-Council, and (3) that the Carter Company made various overcharges totalling $16,070, and (4) made a contribution to the Conservative Campaign funds.

Mr. Rogers replied on the 31st with a declaration that the Commissioner was "manufacturing Liberal campaign munition for the Norris Government." He stated that the Provincial Architect had reported the Carter tender as too low and the actual cost of the work as $8,000 higher; the Minister had then telephoned this statement to Mr. Carter who was to see the Architect and that was all he, Mr. Rogers, had to do with the matter. As Mr. Carter shortly after this contributed $7,500 to the 1911 Dominion campaign fund of the Conservative party the inference to all partisans was obvious and it was made the most of by various journals opposed to Mr. Rogers and the Borden Government. The Ottawa *Citizen*, the Toronto *Globe*, the Winnipeg *Free Press*, and other Liberal journals demanded the Minister's resignation. Following these incidents Sir Robert Borden showed his disbelief in the charges by taking Mr. Rogers to England with him while the party attacks continued in Canada with many references in *The Globe* and elsewhere to Mr. Rogers as the "Master of the Administration." On May 26th another Report was issued by Commissioner Galt as to work done by the notorious Winnipeg contractors, Thomas Kelly & Sons. In it he charged a conspiracy "to provide moneys for the Conservative campaign fund, for use at both Dominion and Provincial elections, from Thomas Kelly & Sons and others who should be contractors for the various buildings comprising the new College; and, to provide Thomas Kelly with funds out of the Provincial Treasury over and above what he might legitimately earn."

His method of analysis was unique in judicial documents: (1) Mr. Rogers was to "create an atmosphere of laxity in his Department," (2) contracts for "extras" were to be lavishly granted, (3) Conservative workers were then to call on the Contractors for party contributions. The answer of the Conservative press to this statement was that it was pure assumption, fiction and invention—not a Judicial finding or proven verdict. Mr. Rogers characterized it as "unadulterated falsehood" and declared himself ignorant, as a Manitoba Minister or since, of Thomas Kelly having ever contributed one dollar to party funds. The Liberal press campaign against the Minister was further encouraged, however, and on June 2 *The Globe* described his presence in the Government as an "intolerable dishonour." Meanwhile, on May 28, Mr. Rogers had written the Prime Minister, reviewing his position in the case; declaring the Commissioner's attitude to be one of determined and personal malice, and claiming to be "entitled to a full and fair investigation by a tribunal in high standing of all matters contained in these Reports, reflecting in any way on my public conduct." This was at once granted and by Order-in-Council of June 6 Sir Ezekiel McLeod, Chief Justice of New Brunswick, and Hon. Louis Tellier of Montreal, were appointed Commissioners for "reviewing and considering the evidence taken before Commissioner Galt."

In the Commons on June 6 the Premier read the Minister's letter and stated that at his own request Mr. Rogers had been relieved of duty in the Department of Public Works. The Commission, sitting at Montreal, then commenced to review the evidence and, later on, asked the Norris Government if it desired representation. Mr. Norris (July 7) replied that no Provincial interests were involved and suggested that as the Galt Commission was still in existence Mr. Rogers could submit his evidence there if he desired. There was a brief public enquiry at Montreal on July 10 and on July 28 the Commission reported as follows:

1. That the increase of the Carter Company's tender by $8,700 was recommended by Mr. Hooper, the Provincial Architect, to Hon. Mr. Rogers.
2. That there was no connection whatever between such increase and the contribution of $7,500 made by the Carter Company to the Election fund.
3. That during the time Hon. Mr. Rogers was Minister of Public Works for Manitoba, all the contracts let for the Agricultural College buildings were properly let.
4. That the contracts themselves were carefully drawn and properly safeguarded the Government.
5. That the payments made during Hon. Mr. Rogers' term of office were made only after they had been duly and honestly certified by the proper officials of the Department.
6. That there was no conspiracy between Mr. Rogers and any contractor or other person.
7. That the evidence does not sustain the findings of Mr. Justice Galt in so far as they reflect upon or prejudicially affect the honour or integrity of Hon, Robert Rogers or the honesty of his dealings or transactions.

The Report itself was an elaborate document; meanwhile there had been a statement by Hon. Wm. Pugsley, a Liberal leader, in the Commons on July 23 that no such document as that of Commissioner Galt "should be accepted without the evidence upon which the findings were supposed to be based being reviewed either by Parliament, a Committee of Parliament or in some other way"; on Aug. 2 Mr. Rogers was presented with a Memorial signed by 70 Conservative members of the Commons and dated July 27, which congratulated him upon the McLeod-Tellier findings and deprecated the "malice" of Mr. Commissioner Galt. On Aug. 15 Mr. Rogers wrote to the Premier reviewing his political attitude and the national situation; denouncing the Liberals for partisan conduct and slanderous campaigns in war-time; deprecating further effort to form a Coalition with Sir Wilfrid Laurier and criticising the "present inaction and indecision" of the Government. Sir Robert Borden replied (Aug. 17) and mentioned the large items of war-work carried out by the Government and pending in varied degrees of completion; at the same time he regretted an apparent divergence of view and accepted the Minister's resignation of his post.

The Minister of Trade and Commerce arranged, early in the year, with the authorities of France for two commercial trains; one stocked with samples of Canadian products to tour France, and the other to travel through Canada with French goods. By circular letter from the Department on Jan. 5 merchants, manufacturers and the general public were urgently requested to refrain from applying for permission to import material and supplies from

the United Kingdom, unless for war or other urgent national objects. Sir George Foster was Acting Prime Minister during Sir Robert Borden's absence in England; he had to deal with the Grain and Wheat prices situation; in an interview on Feb. 24 he paid special tribute to the British merchant marine and hoped that recent speeches of Lloyd George and Sir E. Carson "would bring home the gravity of the situation and shake us all out of our complacent feeling" as to the War. Meantime, his Department had been the medium through which demands for huge supplies of raw material were made known in Canada; it also was the intermediary through which the needs and claims of Canadian importers and exporters were brought to the attention of the proper authorities in England; large purchases for France, South Africa, Italy, Britain and Belgium were so arranged. During the year this Minister and the Census Commissioner, R. H. Coats, had charge of the new Industrial Census of Canada and the proposed annual Agricultural Census. In June the shortage of wire-rope became acute everywhere and Sir George issued instructions as to the best means of meeting a situation affecting war industries, ship-building, mining and logging very materially.

Immigration, though not a War problem, was closely associated with conditions expected to follow the War and for the fiscal year 1916-1917 the total entries into Canada were 75,395, of whom 61,389 came from the United States—10,246 being repatriated Canadians. Dr. W. J. Roche, Minister of the Interior, stated in the Commons (May 7) that a rush of after-war immigrants was expected. His Bill organizing Land Settlement for and by returned soldiers was explained as (1) keeping British settlers within the Empire and as applicable only to soldiers of the Empire; (2) setting aside such areas of Dominion land in such localities as might be approved by a Board of Commissioners, to be appointed to administer the work; (3) giving soldiers homesteads of 160 acres and providing for agricultural instruction to inexperienced men; (4) affording financial assistance by way of loans to those recommended as having the requisite skill and likely to succeed as farmers, for equipment, purchase of stock and improvements up to $2,000. The measure passed in due course.

The Hon. J. D. Hazen, as Minister of Naval Affairs and Marine and Fisheries, had an important War Department to administer; he also accompanied the Premier to the Imperial Conference and while in France visited the cemetery at Ypres where his son was buried; he took special interest, while in England, in shipbuilding matters and conditions; at Toronto on June 16 he was present at the launching of four vessels for the Protection service from the Polson Iron Works; as Minister he continued the large shipments of Canadian fish for the soldiers at the Front; on July 28 he agreed, at a St. John Conference, to provide the tonnage for bringing hard coal to New Brunswick. His annual statement in the Commons (Aug. 6) reviewed the Naval work of his Department—especially the Naval Intelligence branch which collected and distributed intelligence to and from its officers, the Admiralty and other Imperial

officers and was responsible that all merchant vessels received their proper orders, on leaving Canadian ports, with regard to their route and instructions for avoiding enemy submarines and other vessels. All matters, so far as they appertained to naval policy, regarding prohibited exports, detention of ships, supply of bunkers to merchant vessels, censorship of cables, press and wireless telegraph messages, arming of merchant vessels, suspected persons and kindred matters, were dealt with by this Branch. It was responsible for the distribution of all confidential books and documents, of which there were a great number, to Canadian naval officers and for all matters connected with the defence of Canadian coasts.

The Transport Service Branch was closely associated with the Acting Director of Overseas Transport and was responsible for the movements of all transports, carrying either troops or munitions; for the provision of any necessary escorts at sea and for seeing that the Imperial authorities received detailed information by telegraph of the cargoes of all transports before arrival in England. Naval dockyards and hospitals, the Royal Naval College, the Royal Naval Air Service and Volunteer Reserve, the Motor Boat Patrol, the Royal Naval Canadian Volunteer Reserve, were under charge of this Minister. From the R.N.C.V.R. 1,188 men had been sent Overseas, 382 officers for the Air Service had been sent to England, 300 sub-lieutenants and 100 men had been recruited in other services. The Radio-telegraph system had been largely developed and large Overseas transportation problems dealt with; as well as normal conditions such as Life-saving stations, Fisheries Protection, Tidal and Current Surveys, Hydrographic work, etc.; there were 40 students in the Royal Naval College at Halifax. On Oct. 15 Mr. Hazen's resignation was announced and in his letter of the 13th, accepting it, the Premier referred to his energy and industry, thoughtful diplomacy in international (United States) relations and personal firmness and courtesy. A little later he became Chief Justice of New Brunswick.

As to the other Ministers much has been said elsewhere. Mr. Doherty, as Minister of Justice, had to deal with many complicated Orders-in-Council and the operation of the Military Service and other War Acts; Mr. Cochrane as Minister of Railways had the rapidly-growing Government railways to manage and much re-organization work to do; Dr. Reid, Minister of Customs, had to regulate conditions which the War rendered complex though United States co-operation, when it came tended to make them easier; Sir James Lougheed had the Senate as his Portfolio and despite his tact and judgment did not always find it easy to manage; Mr. Meighen as Solicitor-General was not only a legal adviser but a much-appreciated public and Parliamentary speaker. At Vancouver on Mar. 30 he stated that Canada had now 57 medical institutions in different countries, that these hospitals were capable of accommodating from 35,000 to 40,000 patients, that Canada had the first and finest Dental service among the troops of the Allies and that such was its efficiency that they had been enabled to utilize 50,000 men, who would otherwise have been refused.

Of Departments in general it may be said that the ordinary expenditure of the Militia Department for 1916-17 (Mar. 31) totalled $4,301,785 and its War expenditure $298,291,031, compared with combined figures of $165,114,918 in 1915-16 and $63,168,431 in 1914-15 and that its total Pension payments in 1916-17 were $2,556,-056 and in 1915-16 $413,630. The Report of the Interior Department (Hon. W. J. Roche) showed a natural war decrease in Homestead entries in the Western Provinces from 31,829 in 1914 (Mar. 31) to 11,199 in 1917; Letters-patent issued for Dominion lands were nearly normal or 3,019,178 as the acreage total for 1917; the Land sales by Railway Companies and the Hudson's Bay Co., had increased from $7,398,191 in 1914 to $12,058,439 in 1917—and continued to grow during the latter year; Immigrants *via* ocean ports were 11,600 in 1915-16 and 13,985 in 1916-17, and from the United States 36,937 and 61,389 respectively. The following appointments (1) to the Senate, (2) to various positions, and (3) to the Bench, were made during the year:

1. APPOINTMENTS TO THE SENATE

Gazetted	Name	Address
Jan. 20th	Frederic Nicholls	Toronto.
"	Henry W. Richardson	Kingston.
"	Gideon D. Robertson	Welland.
"	George Lynch Staunton, K.C.	Hamilton.
"	Adam B. Crosby	Halifax.
"	Charles E. Tanner, K.C.	Pictou.
"	Thomas Jean Bourque	Richibucto.
Jan. 31st	Henry Willoughby Laird	Regina.
June 26th	Lytton Wilmot Shatford	Vancouver.
"	Albert E. Planta	Nanaimo.
June 29th	G ℨrge W. Fowler	Sussex.
July 26th	John Henry Fisher	Paris.
"	Richard Blain	Brampton.
"	Lendrum McMeans	Winnipeg.
"	David Ovide L'Esperence	Quebec.
July 27th	George Green Foster	Montreal.
July 30th	Richard Smeaton White	Montreal.
August 1st	Roderick Harold Clive Pringle	Cobourg.
"	Angus Claude Macdonell	Toronto.
Oct. 23rd	George Henry Barnard, K.C.	Victoria.
"	Wellington B. Willoughby	Moose Jaw.
"	Lieut.-Col. James Davis Taylor	New Westminster.
"	Frederick Laurence Schaffner	Boissevain.
Nov. 13th	William H. Bennett	Midland.
Dec. 17th	George Henry Bradbury	Selkirk.

2. GOVERNMENT APPOINTMENTS

Lieut.-Governor, New Brunswick	Gilbert W. Ganong	St. Stephen
" " "	Hon. Wm. Pugsley, K.C., D.C.L.	St. John.
Member of the King's Privy Council for Canada	Hormisdas Laporte	Montreal.
Hon. A.D.C. to Governor-General	Capt. Ed. H. Martin, C.M.G., R.N.	Ottawa.
" " "	Lieut.-Com. Stephen H. Morres.	"
Clerk of Senate and Master in Chancery	Austen E. Blount	"
Postmaster of Montreal	Joseph E. E. Léonard	Montreal.
Member, Civil Service Commission	Clarence Jameson	Digby, N.S.
Collector of Inland Revenue	Michael J. O'Connor, K.C.	Ottawa.
A.D.C. to Governor-General	Capt. M. A. T. Ridley	"

Chairman, Ottawa Improvement Commission		Sir Henry K. Egan	Ottawa.
Member and Chairman, Civil Service Commission		Hon. Wm. J. Roche, M.D.	"
Comptroller, R.N.W. Mounted Police		Angus A. McLean	Chatham.
Superintendent, Geodetic Survey of Canada		Neil J. Ogilvie	Ottawa.
Chief Astronomer of Canada		Otto Julius Klotz, LL.D.	"
Harbour Commissioner		R. S. Gourlay	Toronto.
Post Office Inspector		H. W. Woods, ex-M.L.A.	St. John.
Superintendent, British Colonial Dredges		F. H. Shepherd, ex-M.P.	Nanaimo.
Superintendent of Reservoirs		Gerald Brabazon, ex-M.P.	Pt. du Fort.

3 Judicial Appointments

Judge: County Court of Vancouver	British Columbia	Hugh S. Cayley	Vancouver.
Junior Judge: County Court of Vancouver	"	H. D. Ruggles	"
Puisne Justice: Court of Appeal	"	David M. Eberts, K.C.	Victoria.
Judge: County Court of Dauphin	Manitoba	Angus L. Bonnycastle	Winnipeg.
Judge: Court of Appeal	"	Charles P. Fullerton, K.C.	"
Chief Justice, Appeal Division of Supreme Court	New Brunswick	Hon. John Douglas Hazen	St. John.
Judge: County Court District No. 6	Nova Scotia	Daniel McNeill, K.C.	Inverness.
Judge: County Court, District No. 4	"	Barclay Webster	Kentville.
Judge: County Court of Waterloo	Ontario	Wm. M. Reade	Waterloo.
Junior Judge: County of Huron	"	Edward M. Lewis	Goderich.
Junior Judge: County Court of Ontario	"	Robt. Ruddy, K.C.	Peterboro.
Junior Judge: County Court of Waterloo	"	E. J. Hearn, K.C.	Toronto.
Junior Judge: District Court of Algoma	"	James McN. Hall	Haileybury
Deputy Judge: County of Wentworth	"	John G. Gauld, K.C.	Hamilton.
Chief Justice: Supreme Court of Judicature	P.E. Island	Hon. John A. Mathieson	Charlott'n.
Puisne Judge: Superior Court	Quebec	Chas. A. Duclos, K.C.	Montreal.
Judge: District Court of Melville	Saskatchewan	Thomas J. Blain	Regina.
Judge: District Court of Battleford	"	Alex. D. McIntosh	Humboldt.

There were a number of Government Commissions during the year. Those dealing with Transportation and Military affairs are dealt with elsewhere. Hon. J. A. Chisholm, Rev. Dr. John Forrest and J. T. Joy of Halifax were appointed to inquire and report upon the unrest in the mining industry carried on by the Dominion Coal Co., Ltd.; W. H. Armstrong of Vancouver was appointed (Nov. 27) to inquire into the causes of unrest amongst employees of the Trail Consolidated Company; W. Sanford Evans, Ottawa, H. B. Thompson, Victoria, and F. T. James, Toronto, were appointed Commissioners to inquire into and report upon certain matters in connection with Fishing and Canning Industries, in District No. 2 of British Columbia; the Hon. M. S. McCarthy was appointed to investigate into and report upon certain differences concerning wages between the City of Edmonton and its Street Railway em-

ployees. The War Purchasing Commission (Hon. A. E. Kemp, G. F. Galt and H. Laporte) issued a Report of 4 large volumes in January with details of its heavy work which included the supervision of purchases for the Canadian forces as well as the Naval service and Internment operations, of clothing, equipment, munitions and supplies of every sort and the supervision of contracts for transportation. On Sir Edward Kemp's retirement to go overseas W. P. Gundy, Toronto, was appointed a member of the Commission. An important matter of the year was the appointment on Apr. 16 of R. A. Pringle, K.C., Ottawa, as a Commissioner to inquire into the Newsprint situation, including cost of production, sale, price and supply, in the Dominion of Canada. Many representations had been made to the Government by newspaper-owners urging action as to the control of, or decrease in prices charged for, newsprint paper. As a consequence conferences were held and a set price to Canadian consumers at the mill arranged for. Then came a United States investigation and the indictment of many paper manufacturers there for alleged infraction of the Sherman Anti-Trust law. The dependence of the United States upon Canada as to newsprint is shown in the following table:

Fiscal Year Ending June 30	U.S. Imports from Canada		Total U.S. Imports	
	Quantity Tons	Value	Quantity Tons	Value
1912	55,563	$ 2,101,023	56,854	$ 2,155,501
1913	146,733	5,646,289	147,479	5,681,109
1914	274,842	10,634,926	278,071	10,765,108
1915	329,314	12,742,743	332,782	12,883,452
1916	438,212	16,646,891	438,746	16,670,604

Before the Commission H. A. Stewart, K.C., Brockville, was Counsel for the Government and W. N. Tilley, K.C., Toronto, for the newspapers. On June 21 the Commissioner ruled that under the Order-in-Council his investigations were confined to the cost of production, selling price and supply of newspaper-print in Canada and thereupon Mr. Tilley withdrew from the Commission on the ground that an inquiry limited to the 11 per cent, of Canadian production used in Canada was worthless. Later he returned to the work. During the inquiry the Abitibi Power & Paper Co. admitted a profit of $20.45 a ton on a selling price of $50; the Donnacona Paper Co. Limited, showed an increase in the cost of newsprint paper from $29.21 a ton in 1915 to $45.39 a ton in 1916, and $50.20 a ton during the first four months of 1917; the Laurentide Co. sold in 1916 more than 23,000 tons of sulphite in the United States at a profit per ton of almost $20 on a cost price per ton of $35. On July 10 A. H. Bowness, Superintendent of the Newsprint mill of the E. B. Eddy Co., said that the cost of manufacturing newsprint sulphite had been $41.56 a ton in 1914, $45.99 in 1915, $32.22 in 1916 and was $52.57 in 1917. The cost, therefore, had not varied greatly and, on Oct. 29 Mr. Pringle noted that from the statements of 11 Companies he had found that the average cost of producing newsprint at the plants was $57.50 per ton. Meantime, the manufacturers claimed to have been losing money under a Government fixed price of $50 per ton dating from early in the year—a total estimated at $500,000 but easily borne under the huge sulphite profits.

During the year Sir Charles Davidson, as Government Commissioner, submitted Reports upon a number of matters he had inquired into. He cleared R. A. Pringle, K.C., of charges as to tendering for supply of oats to the Military Department; in the Acton charges of 1915 against the Military Department and War Purchasing Commission he found that neither directly nor indirectly did the latter have anything to do with the matter in question; another Report found that there were no improprieties in connection with Government food supplies to troops in the vicinity of Regina in the early part of the War; still another declared that the purchase of horses for war purposes in the same vicinity was honestly carried out. These were published in March and in April the Commissioner dealt with the Garland case and severely condemned W. F. Garland, M.P., as "a profiteer of public contracts"; in two minor cases of alleged over-payment by the Military for oats and "house-wives" he found that there was nothing wrong; A. deWitt Foster, ex-M.P., was strongly condemned for weakness, though not dishonesty, in certain horse purchases for the Government late in 1914; of the allegations of fraudulent purchases of hay, etc., in respect to the Regina remount establishment in 1915 the Commissioner found forged vouchers and a small loss of $2,500 through fraud.

The Commission on Conservation under the able guidance of Sir Clifford Sifton found new fields of work amid war conditions—the example of Germany in its organization of minerals and agriculture and the needs of the world in economy, scientific production and industry and the elimination of waste being conspicuous elements. Town-planning under the control of Thomas Adams made steady progress during the year with organization of Civic Improvement Leagues and passage of various Provincial Acts; as did efforts at Forest protection from fire—with its losses of $150,000,000 in 50 years—and the work of the Branches dealing with Minerals, Fish, Game and Fur-bearing animals. During the year a valuable and elaborate Report upon Rural conditions and Problems in Canada by Mr. Adams was published by the Commission. The 8th annual meeting was held at Ottawa on Jan. 16-17 with Senator W. C. Edwards in the chair. Sir Clifford Sifton, from England, sent a long review of the work done and elaborate addresses were given, and afterwards published in the Proceedings, upon Fertilizers, Soil Tests, Forest Protection, Classification of Crown Lands, Town Planning, Food Conservation, Fur Resources, Food Production, Venereal Diseases and Water-Powers.

On Oct. 24 Sir Clifford Sifton wrote to the Government outlining the position of the Commission as to the application of the Power Development Co., Ltd., to dam the St. Lawrence River at the Coteau Rapids: "We submit that it is in the highest degree unwise for the Governments of Canada and the United States to encourage the exportation of power from one country to another when, in the near future, each country will require all the power it can develop or to which it is entitled." At a meeting of the Commission on Nov. 27 Sir Clifford stated that despite the world's needs and example "we still persist in a great degree in the crude

and wasteful methods naturally characteristic of a country where resources are abundant." He urged (1) the elimination of political patronage in Forestry work, (2) the regulation for Fire protection purposes of 4,300 miles of Railway still not subject to the Railway Commission, (3) the greater utilization of Western lignite coal, (4) an International Commission to control and develop Niagara and other water-powers. It may be added that in November Sir Henry Drayton, Chairman of the Board of Railway Commissioners, was appointed Controller of Electrical Energy in Ontario, and that M. E. Nichols of Montreal became Director of Public (War) Information.

The Civil Service of Ottawa, as of most of the Provinces, did well in War matters. Duties and work were greatly increased, hours of labour longer, responsibilities greater, contributions to Patriotic Funds from restricted incomes generous, the recruiting response excellent. A journal called *The Civilian* was published in the interests of this body of national workers—edited by Ernest Green—and it issued a volume called *Two Years of War* which gave some indication of the services rendered and unknown to the nation as a whole. In 1917 the Civil Service in Ottawa City contributed $165,000 to the Patriotic Fund alone and other sums to the Red Cross and similar Funds, while a Woman's branch gave freely in labour and money. As the year drew to a close official statistics showed that 1,000 men had volunteered from the Ottawa Service and 3,000 from the Outside Service; by Dec. 31 the total was 4,277—excluding Government Railways which totalled another 1,000. On Dec. 31 307 Civil Servants had laid down their lives in the War and 419 been wounded—with many others not officially known—and there were 19 Prisoners of War; of decorations 82 were on record as awarded to Canadian Civil Servants but the list was very incomplete.* The Civil Service Federation of Canada met at Ottawa on Nov. 27 with R. Holmes in the chair. An address was given by Hon. W. J. Roche, the new Chairman of the Civil Service Commission, who dealt with the question of Patronage and politics and their proposed elimination from appointments, in both the Inside and Outside Services. Walter Todd, Ottawa, was elected President.

Parliament and the War: Military Voters and War-Times Election Acts.

The 1917 Session of Parliament was both long and eventful. It was opened on Jan. 19 by H.E. the Duke of Devonshire with a Speech from the Throne, in which reference was made to the "enormous preparations" under way throughout the Empire for war purposes, the development of Canada's vast resources which would come after the War, the valour and heroism of His Majesty's forces in all arenas, the conspicuous resourcefulness of Canadian troops; the National Service policy was mentioned, the coming Imperial Conference and the 50th Anniversary of the founding of the Dominion referred to, and the commercial, financial and industrial stability

*NOTE.—The total number of Civil Servants contributing to the Superannuation Fund in 1913 was 10,593 and their annual salaries $11,640,813.

of the country recognized; the War patriotism of the past was declared to be in no wise abated and the determination of the Dominion strengthened to carry on for an abiding peace. A reference was made to the hoped-for extension of the Parliamentary term. At this time 25 members of the Commons were on active service and one had been killed. Later in the Session a Return showed the total number as 27 with 13 having returned to Canada. There were 11 vacancies reported during the recess; Edgar N. Rhodes, B.A., LL.B., member for Cumberland, N.S., since 1908, was unanimously elected Speaker; J. H. Rainville, LL.B., member for Chambly since 1911, was chosen Deputy Speaker; toward the close of the Session the retirement of Thomas B. Flint, M.A., D.C.L., ex-M.P., Clerk of the Commons since 1902. was announced. On Sept. 20 the Premier and Opposition Leader expressed appreciation of his services and on their motion he was made an Hon. Officer of the House; the Address was moved by G. C. Wilson, Wentworth, and seconded by J. A. Descarries, Jacques-Cartier. The Premier (Jan. 22) reviewed the year's War–work of the Government in its various Departments and after some days the Address was passed without division on Jan. 31. The chief debates of the Session were as follows:

Subject	Introduced by	Dates
Address by Mr. Balfour	The Premier	May 28.
Address by M. Viviani	The Premier	May 12.
Bruce-Baptie Reports	E. M. Macdonald	Feb. 6, July 31.
Budget, The	Sir Thomas White	Apr. 24, 27, May 1, 3, 4.
Capital Punishment	R. Bickerdike	Apr. 19, May 2.
Cattle Embargo, British	F. L. Schaffner	Apr. 30.
Conduct of the War	Col. J. A. Currie	May 21.
Daylight Saving	Sir George Foster	July 23.
Fisheries, Canadian	C. Jameson	June 5.
Flour Prices	G. W. Kyte	May 3.
Free Trade in Wheat	Hon. F. Oliver	May 23.
Fuel Resources	J. E. Armstrong	May 14.
Government Railways	H. Boulay	Apr. 25.
Governor-General's Speech	Sir Wilfrid Laurier	Jan. 22-3-4, 25-6, 29, 30.
Grain for Distilleries, etc	Sir George Foster	May 8.
Grand Trunk Pacific Rails	Hon. F. Oliver	May 30.
Imperial Munitions Board	G. W. Kyte	June 4.
Income Tax	Sir Thomas White	July 25, Aug. 2, 3, 17, Sept. 7, 15.
Insurance Act Amendments	Sir Thomas White	July 27, Aug. 4, 31.
Labour and Combines	Hon. G. P. Graham.	June 4.
Landry Commission in New Brunswick	Sir Wilfrid Laurier	Aug. 6.
Liquor in Military Camps	Hon. R. Lemieux	Apr. 26.
Liquor, Sale or Use of	Hon. C. Marcil	Aug. 11.
Live-stock, Loans on	Sir Thomas White	June 4.
Military Service Act	Sir Robert Borden	June 11, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 25-6-7-8-9, July 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 19, 24, Aug. 18.
Military Voters' Act	Hon. C. J. Doherty	Aug. 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 31.
Munitions, Manufacture of	E. M. Macdonald	Sept. 8.
National Service Board	R. B. Bennett	Sept. 20.
Naval Statement	Hon. J. D. Hazen	Aug. 6.
O'Connor Report	G. W. Kyte	July 30.

Subject	Introduced by	Dates
Overseas Minister	Sir Robert Borden	Aug. 7, 13, 17.
Parliamentary Term Extension	Sir Robert Borden	July 17.
Pelagic Sealing Treaty	E. M. Macdonald	Sept. 18.
Physical Welfare of People	Michael Steele	May 2.
Potatoes, Duties on	F. B. Carvell	Sept. 18.
Prime Minister in England	Sir Robert Borden	May 18.
Prisoners of War Parcels	Sir Edward Kemp	Apr. 24.
Prisoners of War Parcels	J. G. Turriff	July 31.
Proportional Representation	J. G. Turriff	Apr. 30.
Quebec and Saguenay Railway	Hon. W. Pugsley	Sept. 6.
Racing, Limitation of	Oliver J. Wilcox	Jan. 31.
Railway Situation—C.N.R.	Sir Thomas White	Aug. 1, 7, 8, 14, 15, 16, 17, 23, 27, 28, 29, 30.
Railways	W. M. German	July 14.
Railways	Hon. G. P. Graham	July 16.
Ross Rifle	Sir Robert Borden	Feb. 5.
Senate, Appointments to	A. K. Maclean	Apr. 30.
Senate, Constitution of	W. M. German	May 7.
Soldier Settlement Board	Hon. W. J. Roche	May 7, July 20, 25.
Soldiers, Homesteads for	Hon. F. Oliver	July 26.
Soldiers, Returned	F. F. Pardee	Feb. 5.
Soldiers, Returned	J. H. Burnham	May 21.
Submarine Menace	E. M. Macdonald	May 11.
Technical Education	Hon. R. Lemieux	May 9.
Tractor Engines, Duty on	A. B. McCoig.	Apr. 23.
Votes for Overseas Soldiers	Michael Steele	May 14.
War Loan	Sir Robert Borden	Feb. 1, 2, 6, 7.
War-Time Elections Act	Hon. A. Meighen	Sept. 6, 10, 11, 12, 14, 20.
Woman Suffrage	Sir Wilfrid Laurier	May 16.

The chief legislation of the Session—the longest since Confederation, with 136 sittings—were the Military Service Act, the Excess Profits and Income War-Tax Acts under which wealth was conscripted to some extent, as men were under the preceding measure. These and the C.N.R. Act are dealt with elsewhere and there were three others of which consideration follows. At the opening of Parliament Sir Robert Borden announced his desire to continue its term—which ended in October—without a War-time Election and the Governor-General's Speech stated that the Ministers believed both "the wishes of the Canadian people and the urgent requirements of the War would be best met by avoiding the distraction and confusion consequent upon a general election at so critical a time." There had been no Election in France or Britain during the War and the latter Parliament was extended from time to time without serious controversy. On July 17 the Premier introduced a Resolution proposing an Address to the King, asking that the British Parliament should further extend the term of the existing Canadian Parliament until Oct. 7, 1918.

He claimed that conditions and arguments and facts in favour of extension were similar to those of Feb. 8, 1916, when a similar request had been unanimously approved: "There has, up to the present time, been at least a seeming unity. Outside and inside of Parliament men have worked together without regard to party or race or creed. I believe that party political questions have not been very much in the minds of the people during the last three

years." He hoped this would continue. As to the contention that Conscription should not be enforced until a united and general effort of a voluntary character had been carried out, he asked how that was possible unless this proposal were accepted and a general election postponed. The Government did not appear as a suppliant but simply to try to avoid the distraction, bitterness and strife of a contest; they would not submit to the Imperial Parliament a divided House or country upon the question and, therefore, the vote must be practically unanimous. The Hon. G. P. Graham (Lib.) followed and declared that there were subjects more important than the extension of the Parliamentary term—the Patriotic Fund as a national matter, Transportation by land and sea, and Production, for instance. He moved this amendment:

> In the opinion of this House the consideration of the terms of said Resolution should be deferred until the Government brings before Parliament measures providing that those best able to pay will be asked to contribute their full share to the cost of the War and by which all agricultural, industrial, transportation and natural resources of Canada will be organized so as to insure the greatest possible assistance to the Empire in the War, and to reduce the cost of living to the Canadian people.

After a reply by Sir George Foster as to this Conscription of wealth policy and support to the motion from Hon. Wm. Pugsley and E. M. Macdonald, it was lost by 78 to 61. Sir Wilfrid Laurier then spoke and assumed full responsibility for the Opposition's refusal to extend the term and its consequent forcing of a general election. Many things had happened since last year and conditions had changed; there were 20 vacancies in Parliament, Conscription was imminent and to be passed by a moribund Parliament, other nefarious designs might be in contemplation, the Ross rifle situation was serious. A Referendum upon Conscription had been refused; now the Government sought to destroy "the sacred right of the people" to control their Parliament: "These are no longer British institutions; these are simply Prussian institutions, and to agree to the Resolution would be an abdication of responsible government and a denial of democracy and of the rights of a free people." Dr. Michael Clark (Lib.) opposed his Party leader in this matter; Hon. F. Oliver supported him and the Premier's Resolution carried by 82 to 62. On the 18th Sir Robert announced, in view of his pledge and the small majority, that the Government would take no further action in the matter. The Toronto *Globe* on this date reviewed the situation as one of politics: "An extension of the life of Parliament would be merely an extension of the life of the present Government, with no change of men or methods." A pronounced Government reconstruction or a Coalition would, it claimed, have changed the situation.

The next important matter was the Military Voters' Bill. Dr. Michael Steele (Cons.) had proposed in a Resolution on May 14 that "the Government should introduce legislation extending the franchise to every British citizen who enlisted with the Canadian forces for Overseas service," and Hon. A. Meighen, for the Government, promised careful consideration. On Aug. 13 the Hon. C. J. Doherty, Minister of Justice, introduced his Bill to make more

adequate and complete provision for the taking of the votes of soldiers during the present war than existed under present legislation. Conditions, he stated, had greatly changed since the Soldiers' Voting Act of 1915 and this measure contained important modifications of the old law and some new features. The C.E.F. had increased six-fold in numbers, Submarine perils made the bringing of the ballots across for counting difficult. Minute details as to the voting and for the protection of ballots were gone into: "There were to be special returning officers and each of these would have a clerk assigned to him. After the ballots were returned in sealed boxes to the Commissioner of Canada in France, to the Secretary of the High Commissioner in London, and then to the General Returning Officer in Canada, these special returning officers with their clerks would sort and count the ballots and furnish statements of the results to the Commissioners." The ballots were to be printed as voting for the Government or for the Opposition or any other Party candidate, but not for an individual by name; conscientious objectors against military service were disqualified from voting as were Mennonites or Doukhobors while all persons voting at the Elections lost claim to exemption from military service as conscientious objectors; there were provisions for recount and the Minister asked for suggestions. The military electors were specified to include:

> Every person, male or female, who, being a British subject has been placed on active service as one of the C.E.F., the Royal Canadian Navy, the Canadian Militia on active service, or the Royal Naval Canadian Volunteer Reserve, or has been, while within Canada, enrolled as one of the British R.F.C., Royal Naval Air Service, or Auxiliary Motor Boat Patrol Service, whether as officer, soldier, sailor, dentist, nurse, aviator, mechanician or otherwise, and who remains one of any such forces, or services, or has been honourably discharged therefrom, or in the case of an officer who has been permitted to resign or without fault on his part has had his services dispensed with, and every person, male or female, who, being a British subject ordinarily resident in Canada, whether or not a minor or an Indian, is on active service in Europe in any other of the forces or services, military or naval, of His Majesty or of His Allies.

The details of the Act involved much discussion and F. B. Carvell led in opposition to Clauses (1) allowing a soldier under certain contingencies to specify the constituency in which he would have his vote recorded, (2) permitting a presiding officer to take a soldier's vote without the scrutineer being present, and (3) applying the terms of the Act to soldiers in Canada, who, it was contended, should come under the ordinary election laws. The Act passed in due course under determined Liberal opposition with but few amendments—one, from the Senate placing officers and privates in the same position as to discharge from the Army. The War-Times Election Act was an unusual one; it disfranchised persons and reduced the electoral list instead of the opposite; it was believed to be an imperative war measure on the one side and to be essentially a partisan scheme by the other side; it had far-reaching political consequences. The Hon. Arthur Meighen, owing to the illness of the Prime Minister, presented it to the House on Sept. 6 and took the unusual course of explaining its provisions on the 1st reading. He pointed out that 300,000 of

the best men of Canada were Overseas, that though given the vote many would never be able to poll it, that they represented a personal force, a persuasive power, an electoral influence, which would be lost in the Election that was now inevitable, that this injustice to the men and loss to the country should be met by giving the vote to their women relations at home, that this proposal would only operate during the War, and demobilization afterwards. This war franchise for women would be limited in applicatiom as well as in time. At the same time it was contended that enemies of alien birth should be excluded from the franchise under War conditions. There were consequently two elements in the Bill which may be summarized in Mr. Meighen's words:

1. Women's Franchise. A very substantial portion of the women of this country who are now British subjects have become British subjects by the naturalization of a parent, or by marriage. Remembering this, it would be unfair and unreasonable under the shadow of this war that an unlimited woman suffrage should be granted. . . . Not only do those who are nearest of kin to the Overseas forces more likely represent in sentiment and in purpose the voice and will of those who are fighting for us, but also those whose sons, whose brothers, and whose husbands have gone to the battlefield, have given a service and made a sacrifice in this war of a character higher and greater than that which any other person is able to give or to make. . . . The Bill, therefore, provides that the wives, the widows, the mothers, the sisters, and the daughters of the members past or present of the actual Overseas force shall have the right to vote in the War-time Election. This privilege does not extend to such relatives of those of our Expeditionary forces as have not yet gone Overseas.

2. Alien Disfranchisement. In this country we have a substantial portion of our population who are of alien enemy birth, or alien enemy blood, or near extraction. Many of these people doubtless have been more and more divorced in sympathy from the land of their nativity. But, on the other hand, there are a large number who are comparatively recent arrivals and who have not the same sense of Canadian and British nationality as we have. Furthermore, inasmuch as war service should be the basis of war franchise, and inasmuch as from the commencement of this war, not only in Canada, but in Great Britain, it has been found undesirable and unwise to accept those of the citizens of the class I have described, for the highest service of war, it does not seem unreasonable that they should not exercise, during the war, that control of our destinies which is vested in the franchise. It is in a sense unfair to those men themselves, many of whose sons and brothers are fighting in armies in Europe against us, that they should be asked to determine by their vote the vigour, or the direction which that war should take. It is unfair to the rest of the population that they should have the right to so decide. . . . When they were, in Australia, facing a situation such as we face to-day they disqualified for the War-time Election all of their citizens who were of alien enemy birth no matter how long they had been naturalized. This Bill does not go that far. This Bill disqualifies, for the War-time Election, those of alien enemy birth, or of other European birth and of alien enemy mother tongue or native language, who have been naturalized since the 31st March, 1902. It is further to be noted that whomsoever is disqualified from voting by this measure is at the same time exempted entirely from combatant service in the War. By this Bill the Provincial franchise is adopted in every Province of Canada subject to the operation of the two principles I have described.

The Secretary of State added a long analysis of the mode in which the Provincial electoral lists would be applied and the Dominion lists used when there was no Provincial one. He concluded with the statement that the Government hoped to see the coming election express "the real views of the Canadian people." The Liberal Opposition from the first fought the Bill fiercely. To them any elimination of the right to vote was the smashing of a sacred prin-

ciple; the naturalized Aliens in the country had been given certain rights which were being taken away and another "scrap of paper" torn up; if the franchise were tampered with on one occasion it could be on another and the people's liberties endangered. Back of these natural feelings was the fact of a large foreign vote in Alberta and Saskatchewan which usually went Liberal and which on this occasion would be doubly lost (1) by the men disfranchised, and (2) by the women who were not enfranchised. The Hon. F. Oliver (Sept. 8) put the issue strongly from his standpoint: "In order to create a special military class in this country we are to disfranchise the women of five of the great Provinces of Canada just as, in order to establish a military class, we give the franchise to men who never saw Canada and probably never will see it." A military caste, a junker aristocracy, an oligarchic Kaiserism, were some of his epithets.

G. E. McCraney (Lib.) declared that the object of the Bill was to re-elect the Government party; J. H. Sinclair (Lib.) asked (Sept. 10) "what kind of franchise are we going to have in this country if the Secretary of State continues to tamper with it, twist it and bedevil it?" and declared that the Bill "disfranchised a million women who lived between the Ottawa river and the Pacific coast and who were now entitled to vote"; J. W. Edwards (Cons.) argued that the women representing Overseas men had in the coming contest "an especial interest in seeing that the honour their men have won for this country is not put to shame by a Government which would be controlled by the anti-British and foreign element in this Dominion." Sir Wilfrid Laurier pointed out (Sept. 10) that the United States, with infinitely more alien enemies than Canada, had not taken this drastic course; that most of the disfranchised men were Austrians with Russian sentiment; that the best course as to women was to give the vote to all and not to a few. He moved that "the abridgment by this Parliament of the electoral franchise now enjoyed in any Province of the Dominion by any class of His Majesty's subjects would be contrary to the peace, order, and good government of Canada." The Bill was "a retrograde and German measure." Sir Robert Borden in his reply asked: "If my Right Hon. friend says that we should call upon them (alien enemies) to pronounce judgment upon the issue of this war in this Election, will he shrink from declaring that they ought to be subject to the same military service as other citizens of Canada? If he takes the one position it seems to me that he must take the other." W. A. Buchanan (Lib.) resented the Bill as unfair to the Liberal members from the West who supported Conscription. The Laurier amendment was rejected by 46 to 34. Mr. Pugsley then moved an amendment, rejected by 47 to 35, that:

> It is not desirable to disfranchise large numbers of the people of Canada who have taken the oath of allegiance, have been guaranteed the rights of citizenship in the name of His Majesty the King, and who have not failed to discharge all the obligations of citizenship; and further that any measure granting the franchise only to a limited number of women is contrary to the public interest and fails to recognize the splendid patriotic work which has been performed by the women of Canada, generally, during the present war.

The Bill then passed its 2nd reading by 47 to 35. The closure was applied several times and the 3rd reading passed on Sept. 15 by 53 to 32 after certain amendments had been voted down: (1) D. B. Neely—that Provincial franchise laws as to women's vote should guide the war franchise; (2) G. E. McCraney—giving every natural-born British subject a vote; (3) D. B. Neely—eliminating provision to remove franchise from any British subject qualified by Provincial law. In the Senate Sir James Lougheed presented the Act on Sept. 15 and the Opposition Leader (Hon. H. Bostock) moved the same amendment that Mr. Pugsley had presented in the Commons; it was lost by 30 to 25. Some minor amendments were made and accepted by the Commons. A. K. Maclean and the Nova Scotia Liberals put up a vigorous fight on the closing day of the Commons against the proposed system of arranging the Nova Scotia lists but a Senate compromise was accepted.

Other legislation passed included Mr. Roche's Chinese Immigration Bill, permitting students of China to visit Canada without paying head-tax, as in the United States; the incorporation of the Canadian Division, Aerial League of the British Empire, the Army and Navy Veterans in Canada, the General Council Canadian Boy Scouts, and the Daughters of the Empire; Sir T. White's War Charities Act, providing that all organizations appealing to the public for war charities, etc., must be registered with the Secretary of State; the Hon. Mr. Doherty's amendments to the Criminal Code (1) making the evidence of a wife admissible against the husband in prosecutions for non-support, (2) making it a criminal offence to have illicit connection on the part of an employer or person in a position of authority, (3) constituting it an offence for a trader who has become insolvent to have failed to keep regular books of account; an amending Bill of the Minister of Justice as to Insurance providing penalties under the Criminal Code for failure to take out a Dominion license and also an amendment making rebates on policy-premiums by agents of Provincial Insurance Companies subject to the same penalties as those of Dominion concerns.

An amendment to the Government Railways Act by Hon. F. Cochrane put these lines under the operation of the Railway Commission—except as to expropriation. Mr. Doherty's Bill as to Sale of Intoxicating Liquors was intended to strengthen the Provinces in administering Prohibition enactments with Senate amendments which the Minister accepted (1) eliminating a clause which would have prevented the circulation in Prohibition Provinces of outside newspapers containing liquor advertisements and (2) holding up the free right of search in private houses by constable or peace officer until information had been laid in the usual legal form before a Judge or magistrate. An important clause actually passed provided for the suspension of the Scott Act when other legislation was in force equally or more prohibitive in its restrictions—the authority to be the Governor-in-Council; Federal penalties were imposed upon Patent medicines containing certain amounts of alcohol in addition to Provincial penalties; a party shipping liquor in contravention of the Act could be tried either at the place of shipment

cr in the Province to which it was sent. Hon. Dr. Roche's Bill establishing a Soldier Settlement Board provided for 3 Commissioners under the Minister of the Interior and to empower the latter upon recommendation by the Board to (1) reserve such Dominion lands as might be required; (2) to grant a free entry for not more than 160 acres to any person who had served in the Naval or Military expeditionary forces of the United Kingdom, British Dominions or Colonies, and had left the forces with an honourable discharge, or to the widow of any such person dying on active service; (3) to provide that the Board might loan to such settler upon prescribed terms and for approved purposes sums up to $2,000.

The Dominion Companies Act was amended so as to compel companies to hold an annual meeting; to specify in elaborate detail the nature of the reports to be submitted by the Directors; to make the Auditor distinctly responsible to the shareholders; to authorize the Secretary of State to investigate the affairs of any Company and to appoint an Inspector for this purpose; to enlarge information required in Prospectuses along lines of the Ontario and Imperial Acts; to differentiate between private and public companies and permit incorporation of patriotic and similar societies without Act of Parliament. A measure presented by the Premier provided for a Minister of the Overseas Military Forces, a Parliamentary Secretary of the Department of Militia and Defence, and a Parliamentary Under Secretary of State for External Affairs with the salary of the Minister $7,000 and of the other officials $5,000 per annum. Resolutions were presented, but not passed, by J. G. Turriff asking for election of the House under Proportional Representation; by Michael Steele urging a separate Government Department for the supervision of Public Health; by W. M. German asking an amendment of the B.N.A. Act by the Imperial Parliament to change the Senate into an elective body chosen for seven years by districts with the same voting qualifications as for the Commons; by Clarence Jameson urging a Department of Fisheries under a separate Minister—withdrawn; by Hon. F. Oliver and F. B. Carvell proposing, on May 23rd, a wide free-trade adjustment in the Tariff. This proposal—rejected by 65 to 38—included wheat, flour, farm implements and machinery, mining and milling machinery, rough, partly dressed lumber, oils, chemical fertilizers, staple foods and food products and domestic animals, with lower duties on all general importations except luxuries. Parliament was prorogued on Sept. 20 by H.E. the Governor-General with a Speech referring to the War situation, eulogizing Canadian gallantry at Vimy and Lens, stating the urgent need for re-inforcements, and reviewing some of the legislation of the Session.

Conscription in Canada; The Military Service Bill and its Operation.

After two years of discussion, which increased in feeling and effect from month to month; after War experiences which changed a deep national and democratic antagonism to military compulsion into a popular belief as to its imperative necessity: the impossible became a fact, great difficulties were overcome and, in the middle of 1917, Conscription became the law of Canada. The Govern-

ment had not been in favour of it and Sir Robert Borden in August 1914, and in January, 1915, had stated that it was not the intention to propose compulsory military service. As late as December, 1916, he declared that the National Service cards would not be used to promote Conscription. As the Premier put it in a letter to the Mayor of Montreal on July 13, 1917: "These statements were absolutely and literally true when they were made. No one could then estimate or even imagine the magnitude of the efforts necessary to win the War and thus to preserve our national existence."

Of itself there was nothing dishonourable or opposed to National freedom in the acceptance of this policy. In the earlier periods of English history compulsory service was the badge of the freeman, and slaves only were exempt; conscription remained the basis of national defence under all the greater Kings including Henry II and Edward I; it operated side by side with voluntaryism under Elizabeth and, though Charles I preferred the volunteer system, Cromwell used compulsion freely. In the Wars with France conscription was used for Home defence; the volunteer system for Foreign service. Then came the British Peace period, the system of a voluntary army and militia. Before the world-war of 1914 had reached its 4th year Conscription had become the recognized policy of every country involved except Canada, South Africa and Australia—and in the two latter Dominions there was compulsory home training. The situation in Canada at the beginning of this year was that the Militia Act, under which "the Governor-in-Council may place the militia, or any part thereof, on active service anywhere in Canada, and also beyond Canada, for the defence thereof, at any time when it appears advisable so to do by reason of emergency" was not proclaimed; that the Canadian Army in France or England was there by special Parliamentary permission, Executive action and voluntary association; that no call had ever been made under the terms of the Militia Act by which the males of Canada, liable for military service, could have been enrolled, ordered for service and sent abroad. Under this Act the male population liable to service was divided into four classes:

(1) The 1st Class shall comprise all those of the age of 18 years and upwards, but under 30 years, who are unmarried or widowers without children.

(2) The 2nd Class shall comprise all those of the age of 30 years and upwards but under 45 years, who are unmarried or widowers without children.

(3) The 3rd Class shall comprise all those of the age of 18 years and upwards, but under 45 years, who are married or widowers with children.

(4) The 4th Class shall comprise all those of the age of 40 years and upwards, but under 60 years.

The right of compulsion was inherent in this Act without further Parliamentary action; the power had not been utilized and the Militia had remained, through three years of war, as merely a supply base for enlistment, for officers, for training volunteers. By the first of this year compulsion of some kind seemed imperative to all thoughtful men but the Government had to deal with many who were not in that category and with many, also, who were deliberately hostile to this method of raising men for reasons of a personal,

political, racial, or other nature. No stone was left unturned to avoid the contingency and, after the National Service Board and its effort to regulate and expedite work and enlistment, came the Lessard-Blondin attempt to arouse Quebec, and, finally, the Defence Force scheme. Meantime public opinion grew steadily in favour of compulsory action. The Hon. P. E. Blondin in Quebec told the people of Joliette (May 5) that Conscription would have to come if recruiting failed; N. W. Rowell, M.L.A. (Ontario Liberal leader), at Thamesford on Feb. 12 and at various other places, urged the putting into force of the Militia Act, so far as calling out the first class for Home defence was concerned; the Vancouver *Daily Sun* (Lib.) also urged enforcement of the Act (Feb. 8) and, in Toronto, *The Star* (Lib.) was converted by the United States' example to support the adoption of Conscription by selective draft, under the Militia Act (May 8), as being a democratic and fair method.

Sir C. H. Tupper (Ind.-Cons.) in Vancouver on Jan. 4 described the existing crisis in the life of liberty, declared the voluntary system exhausted, deprecated the Government's delay in taking action, opposed a popular vote upon the question as a "Referendum to slackers" and contrary to British constitutional procedure, urged immediate compulsion; Sir Sam Hughes, in Parliament and elsewhere, advocated prompt enforcement of the Militia Act as did Conservative papers like the Toronto *Mail* and the *World*. Resolutions in favour of compulsion of some kind were passed by a mass-meeting at Windsor (Jan. 3) and by Conservatives at Niagara Falls (Jan. 9); leading Winnipeg citizens in a Petition to the Government urged re-organization and conscription of men and money, with A. M. Nanton, G. W. Allan, R. T. Riley, J. H. Munson, C. W. Rowley, W. J. Bulman, W. J. Tupper, John Galt, A. L. Crossin and C. F. Roland amongst the signatories; a War and National Service League, formed in Vancouver (Jan. 24) with Mr. Justice Macdonald, chairman, urged "immediate compulsory military service," while a Conference of officers at Ottawa on the same day, with Major-Gen. W. A. Logie presiding, unanimously asked Militia Act enforcement; the National Service Board, meeting in Conference at Ottawa (Feb. 10) declared officially that "action should be taken by the Dominion Government to mobilize a large army for home defence, and the provisions of the Militia Act in that behalf should be made effective"; in Toronto, Lieut.-Col. John A. Cooper (Feb. 12) before going overseas, urged conscription through the Militia Act and declared the voluntary system exhausted, while officers of No. 1 Military District at London made a similar statement on the same day; in Winnipeg a Convention of Manitoba Agricultural Societies (Feb. 14) declared that under existing circumstances "Conscription is justified" and promised their support; the Toronto City Council by Resolution on Feb. 19 demanded immediate enforcement of the Militia Act and the annual meeting of the Women's Anglican Diocesan Auxiliary supported the proposal (May 4); the Canadian Defence League, Toronto (May 8), and the Edmonton Board of Trade (May 15) urged Conscription.

Opposition, however, was simmering in many quarters. At the beginning of the year Sir Wilfrid Laurier was believed to be unfavourable; the Toronto *Globe*, which had so much influence with Ontario Liberalism, was uncertain; Quebec was quite positive in its hostility and many Labour leaders were known to be keenly antagonistic. *The Globe* of Jan. 6 thought, in view of the exodus of slackers to the United States, that it might be well for the Premier to make a statement that Conscription was not as yet under consideration; on Jan. 24 it pointed out that "Conscription for Overseas service in Canada is a measure that both political parties consider impracticable, and were any attempt made to compel Overseas service the effective guarding of the frontier would probably require more men than the measure would yield in recruits." Better recruiting methods were urged and on the following day the calling out of young men for Home defence was suggested; when the Government announced its voluntary Home defence scheme it was described (Mar. 19) as "a clumsy expedient, a weak-kneed compromise, a timid evasion of duty" and partial enforcement of the Militia Act was urged. The *Liberal Monthly*, the official party organ at Ottawa, approved in February the Australian rejection of Conscription as "the proper action to take in a free democratic country"; the Hon. F. Oliver in the House on Jan. 23 declared that while calling up the manhood of a nation for military service was right and logical in theory, in practice, here, it was impossible; H. H. Dewart, M.L.A. (Mar. 18) wanted the Militia Act enforced but for Home defence only.

Such was the situation when on May 18 Sir Robert Borden told the country that a Conscription measure was imperative and would be introduced. As to available man-power at this juncture it was known that the 1911 Census showed 1,720,070 males between 18 and 45 years of age, the enlistments to date were 414,000, the number of munition workers were about 300,000 of whom perhaps 100,000 would not come in the above class, the men of all ages engaged on farms were 917,000. According to official figures presented to the Senate by General Mason (Aug. 3) the male population in the 1st class, under Conscription—single men and widowers without children between 20 and 35 years inclusive—totalled 665,000. He placed the Canadian-born eligible population, 18 to 45, at 667,000 English and 445,000 French, the British-born, outside of Canada, as 307,000, and the United States or other foreign-born Canadians as 306,000. In the Commons on June 13 the Minister of Militia submitted statistics showing the approximate number of the population between 20 and 45, under the Census of 1911, as 760,453 single men and 823,096 married men; the increase of population between 1911 and 1917 was about balanced by the number of men already enlisted. By Provinces the figures available (20 to 45 years) and between 20 and 34 years, as afterwards included in the 1st three classes of the new Act and subject of course, to deduction of unnaturalized foreigners and possible exemptions, were as follows:

Provinces	Single	Married	Under Military Service Act
P. E. Island	8,501	6,791	6.706
Nova Scotia	42,667	45,984	35,610
New Brunswick	28,056	33,199	23,492
Quebec	143,540	208,679	123,831
Ontario	243,050	289,047	201,430
Manitoba	55,995	57,372	48,726
Saskatchewan	81,314	66,691	90,571
Alberta	64,263	51,009	53,979
British Columbia	89,729	61,305	70,354
Yukon	3,062	1,019	1,750
N.W. Territories	722	2,000	504
Total	760,899	823,096	656,953

The Prime Minister, in his announcement to Parliament on May 18, at the end of a long speech devoted to the Imperial War Conference and Cabinet, was brief but effective. He described the war situation as serious and added: "A great struggle lies before us, and I cannot put that before you more forcibly than by stating that at the commencement of this spring's campaign Germany put in the field 1,000,000 more men than she put in the field last spring." He deplored the Russian situation, expressed pleasure at the accession of the United States which had already contributed 9,000 men to the C.E.F., dealt with the Submarine menace, had no hope of the War ending in 1917, and then proceeded: "Hitherto we have depended upon voluntary enlistment. I myself stated to Parliament that nothing but voluntary enlistment was proposed by the Government. But I return to Canada impressed at once with the extreme gravity of the situation, and with a sense of responsibility for our further effort at the most critical period of the War. It is apparent to me that the voluntary system will not yield further substantial results." In full view of the call from the Front and of all his responsibilities, the Premier concluded as follows: "Therefore it is my duty to announce to the House that early proposals will be made on the part of the Government to provide, by compulsory military enlistment on a selective basis, such reinforcements as may be necessary to maintain the Canadian army in the field as one of the finest fighting units of the Empire. The number of men required will not be less than 50,000 and will probably be 100,000." Sir Wilfrid Laurier, in his comment, did not commit himself further than the statement that it was Canada's determination to remain in the War till the end and to do its duty.

A month passed before the actual presentment of this measure to Parliament and in that period public opinion found wide expression. Liberal opinion steadily and surely split upon the question. The Hon. Edward Brown, Provincial Treasurer of Manitoba, at Le Pas on May 18 supported Conscription and stated that the Manitoba Government stood behind Sir Robert Borden on the issue; the Toronto *Globe* (May 19) declared that "the big problem before Canada to-day is the problem of war. The first step necessary to insure the active co-operation of the Dominion in the final phases of the campaign is the compulsory organization of all the military resources of the country"; the Toronto *Star* supported the principle but wanted conscription of wealth also; the *Catholic Register* of Toronto approved the Government's decision, as did Hon. T. H.

Johnson of the Manitoba Government on June 4; a Liberal meeting in Toronto on June 9, called at the signed request of 48 prominent members of the Party—including A. E. Dyment, G. Frank Beer, W. G. Jaffray, H. M. Mowat, W. Mulock, Jr., J. E. Atkinson, A. E. Ames, Thomas Findley, W. H. Shaw and M. J. Haney—supported Conscription, urged all citizens to declare themselves, and listened to addresses from Dr. Michael Clark, M.P., N. W. Rowell, M.L.A., S. J. Mocre (Chairman), Rev. Father Minehan, G. G. S. Lindsey, K.C., Ald. J. G. Ramsden and W. E. Turley. Conservative support was to be expected and a mass-meeting on June 11, addressed by Sir W. H. Hearst, Hon. T. W. McGarry and Hon. W. D. McPherson of the Ontario Government, with Mr. Rowell, the Opposition Leader, passed a Resolution supporting an "equitable system of compulsory selection with power, also, to requisition or restrict, when necessary, public utilities, factories, industries or other businesses"; open-air meetings in Queen's Park, Toronto, (June 2) urged immediate enforcement of Conscription and the suppression of sedition in Canada; the Victoria (B.C.) Conservative Association and the Hon. J. A. Mathieson, Premier of P. E. Island, urged support of the Government.

There was opposition, also, The Manchester *Guardian* (Radical) of May 20 tried to interject the Referendum idea into Canadian politics as the Toronto *Globe* and other papers had tried to do with Prohibition and English politics and this plan—whether the English journal or the current Australian action was the inspiration—later on was taken up; the Toronto *Weekly Sun*, Radical to the verge of republicanism and neutral in the War when not clearly anti-British, intimated to its agricultural readers (May 23) that Canada had already made a stupendous effort in men and, financially, would be in penury for generations, that Conscription would fall chiefly on unskilled labour, that it would appear to be directed against Quebec and, anyway, that it would be passed by a Parliament not representative of the people; Peter McArthur, the writer-farmer, and W. L. Smith, the farmer-journalist, vigorously opposed Conscription—the latter, in the best spirit of Pacificism, declaring on May 30 (*Sun*) that "it is a serious matter to urge a man to go out and disembowel a fellow-creature" and more so to use compulsion in such a case; the United Farmers of Ontario declared by Resolution that the Government should submit its proposals to a popular Referendum; Quebec opposition grew in strength from day to day.

During these four weeks it gradually became clear that the Government would gain a number of Liberals in Parliament and much Liberal support in the country, that it would probably lose most of its current Quebec support, that the issue might, in the end, and certainly did, so far as an Election was concerned, depend on the West. In the Commons on June 11 Sir Robert Borden introduced the Military Service Act and explained its provisions, and his reasons, more fully than usual on a 1st reading. He reviewed the War position and Canada's situation briefly, from the 3½ splendid months in which 100,000 Canadians enlisted to the later

days of dragging effort and evasion of duty, with the existing prospect of either dwindling Divisions at the Front or a re-inforcement through compulsory service. He did not propose enforcement of the Militia Act because that meant selection by ballot or chance: "We are convinced that the selection should be based upon an intelligent consideration of the country's needs and conditions. We must take into account the necessities of agriculture, of commerce, and of industry." In its Preamble the Bill recited the defence clauses of the Militia Act and proclaimed the new measure as necessary to obtain re-inforcements "for the defence and security of Canada, the preservation of the Empire and of human liberty." Administration was placed under the Department of Justice and the term was for duration of the War and of demobilization; it covered all male British subjects between 20 and 45 years of age and they were at first placed in 10 classes which were afterwards re-arranged into 6 as follows:

Class 1. Those who have attained the age of 20 years and were born not earlier than the year 1883 and are unmarried, or are widowers but have no child.

Class 2. Those who have attained the age of 20 years and were born not earlier than the year 1883 and are married, or are widowers who have a child or children.

Class 3. Those who were born in the years 1876 to 1882, both inclusive, and are unmarried, or are widowers who have no child.

Class 4. Those who were born in the years 1876 to 1882, both inclusive, and are married, or are widowers who have a child or children.

Class 5. Those who were born in the years 1872 to 1875, both inclusive, and are unmarried, or are widowers who have no child.

Class 6. Those who were born in the years 1872 to 1875, both inclusive, and are married, or are widowers who have a child or children.

These classes were to be called up from time to time by proclamation of the Governor-in-Council and when called up became enlisted soldiers under military law; before reporting they were deemed to be on leave of absence without pay; those not reporting within reasonable time would be guilty of desertion or absence without leave and liable to imprisonment at hard labour. The tribunals to deal with exemptions and to hear appeals were (1) Local Exemption Courts, (2) Appeal Courts, and (3) a Central Appeal Judge who would be the final Court of Appeal. The conditions of exemption were broad and liberal: (1) that of working in essential War occupations; (2) those in work for which they had special qualifications; (3) cases where "serious hardship would ensue, if the man were placed on active service, owing to his exceptional financial or business obligations or domestic position, ill health or infirmity; and (4) conscientious objection to combatant service or prohibition by the tenets of his faith. Certain classes were exempted such as members of His Majesty's regular or reserve, or auxiliary forces, as defined by the Army Act. These, in the main, were as in the British Act; men serving in any of the British forces on land or sea, with clergy and ministers of all religious denominations, and settlers of the Mennonite or Doukhobor communities were also excluded.

The Premier had no doubt as to the measure being one to safeguard the defence of Canada. Its first line of defence was in the North Sea, he declared; obviously the second was in France and Belgium and the third in garrison or home duty in Canada. The Premier moved the 2nd reading on June 18, very briefly, and quoted the statistics of R. H. Coats, Dominion Statistician, as to the number of married and single men of various ages in Canada. Between the ages of 20 and 24, both inclusive, there were 319,610 single men and 66,247 married men or a total of 385,857; between 25 and 29, both inclusive, there were 205,125 single men and 165,369 married men or a total of 370,494; between the ages of 30 and 34, both inclusive, there were 112,011 single men and 198,328 married men or a total of 310,339. Thus the total number between the ages of 20 and 34, both inclusive, was 1,066,690. Sir Wilfrid Laurier followed at length and indicated the reasons which compelled him to accept a split in his Party upon this question, to break the unanimity of Canadian War action, to become essentially the leader of his people in Quebec and to make necessary, later on, a War election conflict. His reasons may be summarized briefly with the use of his own words as follows:

1. To-day the Government brings down a measure to substitute for voluntary service compulsory service—compulsory service, which the Government, from the day the War broke out up to the 18th of April this year, has said never would be resorted to. But the Government has cast aside its oft-repeated assurances, and I rise to ask, whether or not this new measure will not be more detrimental than helpful to the cause which we all have at heart.

2. The law of the land, which antedates Confederation by many generations, and which was re-introduced at the time of Confederation, emphatically declared that no man in Canada shall be subjected to compulsory military service except to repel invasion for the defence of Canada. My honourable friend says the first line of defence for Canada is in France and Flanders. I claim there never was any danger of invasion on the part of Germany. Nobody can say that Canada, for one instant during the last three years, was in danger of invasion.

3. Would anyone believe that, if the Government had told us (1916) that they contemplated introducing the new, radical principle of Conscription, Parliament would have been extended? When this Government asks this moribund Parliament to pass such a law as this, it is an abuse of the authority which has been placed in their hands by the people of Canada. Parliament has not been in touch with the country for two years and more, and it seems to me that this is an additional reason why we should not proceed with this Bill.

4. There is in all the Provinces of the Dominion at the present moment, amongst the working classes, an opposition to this measure which is not wavering, but which is becoming stronger every day. There is another class who have been strongly opposed to Conscription and I must deal with them. I refer to the French-Canadian portion of the population.

5. I ask, which is the course most conducive to success in the War—compulsion with irritation and bitterness and a sense of intolerance and injustice, or consultation with consequent union, and universal satisfaction all around? . . . What I propose is that we should have a Referendum and a consultation of the people upon this question.

6. When the verdict of the people has been given, there can be no further question, and everybody will have to submit to the law. I repeat the pledge I gave a moment ago on behalf of my own Province, that every man, even although he is to-day opposed to the law, shall do service as well as any man of any other race.

The Leader of the Opposition then moved an amendment that "the further consideration of this Bill be deferred until the prin-

ciple thereof has, by means of a Referendum, been submitted to and approved of by the electors of Canada." The ensuing debate was a long and interesting one, lasting for over three weeks and including a Nationalist amendment to the amendment, presented on June 20, by J. A. Barrette (Cons.-Nat.) as follows: "That this Bill be not now read a second time but it be read a second time this day six months." There were four sides to the discussion—first the normal Conservative support of the Government following the lead given by Sir Robert Borden, Sir George Foster, Mr. Doherty, and Sir Thomas White; second, the attitude of the dissentient Liberals—Hugh Guthrie, K.C., F. F. Pardee, Hon. G. P. Graham, E. W. Nesbitt, W. A. Buchanan, Michael Clark, A. K. Maclean, K.C., F. B. Carvell, D. B. Neely, W. S. Loggie, Thomas MacNutt, Duncan C. Ross and J. S. Douglas, who for a great variety of reasons supported Conscription; third, the almost unanimous French-Canadian position of antagonism, and fourth, the steady old-guard element of Liberalism lead by Sir Wilfrid Laurier, who received the earnest support of D. D. McKenzie, Hon. Charles Murphy, E. B. Devlin, J. H. Sinclair, E. M. Macdonald, Hon. C. Marcil, Hon. Frank Oliver, Hon. R. Lemieux and all the French-Canadian members except four.

Conservatives supported the measure on the ground of imperative need for men; the failure of voluntary enlistment—after periods of great success; the call of the Canadian soldiers at the Front for help, for reserves, for greater strength; the call of loyalty to the Empire in a mighty struggle for liberty; the desirability of defending Canada in France and Belgium rather than on Canadian soil; the pledge of the Premier to give 500,000 men; the action of the United States, as well as the example of Britain, France, and all the Allies, in accepting the principle of compulsion; the fact of a Referendum being an excuse and means for defeating the proposal by indefinite delay and by final popular veto under conditions of partisan excitement. The list of Government speakers was a large one, including Sir Sam Hughes who, however, was very critical and expressed a decided preference for enforcement of the Militia Act; Hon. Arthur Meighen, Hon. F. B. McCurdy and W. F. Cockshutt; Sir Edward Kemp, who defended recruiting methods, and Lieut.-Col. James Arthurs, who, with J. W. Edwards, was severe upon the French-Canadians and Quebec; Sir Herbert Ames, Hon. A. Sévigny and Dr. J. L. Chabot—the latter, however, did not vote in the final division though speaking in favour of Conscription; James Morris who represented the French-Canadian constituency of Châteauguay and doomed himself to certain defeat at the next elections, as did F. J. Robidoux, the Acadian member for Richibucto, N.B.

The Liberals who deemed it necessary to sacrifice party to conscience and country used, and felt, some of these arguments. They did not spare the Government or criticism of its alleged dilatory, unsystematic, unorganized and improperly-supported recruiting methods; the personal tributes to the Opposition leader were obviously sincere and heart-felt. But upon this great issue the call

to them was higher than politics, stronger than party loyalty. Conscription of wealth as well as manhood was an additional proposal made by many and urged strongly upon the Government. As Mr. Guthrie put it on June 19: "I believe, in the minds of the people, conscription of wealth, conscription of industry, and of resources, are included, and I trust that, during the present session, the Government will take steps to bring in concurrent legislation which will let the people see that flesh and blood are not lightly held, and that wealth is not lightly exempt." He would like to see a Coalition and this was the expressed view of many other Liberal supporters of the Bill. A. K. Maclean (June 26), while believing in the necessity of compulsion as a final weapon, also felt that a further recruiting effort might be made: "There should be a further trial of voluntary enlistment after the Bill becomes law and before it is enforced." Mr. Carvell (June 27) endorsed this view. He felt powerfully the call of the trenches and put it earnestly before the House but believed that the voluntary system had not been honestly carried out. Mr. MacNutt (July 5) thought there was absolute need of such legislation: "Many men are employed to-day in non-essential industries who could be sent to the Front and their places filled by others, including returned soldiers." French-Canadian or Nationalist opinions are dealt with elsewhere.

Liberal speeches following Sir Wilfrid Laurier ran along distinctive party lines. They expressed absolute endorsation of the War and of Canada's part in it, but maintained, with their leader, that (1) the Militia Act forbade sending troops abroad, (2) that the War was not one for the defence of Canada, and (3) that all action must be voluntary. There were many points of view expressed. E. W. Nesbitt declared (June 22) that voluntary enlistment was discouraged through enormous and unnecessary war expenditures and by the Government campaign for munition workers at $2.50 to $8.00 a day; W. M. German admitted (June 25) that "the need for men is imperative" but the Laurier policy of a Referendum was better, safer, surer; Hon. W. Pugsley denied (June 25) that there was any danger of Canada's splendid soldiers being left without support—Imperial soldiers could always be called upon for aid; E. B. Devlin based his attitude upon (1) opposition to the principle of coercion, (2) the absence of good military reasons or necessity for the step, (3) the alleged fact that there were 2,000,000 men available for reinforcements in England, and 3,500,000 more of military age, who had escaped conscription. These rumoured and entirely unofficial figures were used again and again during the debate—especially by the French-Canadian members. J. H. Sinclair maintained that Parliament had no right to dictate to the people on such a subject but that if it was submitted to them properly Conscription would carry; W. E. Knowles, though admitting that Conscription was logical, equitable and just, opposed the Bill because its enforcement would be difficult and dangerous; E. M. Macdonald had no faith in the administration of the Act by the present Government or its officials. Including a large number of Quebec members there were 45 Laurier speakers upon this issue. The 2nd reading



THE HON. JAMES A. CALDER, M.P.,
Minister of Immigration and Colonization.



THE HON. J. D. REID, M.P.,
Minister of Railways and Canals.

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division took place on July 5 with Mr. Barrette's amendment receiving only 9 votes made up of French Nationalist-Conservatives and including MM. Achim, Barrette, Bellemare, Boulay, Descarries, Girard, Guilbault, Paquet and Patenaude. Then Sir Wilfrid Laurier's Referendum proposal was defeated and the main motion carried, while a last-hour amendment of A. B. Copp (Lib.) proposed that "the further consideration of this Bill be deferred until such adequate provision has been made for the dependants of soldiers enlisted for Overseas as will remove the necessity of raising money by public subscription for their support." The voting figures were as follows:

	For	Against	Majority Against
Barrette Amendment	9	165	156
Laurier Amendment	62	111	49
Copp Amendment	56	115	59
			Majority For
Bill, 2nd Reading	118	55	63

By Provinces the Conservatives voted solidly in favour except the Quebec nine; the Liberals in Ontario showed 10 for the Bill and 2 against, and in Quebec 37 against and none in favour; 4 members, all Liberals, from constituencies west of the Quebec border voted against the Bill—Oliver, Murphy, Molloy and Proulx; 12 English-speaking members, all Liberals, voted against it—Oliver, Murphy, Molloy, Bickerdike, McCrea, Power, Devlin, Kay, Kyte, Copp, Hughes and Chisholm. Conservatives voting for the Referendum included Sir R. Forget, Hon. E. I. Patenaude and the 9 Nationalists, while Forget, Patenaude and Eugene Paquet voted with the Government against the Copp amendment; Liberals who voted for the Government and the Bill and against the Referendum were Messrs. Graham, Pardee, Guthrie, Carvell, A. K. Maclean, Robert Cruise, Charlton, Turriff, Nesbitt, MacNutt, H. H. McLean, McCraney, Loggie, Michael Clark, Buchanan, J. S. Douglas, Champagne, D. B. Neely and Duncan Ross; those voting for the 2nd reading were Messrs. Pardee, Guthrie, Carvell, A. K. Maclean, Cruise, Charlton, Turriff, Graham, Duncan Ross, Nesbitt, McMillan, McNutt, Buchanan, Loggie, McLean, McCraney, Clark, Sinclair, Champagne, German, McCoig, Neely, Levi Thomson, Truax, Douglas and Knowles; the Liberals who voted first for the Referendum against the Government and then for the 2nd reading, were Messrs. J. A. McMillan, Sinclair, Truax, McCoig, German, Levi Thomson and Knowles; the French Conservatives who stayed with the Government throughout were J. H. Rainville, Hon. A. Sévigny, F. J. Robidoux, Dr. L. J. Chabot and Hon. P. E. Blondin. Following this the discussions were detached and mostly in Committee.

The 3rd reading of the Bill, on motion of the Premier, carried (July 24) by 102 to 44. During this final debate J. G. Turriff (Lib.) spoke briefly and urged a National Government as did F. F. Pardee. The matter of Divinity students' exemption, as at first proposed by the Prime Minister, on the ground of British and American precedent and the fact of the Roman Catholic Church having dedicated its students to the Church from the beginning of their training, came in for strong criticism. It was (July 14) claimed

to be unfair to other students and undemocratic in nature. H. B. Morphy wanted to know who was asking for such exemption and Col. J. A. Currie described this class of student in Montreal as causing much of the trouble against Conscription there. Eventually the exemption was dropped. Criticisms of the newspaper Censorship, from Messrs. Oliver and Graham in particular, were vigorous—the former (July 19) declaring that the clauses of the Bill forbidding and penalizing encouragement of resistance to the Act, or the impeding of its operations, were dealing "only with an offence against a law passed as a partisan measure by a partisan Government and to give such a Government the power of destruction over their partisan opponents." The clauses were passed in due course.

In this debate Sir Wilfrid Laurier made some pessimistic comment upon political conditions and the perils of a compulsory law of this nature, and spoke briefly of the action of dissentient Liberals: "I have not tried to impose my views upon any of my followers. I respect their consciences; I would not attempt to bring any one of them around to my way of thinking. I have my conscience and they have theirs; but this situation shows that we are face to face with a cleavage which, unless it is checked, may rend and tear this Canada of ours down to the very roots." He expressed grave doubt as to whether Canada could send any more soldiers abroad: "The question is how many men can we take from the life of the nation at the present time without imperilling the public services which are essential to this country, and essential to carrying on our share of the War." Sir Wilfrid renewed his claim that the Government had deceived the people as to Conscription and declared that through Hon. Mr. Doherty it had let a "high dignitary" of the Church in Montreal, at the close of 1916, understand there would be no compulsion. Hon. Arthur Meighen replied briefly and vigorously. In the Senate the 2nd reading of the Bill was moved on Aug. 3 by Sir James Lougheed in an eloquent speech and with some very plain speaking:

> Roughly estimated we require at once to recruit 100,000 men. The provisions of this Bill are so designed that this number shall be obtainable from that class of men in Canada that long ago should have readily responded to the call of duty. . . The first duty of the citizen is to defend the state in which he lives. Failing in this he is recreant not only to his duty but in his sense of citizenship. Of all our state systems nothing is more illogical than a voluntary system of defence. It places a premium upon the want of manly courage, of cowardly recreancy to the highest institutions and the defence of the State. The basic principle of the State is compulsion. This is fundamental in its entire organization. It runs through every system of law, both civil and criminal, through practically all the conventions of society; without it law, order, system, and organization could not exist.

Other speakers were Senators Landry, F. L. Beique, Rufus Pope, H. J. Cloran, N. A. Belcourt, G. Lynch-Staunton; an important contribution to the debate was the speech of General Mason of Toronto, which included a summary of all the main statistics relating to recruiting and military service. The discussion was concluded on Aug. 5 and the amendment of Hon. H. Bostock, Liberal leader, adding the words "with the understanding that this

Bill will not come into force until after the General Election," was defeated by 44 to 35—the Conservative Senators A. C. P. Landry, H. Montplaiser and C. P. Beaubien voting for the amendment. On the main motion the Government and the Bill were sustained by 54 to 25 with the following Liberals voting an affirmative: Senators H. Bostock, F. P. Thompson, R. Watson, L. G. DeVeber, J. M. Douglas. R. Beith, P. Talbot, G. McHugh, and D. Gillmor. Senator Beaubien also changed his view of the matter. Some unimportant amendments were made and accepted by the Commons on Aug. 18; Sir Edward Kemp at Camp Borden on Aug. 12 had stated that the Bill would be enforced immediately on its passage; the Act was signed in Toronto by H.E. the Duke of Devonshire on Aug. 28. The Premier and Sir W. Laurier agreed to share equally in the appointment of the Board of Selection for the nomination of one member of each Local Tribunal under the Act and the Opposition leader explained his acceptance (Aug. 29) briefly: "The House knows the position I have taken on this Bill. I do not approve of it. It having now become law it behooves us all as British subjects to see that it is carried out as harmoniously as possible."

Meanwhile the country had been discussing the Bill in every possible way and from every conceivable standpoint. Liberals naturally found it hard to reach a conclusion and the Toronto *Globe*, with its long and keen antagonism to the Government, especially so. On May 21 it urged compulsory action in all war essentials and on June 5 proposed enforcement of the Militia Act—instead of the Conscription Bill; on June 15 it declared that the "Military Service Bill, considered by itself, does not meet the needs of the hour or reflect the views of the country," and urged conscription of wealth as well as men; on June 19, after Sir Wilfrid Laurier's speech in the House, it declared the issue to be now definite, the duty of Parliament plain and imperative, the emergency "too real, too overmastering" to admit of a Referendum, and support to the 2nd reading essential; by June 28 the "hour of indecision" for Canada was declared to be past, the people to be looking for action, and a prompt vote in Parliament desirable. On July 9 the dissentient Liberals were congratulated upon their ideal of public duty and Liberalism declared greater than Liberal "organization"; by the 21st all party feeling was thrown to the winds, the Bill declared to be "a fresh dedication of Canada to the cause of liberty, sanctified by the bravest blood of free nations." The measure should be put at once on the statute-book and enforced without fear or favour. Other Liberal newspapers were explicit in their advocacy of the Bill and in opposition to the Referendum—such, for instance, as the Toronto *Star*, St. John *Globe*, Hamilton *Times*, Woodstock *Sentinel-Review*, St. John *Telegraph*, Manitoba *Free Press*, Winnipeg *Tribune*, and the Kingston *Whig*. The following statement affords some indication of national opinion as apart from papers and politicians:

Date	Organization or Person	Expressed Opinion
May 21	—B.C. Methodist Conference, Victoria	In favour of Conscription.
May 27	—Vancouver Mass-meeting	" "
May 28	—Toronto City Council	Resolution in support of Conscription.
May 29	—Orillia Mass-meeting	" " "
"	—Toronto West District Methodists	" " "
"	—Archbishop C. L. Worrell	A Sensible Conscription system.
June 1	—Alberta Methodist Conference, Calgary	Compulsion of men, material and wealth.
May 31	—Dominion I.O.D.E. Convention	Conscription of men, money, labour, service.
June 1	—Mass-meeting at Victoria	Selective Conscription.
"	—Montreal Methodist Conference, Pembroke	" "
"	—Winnipeg Mass-meeting	" "
June 2	—Toronto Mass-meeting	" "
"	—B.C. Salmon Canners' Association	" "
June 3	—North Vancouver Citizens	" "
June 4	—Hamilton Methodist Conference	Conscription of men and wealth.
June 3	—Nelson (B.C.) City Council	Selective Conscription.
June 4	—New Westminster Mass-meeting	" "
June 5	—Brandon (Man.) City Council	" "
"	—Toronto Church of England Synod	" "
June 7	—Toronto W.C.T.U.	Conscription of men and wealth.
June 8	—Congregational Union of Canada	Registration and Conscription.
"	—London Methodist Conference	Selective Conscription.
June 9	—Presbyterian General Assembly, Montreal	" "
"	—Northern Baptist Association, North Bay	Conscription of men and wealth.
June 12	—Westmount (P.Q.) City Council	Conscription of men.
June 13	—Winnipeg Mass-meeting	Military Service Act.
"	—Algoma Church of England Synod	" "
June 14	—Victoria (B.C.) Board of Trade	Conscription of men and Mobilization of wealth.
"	—Manitoba Retail Merchants' Association	Conscription of men and wealth.
June 13	—Methodist Laymen's Association, Toronto	Conscription of men and wealth.
June 14	—Toronto Baptist Association	" " "
"	—Canadian Manufacturers' Association	Military Service Act.
June 15	—Saskatchewan Baptist Convention	Selective Conscription.
"	—Methodist Conference of N.B. and P.E. Island.	Selective Conscription of men, money, labour.
June 18	—Victoria (B.C.) City Council	Conscription of men and wealth.
June 20	—Toronto Board of Trade	Military Service Act.
June 26	—Earlscourt (Toronto) Meeting	" "
July 12	—Directors, United Farmers of Alberta	Conscription of men and wealth.
Aug. 15	—Dominion Board, Retail Merchants of Canada.	" " "
Aug. 26	—Empire Club of Canada	Conscription of men.

Individual speakers or writers in favour of Conscription in some form or other were very numerous—for instance, Sir Wm. Peterson of McGill University; Æmilius Jarvis, J. M. Godfrey and J. G. O'Donoghue, organizers of Win-the-War League; C. F. Rannard, President of the Manitoba Retail Merchants; Hon. E. J. Davis, ex-M.L.A., of Newmarket; Archbishops Matheson and Worrell of the Church of England; W. D. Lighthall, K.C., of Montreal and Lieut.-Col. C. C. Ballantyne of the same city—both Liberals; Sir C. H. Tupper of Vancouver. Two cablegrams from the Front had a marked effect upon opinion at a vital juncture—one from Maj.-Gen. Sir Arthur Currie and the other from Stewart Lyon, Canadian Press correspondent, and both dated Aug. 11.

They were received by the Win-the-War League at Toronto and General Currie said: "We sincerely sympathize with your endeavours to arouse our countrymen to necessity of remaining united and firm in their determination to furnish troops in the field all necessary support. We deeply deplore fact that wisdom of doing so has become a subject for debate and controversy by those at home. . . . If support is now withheld or even delayed it means that additional burden will have to be borne by men already doing the seemingly impossible." Mr. Lyon was equally emphatic:

> In numbers, Canada is not adequately represented. Moreover, there is serious danger that when man-power is most required Canadian forces will be rapidly decreasing. There is urgent need for such a suspension of party strife as will enable men everywhere in Canada to unite for immediate enforcement of Compulsory service measure. Sons of Canadian fathers and mothers who in flower of their youth go out to die in freedom's cause, should be given assurance that filling of their places in ranks is regarded in Canada as solemn national obligation transcending all party ties and loyalties.

Following the passage of the Bill Government organization proceeded steadily with Maj.-Gen. W. G. Gwatkin, C.B., Chief of General Staff, as the military director. Enforcement of the Act was not in military hands but under control of the Department of Justice; the Militia Department, however, hoped and asked for 25,000 men at once and 10,000 a month; General Currie in France and General Turner in England were understood to want the men quickly for training in England; volunteers were accepted though not sought for, and were not included in the 100,000 specified in the Act. On Sept. 3 an Advisory body, called the Military Service Council, was appointed by the Government to help the Justice Department in administering the Act, and was composed of E. L. Newcombe, K.C., Deputy Minister (Chairman), O. M. Biggar, Edmonton, John H. Moss, K.C., Toronto, L. J. Loranger, K.C., Montreal, and Lieut.-Col. H. A. C. Machin, Kenora. The Hon. L. P. Duff of the Supreme Court of Canada was appointed Central Appeal Judge and head of the whole system, with final powers in the matter of exemption. On Sept. 7 it was announced by Sir George Foster in Parliament that the Board of Selection to be chosen by the Government and the Opposition Leader had been determined and it was duly approved as follows:

Province	Nominees of Sir Robert Borden	Nominees of Sir Wilfrid Laurier
Ontario:	A. E. Fripp, M.P., Ottawa. W. A. Boys, M.P., Barrie.	Sir John Gibson, Hamilton. A. B. Lowe, Ottawa.
Quebec:	J. H. Rainville, M.P., St. Lambert. Romeo Langlois, K.C., Quebec.	Hon. S. N. Parent, Montreal. Hon. Sydney Fisher, Knowlton.
Nova Scotia:	G. S. Campbell, Halifax.	D. A. Cameron, Sydney, C.B.
New Brunswick:	Mariner G. Teed, K.C., St. John.	John McCaffery, Fredericton.
Manitoba:	Senator W. H. Sharpe, Manitou.	Sir Donald McMillan, Winnipeg.
Saskatchewan:	Senator H. W. Laird, Regina.	Arthur Hitchcock, Moose Jaw.
Alberta:	R. B. Bennett, M.P., Calgary.	Alfred H. Clarke, K.C., Calgary.
British Columbia:	R. F. Green, M.P., Victoria.	Hon. James Horace King, Victoria.
Yukon:	Lieut-Col. A. Thompson, M.D., M.P., Ottawa.	F. C. Wade, K.C., Vancouver.
P.E. Island:	WilliamL. Cotton, Charlottet'n.	James J. Johnston, Charlottet'n.

On Sept. 11 an official advertisement in all the press contained an explanation of the Act from the Minister of Justice—the need of re-inforcements, the 1st call limitation to men of 20—34 who were unmarried or widowers without children on July 6, 1917, the nature of the Civil tribunals dealing with exemptions and the means of getting exemption, the penalties for disobedience of orders to join the Colours. Official statistics were published at this time showing the C.E.F. enlistments of January-July, 1917, as 16,367 infantry and 28,247 of other arms, the discharges in Canada as 15,390 and the casualties 37,971. The Local Tribunals for Exemption were established by proclamation on Sept. 12 after the Board of Selection and Judges had done their part and were stated by Lieut.-Col. Moss on Sept. 15 to total 1,253 in number. The Registrars under the Act had most important functions—the organizing of Provincial Staffs, looking after the work of Provincial tribunals, and dealing with thousands of reports and tens of thousands of questions or objections. Their names were as follows:

Province	Name	Address
Ontario	Glyn Osler	Toronto.
Manitoba	E. R. Chapman	Winnipeg.
Saskatchewan	A. L. Haining	Saskatoon.
Quebec	Eugene Godin, K.C.	Montreal.
New Brunswick	William A. Ewing, K.C.	St. John.
Nova Scotia	E. Hart Nicholls	Halifax.
British Columbia	Robert S. Lennie, K.C.	Vancouver.
P.E. Island	William W. Stanley	Charlottetown.
Alberta	John M. Carson	Calgary.

Meantime Medical Boards were appointed to sit at the same places as the Exemption Tribunals; the medical conditions under the Act were the same as under the C.E.F. enlistments since May, 1917; Class A-2 included Infantry, Artillery and Engineers, while Class B-2 included Forestry, Construction, C.A.M.C., and C.A.S.C.; those medically exempt in the first class could be tried in the second. The Military Service Council issued advertisements explaining how men and employees could help in the administration of the Act and the grounds upon which exemption could be sought; Memoranda were published and circulated generally along similar lines, which explained conditions and procedure; an elaborate pamphlet detailed the terms of the Act and the bases for Tribunal action, and another gave reasons why the law was necessary and its application invoked for "the Defence of Canada." The 1st draft or call of men in Class 1 was made on Oct. 13 and was for "the defence and security of Canada, the preservation of our Empire and of human liberty"; the Grand Council of the Indians of Ontario decided by Resolution on Oct. 3 not to seek exemption for their people though, later on, the Indians of British Columbia appealed to the Prime Minister for exemption and declared enforced military service to be slavery; the Board of Selection on Oct. 9, through Sir John Gibson (Chairman) announced that the Exemption Tribunals were practically complete and that the Judges throughout Canada had responded freely and fully in making their appointments of the second member in each tribunal. Reporting had, meanwhile, been slow and exemption

requests very numerous, while the mass of detail was indicated by a statement of Mr. Newcombe on Oct. 24 that co-operation with the Military Service Council was required from 16,000 Postmasters, 15 Registrars and their Staffs, and 200 Medical Boards. One of the problems was the place of Militia officers in Class 1 who, at first, were supposed to come under the Act; eventually it was accepted that they would not be compelled to revert in rank. According to W. H. Trueman, K.C., Winnipeg, a natural-born British subject under the Act was anyone born in His Majesty's dominions or anyone born outside those dominions whose father or grandfather was a natural-born British subject. Hindus and naturalized Japanese were found to come under the Act and this created great interest in British Columbia—the former applying for exemption on the ground of not being given the rights of citizenship. By Nov. 10, when the date fixed for registration and exemption was reached, 21,568 had reported for service and 310,376 or 57% applied for exemption. Men continued to come in, however, up to the end of the year when the totals for Canada and its Provinces were as follows:

Province	Total No. Registered	Total Claims for Exemption	Claims Allowed by Local Tribunals	Claims for Exemption Disallowed	Claims for Exemption Not Dealt With	Appeals Lodged Against Decisions Tribunals
Ontario	125,750	118,128	94,197	19,148	4,783	21,276
Quebec	117,104	115,707	89,575	3,711	22,421	27,683
Nova Scotia	26,354	23,831	16,158	2,774	4,899	2,815
New Brunswick	17,065	15,629	10,181	2,524	2,924	2,034
P.E. Island	4,425	4,176	3,648	332	196	348
Manitoba	22,879	20,858	14,241	5,221	1,396	3,982
Saskatchewan	46,733	44,203	25,138	5,783	13,282	2,359
Alberta	28,105	25,069	18,093	4,560	2,416	4,503
British Columbia	15,821	12,824	7,548	3,815	1,471	2,122
Yukon	159	85	(No cases heard)			
Canada	404,395	380,510	278,779	47,868	53,788	67,122

In the final result the Provinces did well in registration—including Quebec; if there were too many exemptions it was the fault of an elastic machinery and a fully developed and frequently selfish human nature taking advantage of it. The military representative on each Tribunal had the right of appeal against exemptions to any Judge of a Supreme or Superior Court and thence to Mr Justice Duff, and this they exercised freely, during these months, to the extent of 20,000—mostly in Quebec. On Nov. 20 the Prime Minister issued a long statement reviewing the clauses of the Act and the methods of enforcement. Two points were of serious importance: (1) His reference to mistakes by Tribunals as "in cases where exemption has been refused to men long engaged in agricultural production, without whose labour such production could not be continued"; the other (2) dealing with such conditions as Montreal indicated "in cases where exemption has been granted without sufficient grounds or in an indiscriminate manner, the representatives appointed by the Minister of Militia will see that all necessary appeals are lodged to prevent the intention of the Act from being defeated by the default of any Tribunal or Tribunals." These Military Representatives were as follows:

Military District	Name	Military District	Name
No. 1	Lieut.-Col. H. D. Smith.	No. 6	Major W. P. Purney.
No. 2	Lieut.-Col. R. H. Greer.	No. 10	Lieut.-Col. W. G. Bell.
No. 3	Lieut.-Col. D. R. Street.	No. 11	Major R. H. Belson.
No. 4	Major A. P. Grothe.	No. 12	Lieut.-Col. R. A. Carman.
No. 5	Colonel G. E. A. Jones.	No. 13	Major G. W. Kerby.

An important point in the exemptions was the question of young farmers who were deemed, and in the main felt themselves, to be essential at home for agricultural production. Tribunals in all rural parts were free in their acceptance of this claim ,and their wholesale exemption of farmers' sons; where this was refused there were public meetings and vigorous protests as at Perth where on Nov. 17th, 500 farmers paraded and protested. *Farm & Dairy* and other agricultural papers appealed for an exact statement of the Government's intent in this respect and were told by General Mewburn, Minister of Militia, on Nov. 25 at Dundas, that "farmers' sons who are honestly engaged in the production of food will be exempt from military service." Under a test case brought before Judge Duff on Dec. 6, in an appeal by a young farmer of 7 years' working experience, whose father was an old man, exemption was granted on "the sole ground that the national interest is better served by keeping these men at home." An Order-in-Council of Dec. 3 enacted that "in any case where a person engaged in agriculture has applied for exemption and such exemption has been refused, the Minister of Militia and Defence, if he is of the opinion that the services of such persons are essential for promoting agricultural production, may, by order under his hand, discharge such person from Military Service."

Another ruling by the Central Appeal Judge was that "the sole remaining member of a family, with two brothers in the C.E.F. should be granted exemption"; he also ruled on Dec. 13 against a Quebec Law student's exemption on the ground that he was needed at the Front. In Winnipeg on Dec. 21 Judge Haggart ruled that when a farmer had two sons one should go. Judges as a whole were everywhere inclined to be lenient—so much so that the Ottawa *Journal-Press* of Dec. 24 declared that the getting of 100,000 men would be impossible and asked "if these learned jurists really appreciate the tremendous seriousness of the problem put before them!" At this time it was officially stated that 241,565 men had been medically examined and 117,873 of these assigned to Category "A" as fit for the trenches and that, at the same ratio, the remaining number would yield 78,582 for the fighting line.

Incidents of these months included the determined effort of E. F. Hutchings, President of the Great West Saddlery Co. of Winnipeg, and a reputed millionaire, to obtain the exemption of his son who, before the War, was an enthusiastic Militia officer and of exceptional physique; an alleged declaration by him that he would not take a cent of the current War loan unless this were granted, and if it were that he would take $500,000; a refusal of exemption by Judge Haggart which was confirmed on appeal by Mr Justice Duff. There were, also, many efforts to obtain exemption as conscientious objectors but many of these were dis-

allowed—an illustrative case being that of Charles Bubaltz in Calgary (Nov. 15) who flatly declared that he "would not kill a German under any circumstances, even if the Huns were about to kill his bride; he would not go to war, would not fight, and would not serve in the non-combatant branches." This man was one of the International Bible Students who gave trouble in Toronto and elsewhere and circulated grossly disloyal Pacifist leaflets throughout Canada.

Canadian War Relations with the United States.

The ordinary rules of international relationship have never held good as between Canada and the United States. Speaking the same language (in large part), holding the same liberties, living similar lives—though with variations—along 3,000 miles of a frontier unguarded by troops or cannon, it was inevitable that the history of these countries should be a record of extreme friction, or of close friendship, with danger of strife and war in the one case, and of assimilation or absorption in the second place. Through the far-seeing diplomacy of Great Britain the first possibility had been averted when the World-war began; through the unique loyalty of Canada and its small population the second contingency had disappeared from public thought. Trade was running along normal and increasing lines despite Canada's fiscal preference on British imports; American investments in Canadian industries were growing to a total of at least $600,000,000; social and business interests were becoming closer and closer and taken as a matter of course; the balance of trade was in favour of the Republic but a protective tariff held the Canadian markets free from undue competition or dumping; American capital was asked for sparingly and the bulk of Canadian requirements were obtained in England.

With the War a great change came—not suddenly, or in the form of definite relationship, or of any organized action. But, as prosperity swelled upward in the United States there came a willingness to meet Canada's financial requirements in the new conditions of the War. With men like Roosevelt and Root struggling to have their people join the Allies they drew toward Canada and expressed warm appreciation of its policy—as Col. Roosevelt put it at New York on Aug. 15: "We have no right to consider ourselves as standing level with Canada in this fight for democracy until we have placed 5,000,000 men in the field." Earlier in the War Canada had, in sentiment, drawn away from rather than toward the United States and its feeling was distinctly one of aloofness from a people who did not pay their share of the world-price for liberty. Then came the War declaration of Apr. 2, 1917, and, before the year was out, Canadian factories were making munitions and aeroplanes for the United States, while American plants were furnishing Canada with certain kinds of steel and a pooling of Canadian and American steel supplies was under way for ship-building needs; the Ottawa and Washington Governments had come to an understanding as to the movements of labour during the rest of the War with mutual assistance in the mobilization of agricultural workers; a Canadian War Mission was established at Washington to facilitate the grow-

ing volume of business transactions between the countries and to act in the closest conjunction with the British War Mission at the Capital as well as with the British Embassy; under an agreement between Canada, Great Britain and the United States, absentee males of military age came under the Conscription laws of the three countries and were given a fixed period in which to return to their own countries—after which they would be liable to compulsory military service under the laws of the country in which they resided; an International Arbitration Board was under consideration to deal with reciprocity in port and commercial privileges for fishing vessels, and to provide for the protection of the salmon industry of the Fraser River system; Canada and the States also collaborated in the use and conservation of food, fuel, electric power, ships and other war-time essentials. It was all a part of the coming together of Empire and Republic in a great common cause.

There were various local changes such as an increase in the Canadian tendency to accept American expert advice in varied forms of industry, architecture and construction, engineering, munitions, etc., with its collateral influence on trade; the international arrangement for free wheat and flour which would, a few years before, have been thought a tariff revolution; the constant consultation of leading men at Ottawa and Washington—Sir Thomas White and Mr. McAdoo, Sir George Foster and the President, Mr. Hanna and Mr. Hoover—with the British Ambassador and Lord Northcliffe as pivots upon which negotiation and arrangement largely turned. There were questions of munition and steel and food and transport and coal and shipping and labour and the course of exchange which compelled this consultation; a Canadian Loan of $100,000,000 was arranged and floated through J. P. Morgan & Co., and with Government permission, in July; a United States Order was issued in August permitting soldiers in uniform to cross into the United States upon presentation of an order from a Canadian commanding officer; the British-Canadian Recruiting Commission, under Brig.-Gen. W. A. White for Great Britain and Col. J. S. Dennis for Canada, was given official aid and established depôts east and west at all the leading centres; in October, through arrangements between the U.S. Food Administration and the British Wheat Export Co., quantities of Canadian wheat, owned and controlled by the Wheat Export Co. and moving down the lakes for export, were made available for grinding by mills in the United States and thus relieved a difficult situation there.

Early in the year Canadian Banks had 15 branches in the United States and Canadian railways had about 20,000 cars outstanding on American lines which they found difficulty in getting back; following the War-break of April in United States stocks, the Canadian market depreciated over $100,000,000; in the Paper and Pulp inquiry of the U.S. Federal Trade Commission Canada was involved as to supplies and prices and the final condemnation of certain manufacturers. There was much talk as to American soldiers in the Canadian forces before the Republic entered the War and "authorities" like the Hearst papers went as high as

32,000 in their estimates. To the Toronto press on Apr. 18 Brig.-Gen. the Hon. James Mason wrote, analyzing Canadian enlistment figures with the conclusion that not more than 7,500 Americans were included in the 400,000 men raised in Canada. On July 31 it was officially announced at Ottawa that 9,813 recruits had given their birth-country as the United States. Meantime American and Canadian trade had each been leaping upward with American exports growing from $23.43 per capita in 1914 (year of June 30) to $41.55 in 1916, and Canadian trade from $53.45 per capita in 1914 (year of Mar. 31) to $133.37 in 1917. Canada's exports to the United States in 1917 were 24% of its total and its imports from the United States 78% of its total; its trade, as a whole, with the Republic was 47% of its total trade compared with 53% in 1914. This condition included an increase for Canada in an unfavourable trade balance of 290 millions in 1913 to one of 384 millions in 1917 (Mar. 31). As a matter of fact, Canada was the third best customer of the United States and the following (1) United States official figures for the years ending June 30, and (2) official Canadian figures of trade for the War-years (Mar. 31) are illuminating:

1.—U.S. Exports to—	1917	1916
Britain	$2,047,545,843	$1,526,685,102
France	1,011,529,095	628,851,988
Canada	787,529,729	468,784,793
Russia	428,284,663	178,694,800

2.—Canadian Trade	Exports to U.S.	Imports from U.S.	Total Trade with U.S.
1914	$200,459,373	$410,786,091	$ 611,245,464
1915	215,409,326	428,616,927	644,026,253
1916	320,225,089	398,693,720	718,918,809
1917	486,870,690	677,631,616	1,164,502,306

On Apr. 19 the House of Commons officially welcomed the United States as an Ally in the War—as the British Parliament had done on the preceding day. Sir George Foster, Acting Premier, paid tribute to the Republic as a country where conditions had bred profound antagonisms to war and which had in this world-conflict for 2½ years "maintained its position of neutrality honestly, thoroughly, and even under conditions of great provocation and difficulty. It is something when such a nation, trying by every possible means to avoid entrance upon the arena, finds itself at last compelled to throw its sword into the scale in favour of democracy, of justice, and of the liberties of small nations." Sir Wilfrid Laurier joined in the welcome and described Canada's interest in the American decision as greater than that of any other country: "We share with them this continent. We hope that henceforth, as a result of this war, the solidarity of the nations will be established and that the brotherhood of man will be the basis of the future relationships of the world. Let us hope that this brotherhood of man with man will commence in our relationship with the United States." A reference to Reciprocity and free wheat followed. Significant incidents of *rapprochement* were the activities of the I.O.D.E. in the United States under the leadership of Mrs. Elliott Langstaff of New York and the work of a very active Chapter at Chicago; the statement of Sir Edward Kemp (Commons, July 30)

that 27 Canadian officers were employed with the British Recruiting Mission; the fact that Lieut.-Col. P. A. Guthrie and band of the 236th Battalion, C.E.F., visited Boston and New York on recruiting missions with an enthusiastic welcome in crowded streets, while a detachment of the 48th Highlanders, Toronto, under Lieut.-Col. C. W. Darling, had a similar reception in New York and Chicago; the succeeding presentation to the Toronto Regiment (Sept. 21) of a large United States flag on behalf of the N.Y. Scottish Highlanders; a Boston luncheon on Feb. 8 in honour of Lieut.-Col. J. L. McAvity of St. John and the 26th Overseas Battalion, which he had commanded; a great Allied recruiting meeting in Chicago on July 26 as to which Archdeacon Cody stated that there had never been anything on the Continent to equal it; an appeal from Elmer H. Youngman, Editor of the N.Y. *Bankers' Magazine*, in August, for reciprocity in Banking and the admission of Canadian bank branches to the right of receiving deposits in New York and elsewhere; the visit of the 5th Royal Highlanders of Montreal to Boston for recruiting purposes on Sept. 24 and their warm reception. Of this last feature in the record Lord Northcliffe very truly said in *Maclean's Magazine* (September):

> That British troops in uniform should march through American cities, should be cheered in New York, should arouse a city like Newark, New Jersey, to enthusiasm, should march up Bunker's Hill without calling forth a word of Jingo protest—that is one of the most astonishing events of our time.

Arrangements were put into force on the border to prevent young men migrating from one country to the other to evade military duty; American troops were sent by permission of President Wilson to take part in Toronto's Victory Loan parade on Nov. 20; during the Canadian elections polls were opened in several United States centres for the convenience of R.F.C. Canadians in training; 150 Army and Navy officers from the State of Washington attended a Victory Loan ball at Victoria, B.C., on Nov. 23 and were received by H.E. the Governor-General; the Canadian Government was asked during the term of the War not to grant naturalization papers to American citizens; W. G. Ross of Montreal was elected President of the American Port Authorities at Cleveland on Sept. 12; the University of Rochester on Oct. 2 gave Hon. W. R. Riddell of Toronto, and Lord Northcliffe the Hon. degree of LL.D. and Sir John Aird of Toronto was elected a Vice-President of the American Bankers' Association in December; through Mr. Gompers the American Federation of Labour subscribed $10,000 in the November war loan of Canada, while the American Red Cross gave $1,000,000 to the British Red Cross. Toward the end of the year there were rumours in the Liberal press as to the appointment of a Canadian High Commissioner at Washington to act with the British Ambassador and co-ordinate the purchase of war munitions and supplies and raw material, problems of exchange, credits, food, etc., with the name of Hon. J. D. Hazen suggested. It appeared, however, that the British Ambassador had acted so well for the interests of Canada, and the work of the British War Commission under Lord Northcliffe, with Sir C. B. Gordon of Montreal

as Vice-Chairman, had been so thoroughly done that the matter was not considered pressing. An opposing contention was that a Minister fresh from Ottawa would have more influence and be better fitted for the work than a resident official.

An important body at this time was the International Joint Commission organized in 1910 to deal with Boundary waters and made up in two Sections of which, in 1917, the Canadian was composed of C. A. Magrath, Ottawa (Chairman), H. A. Powell, K.C., St. John, and P. B. Mignault, K.C., Montreal, with L. J. Burpee as Secretary while the American Section was composed of Hon. Obadiah Gardner, Rockland, Me. (Chairman), James A. Tawney, and Hon. R. B. Glenn Winston. On June 12 a final Report as to the Lake of the Woods dispute was fyled at Ottawa and recommended the maintenance of an ordinary maximum stage level of 1061·25 with an extreme range from 1056 to 1062·50—the former level only to be reached in years of excessive drought, and the latter in years of excessive precipitation. According to a statement submitted by Mr. Burpee to the Premier this decision recognized the water-power interests, particularly those on the Winnipeg River supplying light and power to the city of Winnipeg, as the dominant interests in the Lake of the Woods region, and the level recommended was one of very great benefit to those interests. At the same time the interests of navigation, lumbering, fisheries and agriculture were said to be safeguarded. It was estimated that $100,000,000 was invested in Canadian industries of this region which were dependant on the water-power. At the annual meeting of the Commission in Ottawa early in October the plans of the International Lumber Co. on Rainy River were approved and the question of pollution of boundary waters was considered as well as the irrigation apportionment of the St. Mary and Milk Rivers in Montana, Alberta, and Saskatchewan. A meeting at New York on Nov. 12 dealt further with these matters.

For two weeks in April and May Sir George Foster was present at Allied Conferences in Washington when the vital questions of co-operation in production, munitions' output, shipbuilding, coastal defence and the regulation of food prices was discussed. In August Immigration regulations were suspended by Canada and the United States Government permitted many thousands of American farm hands to cross the border and help Canadian farmers; in August, also, F. C. Walcott of the U.S. Food Administration was in Ottawa arranging for joint international action. During the year Sir Cecil Spring-Rice, British Ambassador, was constantly in Ottawa, or Canadian Ministers were in Washington, conferring together; while Lord Northcliffe paid Canada several visits and helped in keeping the two countries on a level keel. Sir Charles Fitzpatrick, Chief Justice of Canada, and Sir Edmund Walker of Toronto, delivered notable speeches at New York on Mar. 17 before the Lawyers' Club of that City on the Centennial of the Rush-Bagot Agreement of 1817; N. W. Rowell, K.C., M.L.A., addressed the American Newspaper Publishers' Association at New York on Apr. 26 with Maj.-Gen. G. T. M. Bridges and J. W. Gerard. Other incidents included

an LL.D. degree conferred on the Canadian poet, Dr. Thomas O'Hagan, by the University of Notre Dame in Indiana and the decision of Harvard University to devote a special branch of its Library to Canadian history and literature with Clarance M. Warner, lately of Napanee, placed in charge.

The Visits to Canada of M. Viviani, Marshal Joffre and Mr. Balfour.

A most interesting War incident of the year was the reception in Canada of the distinguished French and British Commissioners to the Government of the United States. A joint sitting of the two Houses of Parliament was devoted on May 12 to hearing M. René Viviani, Chief of the French Mission, Minister of Justice, and ex-Premier of France. J. H. Rainville, Deputy Speaker and a French-Canadian, formally welcomed the visitor who, in reply, delivered in French a characteristically eloquent speech. He paid tribute to Canada in the War, to Great Britain, to King Edward VII as the maker of the *Entente*, to heroic France, to the vast struggle going on "between triumphant autocracy bent on ruling over the world, and democracy whose sole aim is to regenerate it; between absolute rulers who consider as mere possessions the peoples over whom they rule, and democracy whose object is to elevate the mind, the conscience and the soul." The French orator and his burning words moved even those who did not understand the exact meaning. The members were profoundly stirred and Sir George Foster moved that a record of this striking address, so full of heart and fire, of high ideal and strong purpose, be placed upon *Hansard*. As to the future he added: "Old misapprehension and prejudices will have passed away in the dread fires of war, washed away in common blood shed for a common cause, and the spirit of our countries will emerge united for one highest ideal, and for a stronger civilization." Sir Wilfrid Laurier also eulogized the speaker and declared that in the furnace of war "this paradox of an Empire of free peoples has become a living thing under British institutions."

Montreal gave a great reception to Marshal Joffre on Sunday, May 13, with, perhaps, half a million people lining the streets and squares, with much cheering in the long procession from the Windsor Station to Fletcher's Field where the Montreal Garrison troops, under Maj.-Gen. E. W. Wilson, were reviewed and an illuminated Address received from Médèric Martin, Mayor of a city "founded by Frenchmen, whose heroism history never tires of proclaiming, from whom our city has regarded it as a duty and an honour to preserve the language and glorious traditions." The Address went on to say that "France and England, our two mother countries, have suffered, but the greater the sufferings the greater will be their triumphs, which will produce fortuitous results for liberty, civilization, and the happiness of the world." From the Marshal came only a brief word of eulogy for the Canadian soldier: "I have seen your men in action; they are courageous; they are indomitable and marvellous; they despise death and their bravery is only equalled by that of the soldiers of France." A half-minute speech followed

to the officers regarding the only thing that mattered—so far as he was concerned: "You have sent many men Overseas, and I feel sure you will continue to send more, for men are needed, badly needed." There was a State luncheon at the Ritz-Carlton with Lieut.-Col., the Hon. P. E. Blondin in the chair and Archbishop Bruchési, with a most representative list of people, present. The speeches were brief and the Marshal merely expressed thanks for his reception as showing that France had a place in the people's affections. An inspection of returned soldiers took place on the McGill Campus, and the French Consulate and Municipal Library also were visited. To Sir George Foster, Acting Premier, the Marshal sent an expressive message on the 20th: "We take with us an undying memory of this welcome, which has permitted us to realize how close and affectionate are the bonds which unite us in these hours, when all the moral and physical power of the Allies should be consecrated to the common cause and to victory."

The Rt. Hon. Arthur James Balfour had, for almost a life-time, been in the blaze of world-publicity and in the high places of British life and policy since he last, in 1875, stood upon the banks of the Niagara and viewed its marvellous scene. With his British Mission he had landed first at Halifax on Apr. 21 and, before leaving for Washington, issued a Message to the Canadian people in which he paid high tribute to the heroes of Ypres and Vimy and to the work of the Red Cross—concluding as follows: "You have combined to the utmost of your powers, energy and mercy in your prosecution of the War. In times of reconstruction, such as these, they form the only foundation upon which Empires can be built that have any service to offer to mankind. I have been sent upon a Mission to your neighbouring State. I think of it as your Mission as well as ours and I trust that a representative from Canada will join me in Washington." Messrs. White and Foster left shortly afterwards to join Mr. Balfour and a month later (May 25) the British statesman—also Minister of Foreign Affairs—and like M. Viviani an ex-Premier of his country, was in Toronto. A great and cheering multitude of people greeted him at Queen's Park where, in the open air, addresses of welcome were tendered by Sir Wm. Hearst for the Province and Mayor T. L. Church for the City—the former observing that "you suggest to us the continuity of British traditions, responsibilities and zeal for public service" and the latter declaring that "the citizens of Toronto will support the Imperial cause to the end." In response the visitor spoke eloquently:

> I come into Canada to a great free country, composed not only of friends, but of countrymen. We think the same thoughts, we live in the same civilization, we belong to the same Empire, and if anything could have cemented more closely the bonds of Empire, if anything could have made us feel that we were indeed of one flesh and one blood, with one common history behind us, if anything could have cemented these feelings, it is the consciousness that now for two years and a half we have been engaged in this great struggle.

A stop at Niagara Falls had preceded this visit and there, as in Toronto, Mr. Balfour was accompanied by most of the members of his Mission;* he crossed the Whirlpool Rapids in an aerial car

* See record of Mission in the United States.

and visited Brock's Monument. A Civic luncheon was accepted in Toronto on the 26th and to his own toast Mr. Balfour spoke of "something which lies far deeper than mere formal expressions of policy, which makes one feel the ties of kinship, which makes of patriotism more than a phrase—those fundamental identities of thought, of feeling, of aspiration and of outlook without which mere similarity of institutions are all vain." In the afternoon an Hon. LL.D. was conferred by the University of Toronto and Mr. Balfour again spoke with a scholarly touch and sadness of thought born of war. He emphasized the value of Anglo-American unity in world crises. On the 28th he was at Ottawa, attended a Cabinet Council, met Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and at 2 o'clock addressed a joint Session of Parliament. Addresses of welcome were given by the Speakers of the Commons and the Senate—Hon. E. N. Rhodes and Hon. Joseph Bolduc—and then Mr. Balfour spoke briefly in French and more fully in English. It was a speech of perfect diction, obvious culture, clear thought, simple style and convincing phrase. His description of the British Empire before the War as viewed by the the ordinary German politician was as follows: "The calculation was that the British Empire was but a fair-weather edifice, very imposing in its sheer magnitude, in the vast surface of the globe which it occupied, but quite unfitted to deal with the storm and stress of war; destined to crumble at the first attack and, like the house built on sand, to fall with a great ruin." On the face of it there was a basis for this view; underneath there were a thousand elements unknown or not understood; the result was really a political miracle. As to the rest:

> We have staked our last dollar upon democracy, and if democracy fails us we are bankrupt indeed. But I know democracy will not fail us. . . . When democracy sets itself to work, when it really takes the business in hand, I hold the faith most firmly that it will beat all the autocracies in the world; but it will not beat them easily, it will not beat them without effort, it will not beat them unless it is prepared to forego temporarily those divisions which, in a sense, are the very life-blood of a free, vigorous and rapidly developing community.

Sir Robert Borden, in moving the record of this speech on the pages of *Hansard*, expressed appreciation of and agreement with the terms of Mr. Balfour's message of eloquence and deep feeling. Sir Wilfrid Laurier paid high personal tribute to the visitor and added: "But, Mr. Balfour, I am sure, would be the first to recognize that the warmth of the receptions which he has received in this country is not due alone to his great name and personality, but is associated with an even greater name, the name of England, the champion of liberty, the mother of living nations. England, great at all times, was never greater than at this moment. . . . God bless England for all the sacrifices she has made, for the duty she has undertaken, for the risks she has assumed." After a tribute to France he declared that Canadians "stand to-day prouder of the British allegiance than we were three years ago."

On the 29th Deputations were received from St. Andrew's Society and the Orange Order. At Montreal (May 30) Mr. Balfour addressed a crowded meeting of the Canadian Club with Sir Cecil Spring-

Rice, British Ambassador to the United States, present—as he had been at Toronto and Ottawa—with Sir Lomer Gouin, Lord Shaughnessy and other leaders of Provincial and City life. Afterwards he accepted an LL.D. degree from McGill University and in speaking referred to the great services of Rear-Admiral Sir Dudley de Chair, who was also to receive honour, and who had commanded the blockade operations against Germany in the early part of the War. He spoke of the Army, the Navy, Diplomacy and the great functions in peace and war of Universities as moulders of character and national manhood. As to Canadians he was clear: "You have every element which can go to make a great future. You have the conscious conviction that your community strikes its roots far back into the noblest history in the world, the history of England and of Great Britain. . . . The moment when Canada threw its efforts into this war stamped Canada as having all the attributes of a great nation, for no nation can be great if it is not able, on some overmastering occasion, when duty clearly points in one direction, to make every self-sacrifice." In Montreal the day was a public holiday; the welcome generous to a degree.

World-Shortage in Food: Policy of W. J. Hanna in Canada.

Amongst the many problems of the war this became, in time, the most absorbing because it directly and personally affected the greatest number of people; indirectly, of course, it affected, or might affect, the vitality and operations of all the Armies. Official figures at the close of 1917 indicated a depletion in the herds of European food animals totalling 115,000,000 head—a shortage in hogs alone of 32,425,000. The wheat crops of Canada and the United States were below the normal, while those of Australia and India were greatly restricted in shipment, if not prohibited, by a Submarine warfare which, also, was sinking large supplies of food and other material. In France, Italy and Belgium the estimated production of wheat for 1917 had showed a reduction of 198,000,000 bushels over a five-year average preceding the War. The general demand was officially described as calling for 971,000,000 bushels of wheat to supply Great Britain and her European Allies until the harvests of 1918.* Great Britain and her Allies could produce but 394,000,000 bushels, leaving 577,000,000 bushels to be supplied by import. The normal consumption of Canada and the United States, the only countries readily available for supply would allow the export of about 207,000,000 bushels, which meant a shortage of 370,000,000 bushels for Great Britain and the Allies, unless production was increased and other foods substituted in America for wheat. Dr. J. W. Robertson, C.M.G., of the Ottawa Agricultural Department, put the situation as follows in Victoria on June 5:

> Do you know that in 1916 the countries of the Western Hemisphere produced very much less grain than in the previous year? There are not less than 40,000,000 men engaged in the War. Over 60 per cent. of that number came from the farms and were food producers before called to serve their countries on the battlefield. There are 20,000,000 engaged in making munitions. They are getting higher wages than ever before and are spending lavishly; the majority of them don't

* Official statement in *Agricultural Gazette*, Ottawa, September, 1917.

know the meaning of economy. In addition, millions of tons of ships are being sunk by the enemy submarines, and most of the ships are carrying foodstuffs. The situation is terribly grave. Our duty is simply this—to produce more and to waste nothing.

Every country in Europe was on rations and the supply of all necessities was limited—luxuries practically prohibited. The United States was put under many regulations during this year by the Food administration of H. C. Hoover; Canada, in the latter part of 1917, accepted a mild form of regulation and control under the Hon. W. J. Hanna. This food control was not anywhere thorough or complete—not even in Germany where years of pre-War preparation and organization had existed. In the United States and Canada, as in Britain, something was done in conserving food by voluntary methods before compulsion was used; when the latter came, even partially, into operation it was accompanied by a whole host of problems—high or increasing prices and the need of greater production with less man-power; profiteering in production, sale and distribution; speculation, hoarding and unfair application of a fair policy; evasion of regulations and difficulties as between urban and rural areas; the replacing of loose, long-practiced habits of extravagance by self-denial, economy and thrift. In England Lord Devonport, and then Lord Rhondda, were dictators with almost supreme power in their food policies which included, when thought necessary, the enforced allotment of land, the extension of credit to farmers, the utilization of labour and the establishment of food-producing industries, the rehabilitation of the fisheries industries, the control of all foreign purchases, the importation and distribution of foodstuffs, the fixing of maximum prices and sales regulation of all food grains and their products, the close control of sugar, the regulation of eating-houses, the reduction in the use of wines and spirits, and campaigns of food economy aud production. In the United States, also, Mr. Hoover had great powers and used some of them in sweeping fashion.

In Canada, always a self-contained country as to food and far from the sound of shells and roar of guns there was special difficulty in getting people to appreciate the need, which gradually became imperative, for conservation of food. With the beginning of the year had come appeals of varied and numerous character to the public to conserve, and the farmers to produce, and to everyone with a little land to grow vegetables, and thus save wheat for export. As Mr. Burrell, Minister of Agriculture, put it in a national Appeal on Feb. 12: "Individual efforts, even though small and unskilled, will, in the aggregate, mean much. By applying their labour to uncultivated land near their homes, or by assisting farmers, everybody having health can accomplish something. There is need, not only for an increased supply, but for wise economy of food." A multitude of suggestions were made—such as saving ocean tonnage for the essentials, the construction of more ships, improvement of land transportation facilities, a plain statement of what Britain chiefly needed from Canada besides wheat, the elimination of waste, the conservation of seeds, the greater care and home use of any Apple surplus not needed abroad.

Wide-spread details were issued by Dominion and Provincial Departments of Agriculture as to gardening methods and the best use of vegetables; the call was issued for High School boys to go to the farms and for girls and women to take to the gardens; implement makers used every effort to produce man-saving machinery for the farms and tractors came into special service; Boards of Trade, municipalities, voluntary organizations of every kind, the Ontario Organization of Resources Committee, were at work in a thousand forms of warning and advice; the decrease in Live-stock was dealt with in the press and by official circular, the free admission and sale of Oleomargarine was urged as a substitute for butter and this was eventually arranged; the fact of about 2,000,000 bushels of barley, 500,000 bushels of corn, etc., being yearly consumed in making liquor was pressed as a reason for Prohibition. On May 2 Kennedy Jones, British Director of Food Economy, declared in an interview that "every pound of food raised in the Dominion is another spike in the torpedo tubes of the German Submarines. Your effective organization of voluntary hand workers, the patriotic way in which university and high school students are responding to the call to spend their vacation in helping the farmers, and the promotion of vacant lot cultivation, are all characteristic."

At this time the demand for a Canadian Food Controller began to be heard. The Toronto *Star* (Apr. 28) wanted one who would control production, storage, distribution and consumption; E. C. Fox, General Manager of The Wm. Davies Co., Ltd., stated (May 1) that his firm was strongly in favour of such an appointment and of meatless days for the whole Dominion; W. E. Rundle, General Manager, National Trust Co., urged the appointment of such an official (May 6); the Trades and Labour Congress (May 17) asked for Food and Fuel Controllers and the nationalization of cold storage plants and the prohibition of wheat speculation; the Canada Bread and Cake Manufacturers, at Toronto (May 15), urged "the appointment of a Food Controller, with Cabinet rank, who should have full powers to deal with and regulate the manufacture, delivery, prices, and use of all foodstuffs throughout the Dominion." On the other hand Prof. James Mavor, an able economic student (*Globe*, May 17), described three things—which seemed impossible in Canada—as essential to thorough food control: (1) compulsory labour or else equal remuneration for farm and industrial work; (2) a system of rationing, and (3) arbitrary regulation of prices. By this time names were being suggested for such a position—C. A. Magrath and W. Sanford Evans amongst them; on June 20 the Hon. W. J. Hanna, M.L.A., and member without Portfolio of the Ontario Government, was appointed, under the War Measures Act, Food Controller for Canada. Mr. Hanna accepted on condition that no salary should attach to the office and left at once, after a conference with the Government, for Washington to confer there with Mr. Hoover. The Order-in-Council (June 16) defining the powers of the new position declared that they could be exercised independently of, or in co-operation with, any Department of the Dominion or Provincial Governments, or of any Department or Officer of British

or Allied Governments vested with similar authority, but should not contravene the powers or duties of the Board of Grain Supervisors. It would be within the power of, and the duty of the Food Controller:

> To make such inquiry and investigation as he deems necessary into the quantities, location and ownership, and into the sources of supply of any article of food used by the people of Canada and into the prices at which same is sold or held for sale and the causes of such prices; to ascertain the food requirements of Canada and to facilitate the export of the surplus to Great Britain and her Allies; to make regulations where he deems it in the public interest and subject to the approval of the Governor-in-Council:
>
> 1. Governing the prices of any article of food and the storage, distribution, sale and delivery thereof.
> 2. Providing for the conservation of food and the prevention of waste thereof and governing the consumption of food in hotels, restaurants, cafés, private houses, clubs and other places.
> 3. Respecting the manufacture, preparation, storage and transport of food.
> 4. Authorizing the Food Controller to purchase, requisition, store, sell and deliver food.

Mr. Hanna had always been looked upon as a politician of excellent capacity, a lawyer of ability, and a business man of standing—the latter vouched for by his close association with the Imperial Oil Co. It was taken for granted at once that he would regulate prices and much more was thought of that point by the public than of greater production or conservation. The Toronto *Globe*, for instance, said editorially (June 20): "There need be no arbitrary interference with natural prices, but it will be Mr. Hanna's duty to keep the channels between the producers and the consumers, so far as possible, clear of profiteering and extortion, and to see that the law of supply and demand has at least fair play." Mr. Hanna, himself, did not take this view of his duties and, after conferences at Washington and, at home, with representatives of many Canadian organizations, and the establishment of national headquarters at Ottawa, he issued, on June 29, an official statement in which he described the outstanding fact as danger of food shortage for Allied armies and peoples and the corresponding call upon the resources of Canada and the United States: "Every individual is under a direct obligation to assist in rationing the Allied forces. There must be national self-denial and national co-operation to provide the necessary supplies." Certain immediate measures should be taken, voluntarily, and at once. There should be "maximum production; the largest possible consumption of perishable foodstuffs in order to liberate the storable foods for transportation; the adoption of war *menus;* the prevention of food waste; the utilization and creation of organized volunteer bodies to assist the Food Controller in increasing and conserving the food supplies." Wheat, meats, fish, cheese, beans, canned and evaporated foods, were specifically mentioned as essentials for conservation: "Fruits and vegetables in their seasons should be the country's foods to the greatest possible extent. Food is being wasted in the stores, hotels, restaurants, clubs, and homes of the Dominion. It is the duty of every citizen dealing in or preparing and serving food to adopt measures which will eliminate waste." On July 7 Mr. Hanna wired Mr. Hoover at Washington that:

Organizations are under way to reach every household in Canada, with the co-operation of Provincial Governments and working through farmers, all Women's Institutes, schools, Red Cross, Daughters of the Empire, National and Local Councils of Women, Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., church societies, municipal bodies and newspapers. Will organize local units in every community, using these means and others. Will demonstrate through local units domestic economy, home canning and evaporating of perishable products in order to release the exportable. Organization work largely voluntary. Press is prepared to do its part. Have arranged Committee to proceed at once to devise regulations to lessen waste and direct food supplies in hotels, restaurants, etc.

To a Toronto meeting on July 6 Mr. Hanna stated that in wheat alone the total requirements for the Allies and neutrals of Europe for the year would be 1,105,000,000 bushels. The production of Europe for this period was estimated at 645,000,000 bushels. "We must export from Canada and the United States to meet this shortage 460,000,000 bushels"; under normal production only about 300,000,000 bushels could be thus supplied. In a statement issued on July 11 the Food Controller added that "the consumption of wheat, beef and bacon in the Dominion must be reduced by at least one-third to meet the needs of the Allied armies and people; every man, woman and child in Canada is under a direct war obligation to assist in that reduction." Meantime, he had appointed Mr. Justice Hugh Rose and George Wright, Toronto, Miss Mary W. Watson, Guelph, and W. A. Cooper, C.P.R., Montreal, as a Committee to oversee Food consumption, and another Special Committee, composed of G. Frank Beer and R. Y. Eaton, Toronto, and F. S. Wiley, Port Arthur, "to deal with the Canadian fish problem and to report on the feasibility of providing an ample supply of fresh-water fish at reasonable prices to the consumers of central Canada, while giving legitimate returns to the fishermen."

Mr. Hanna did not care much about fixing prices which, to so many, was fundamental to the whole problem though at Montreal on July 17 he said: "We will not hesitate to fix prices where necessary." But people must keep cool about it. For instance, in the substitution of brown bread for white, which was urged, he stated the equal price was the fault of the dealers: "These darker grades should be substantially cheaper than the other and will be. As to prices generally—while our primary duty is to save food for export, the prices must be right." In this bread matter Mr. Hanna had a conference with Dominion milling interests at Ottawa on July 30. "The price of bread has been too high," he said afterwards, "particularly in some sections. Whatever is necessary will be done —we hope agreeably to all concerned. But it must be done." On Aug. 17 an Order-in-Council, at the instance of Mr. Hanna, was passed prohibiting the export of Canadian flour to the United States for the period for which the export of Canadian wheat to the United States was prohibited—subject to the issue of Food Control licenses. Later on to a Women's Institute Convention in Toronto on Nov. 21 Mr. Hanna explained his final course regarding bread, as to which it had been impossible to fix the price till the Government had in conjunction with the United States, fixed the price of wheat:

This matter settled, I made it impossible for the millers to obtain more than 25 cents' profit on every barrel of flour, and compelled them to dispose of the offal—bran, shorts, etc.—without a profit at all. In the States a profit of 50 cents a ton is allowed on these by-products. I may add that the United States feels that if it could get its bread prices on a parity with ours it would be doing great things.

In the main, however, no public action was taken as to prices and they remained without regulation. Efforts at controlling conditions were made, but without resort to compulsion. Gradually, the organization of the Food Controller became a most elaborate affair with three officials at $4,500 a year each; a Central Advisory Committee composed of representatives of the Government, the Churches, Labour organizations, Educational departments and institutions, urban interests, farmers, rural municipalities, and men's and women's organizations; Provincial Committees similarly composed were appointed with, also, the Food Consumption and Fish Committees. Following the United States example, meatless days in restaurants, etc., were ordered on Aug. 9, together with the prohibition of the use of wheat in making alcohol, and, on the 24th, addressing a Toronto meeting Mr. Hanna promised to take up the question of prices—especially of bread—stated that a Bacon Commission had been appointed and read a message from Lord Rhondda, declaring that: "It is now vital for the United Kingdom and the Allies in Europe to obtain from Canada foodstuffs in far larger quantities than under peace conditions. That must necessarily entail effort and far-reaching economy, with their attendant sacrifices on the part of the Canadians." On the 21st the Food Controller issued another appeal for conservation of wheat, beef and bacon, another declaration as to coming world-famine in these products. The sale of canned vegetables to the public was forbidden on Aug. 24 for the season during which fresh ones were available; it may be added that on Aug. 31 a Montreal *Star* reporter visited 50 local restaurants of all classes in that city and found that this rule was almost entirely disregarded. In the autumn, under urgent requests from Mr. Hanna (Sept. 14) Food-pledge cards (1,150,000 in number) were widely distributed and signed and the women of Canada asked to promise the use of other flours for the white, the use of a portion of brown bread daily, the substitution of fish and vegetables as often as possible for beef or bacon, and the elimination of waste.

Meanwhile, Mr. Hanna and his Department were the objects of ever-increasing criticism. Some of it was unfair and ignorant; some of it was purely malicious—such as the statement that he had recently made $2,000,000 in food speculations or that he ate meals opposed to his own regulations; some of it was deserved by the apparent fact that whenever he made a move in connection with articles of food the prices went up. Everything that took place, or was rumoured, in profiteering, little or big, was laid upon his shoulders; he was blamed for bread being higher here than in Britain, for its increasing price and that of milk and fish; he was denounced for prohibiting the use of a small quantity of wheat in making whiskey when 88,000,000 lbs. of other grains were so used; the Toronto *Star* had a series of articles (Aug. 31, etc.) declaring Canadian food control

a farce, and in this view was joined by *The Globe*. On Sept. 26 Mr. Hanna issued a statement which brought him renewed criticism but was quite explicit in its terms as to control of prices:

> Unless the consumers in the cities of Canada signify their willingness to face a complete disruption of all trades, a total breakdown of real estate values, and the utter demoralization of labour conditions in their cities, the Food Controller cannot possibly accede to the demand made in some quarters to 'cut prices down,' to 'sell food at cost,' or, as it is otherwise expressed, 'to do away with the middleman.' Such goals may be partially achieved. How much or how little can be done will be made known to the public from time to time, as I find necessary. . . . But I must remind those Canadians who are perhaps unaware of the fact, that seven main factors may be said to govern the present prices of food: (1) The disproportion between demand and supply, consumption and production. Food cannot be cheap while there is such a growing disparity between the numbers of consumers and producers; (2) unrestrained competition between great foreign buyers of foodstuffs in our markets; (3) unequal distribution of the available supplies, surplus production in one Province being unavailable for Provinces in which shortages exist; (4-7) the food speculator, the greedy, unnecessary and inefficient middleman, and the waster.

Technically, the economic argument based upon these premises had strength; practically, it did not appeal to the over-burdened consumer or critic who wanted to get away from precedents as the War itself had long since done. The document was generally accepted as a refusal to control prices as they were controlled in Britain—as to jams, meats and cheese, bacon and hams, lard, sugar, bread, tea, coffee, milk, etc. There was continued criticism in the press—Conservative as well as Liberal—but so far as Mr. Hanna was concerned his duty was claimed to be not regulation of prices but (1) to stimulate production, (2) to discourage waste and conserve food, (3) to promote economy and substitutions, (4) to work in co-operation with the United States authorities, and (5) to prevent hoarding. Following this incident action was taken in certain directions. On Oct. 11 an Order-in-Council gave the Controller power "to require wholesale producers and wholesale dealers in articles of food to make returns giving their names and addresses, the particulars with respect to the purchases, sales, shipments and prices of articles of food dealt in by them and the capacity and equipment of their premises"; on Nov. 15 the Food Controller was given, and at once enforced, the power of licensing all wholesale or retail dealers in food commodities, all manufacturers, brokers, commission merchants, etc.—the Order-in-Council also giving Mr. Hanna the right to prescribe units of weights or measures, the designation, marking, or grading of food, and the maximum amount to be bought or sold. Meanwhile (Oct. 16) H. B. Thomson, ex-M.L.A., and General Manager, Turner, Beeton & Co., of Victoria, was made Assistant Food Controller; and on Oct. 19 wholesale and retail dealers or manufacturers had been forbidden, after specific dates, to sell cereal foods in packages of less weight than 20 pounds and were made subject to license from the Food Controller.

On the 23rd an Order-in-Council, as a War-time measure, abolished the prohibition as to Oleomargarine, permitted its importation, manufacture and sale in Canada, and gave the Controller power to regulate its price. Of course, there was opposition. The grocery

trade objected to the ban on cereal sales, the farmers objected to the competition of oleomargarine, and so on. On Oct. 26, Mr. Hanna announced a shortage in sugar and, as in previous cases, the wealthy began storing that article and it became still more scarce; on Nov. 5 an Order-in-Council was passed upon Mr. Hanna's advice, and supplementary to that of Aug. 9, enacting that "no grain of any kind and no substance that can be used for food shall be used in Canada after Nov. 30 for the distillation of potable liquors." At this time a vigorous campaign for increased production of Hogs was carried on by the Departments of Agriculture and Mr. Hanna, with the fact of British imports in that respect increasing in three years from 638 to 1,006 million lbs., as the basis of urgency; earnest appeals came from France for more food, more bacon, more sugar. At the close of the year the Food Controller issued a Letter to the Clergymen of Canada in which he stated that the French crop was less than half normal, thousands in Italy on the point of starvation, neutral countries suffering keenly, the United States without any supplies for shipment abroad, the Allies without ships for Australian, Indian and other reserves, and that the outlook in Europe was unfavourable for next year. He urged the supreme need Overseas for wheat and wheat flour, meats—especially beef, bacon and ham—sugar and fats.

Incidents of this work included the publication of all sorts of regulations, rules or suggestions as to eating or the canning, drying and preserving of fruits and vegetables for home use; instructions and hints for women and house-wives, for men in their gardens, for all who wished to help; statements that every year $50,000,000 worth of good food was wasted by kitchen carelessness; the appointment of a Millers' Committee to assist the Controller with licensed flour mills and products; the prohibition by Order-in-Council of the exportation, except under license, of food commodities, feeding stuffs, fats, oils, soap, fertilizers, etc., to other destinations abroad than the United Kingdom, British Possessions and protectorates; the attempt to regulate the potato problem by persuasion, by more even distribution, and the movement of potatoes from P.E. Island to Ontario and Quebec, the greater use of a product which had over 6,000,000 bushels of a surplus in 1917; the explanation in this and other connections that continued congestion of freight and distribution facilities must affect prices as well as supplies. The shortage of tin and tinned containers for dairy, cheese and fish or food-canning industries was serious and the use of substitutes and public economies carefully studied, while agitation was carried on against wastage, etc.; the utilization of garbage was urged for hog-feed, as a fertilizer, and for fat in glycerine when used in nitro-glycerine and soap; the fact was pointed out that at the close of 1917 the per capita consumption of beef (November) was reduced to 58·39% of the November, 1916, figures, and of bacon 44·85%, while the use of white flour was reduced 20% and that of fish increased 14%; the campaign at this time for increased hog-raising, for "keeping a pig," was illustrated by a conference at Ottawa on Nov. 7 with Delegates present from all the Provinces, and a similar one for the

West at Winnipeg on Nov. 29 which proclaimed the intention of doing everything possible; the work in this connection of the Dominion Department of Agriculture, with its speaking advertisements spread all over the country, was of great value. More than 1,500,000 pamphlets were issued during the year by Mr. Hanna's Office, together with the *Canadian Food Bulletin*, daily War *menus;* meatless days in 16,000 eating houses effected a saving estimated at several hundred tons per month of beef and bacon. The chief officials of his organization in December, 1917, were as follows: Chairman, Central Advisory Committee, Dr. J. W. Robertson, C.M.G., Ottawa; Chairman, Dominion Advisory Council, T. B. Macaulay, Montreal; Chief of Staff, S. E. Todd, Ottawa; Legal Adviser, F. H. Keefer, K.C., Thorold.

Agricultural Conditions, Free Wheat and the Grain Growers.

During 1917 the farmer became one of the pivots upon which the destiny of nations and the conduct of the World-war turned. In Canada he did not always understand or appreciate what this meant; occasionally it conveyed to him only an opportunity of getting higher prices for a stated product or better returns for a given amount of work. It really was possible to be an individual profiteer on a farm as it was in the manipulation of munitions or some other War industry. But, upon the whole, the Canadian farmer worked hard in these war-years, did his duty well, and profited by substantial prices even while paying more for seed and wages and supplies. According to the best available statistics there was in 1917 a deficit between the world's requirements and estimated supplies; complicated by the difficulty of shipment to the chief market in Great Britain and the fact of Australia, India and the Argentine being prevented by the Submarine menace from sending their grain surplus to Europe. As eventually worked out the statistics of crops in Canada and countries specially associated with wheat production were as follows:*

Countries	Carry-over August 1st 1917 Bushels	Crop 1917 Bushels	Exports 1916-17 Bushels	Prospective Exports 1917-18 Bushels
United States	22,000,000	650,828,000	201,032,000	140,000,000
Canada	26,000,000	231,730,000	174,600,000	185,000,000
Argentine (Dec., 1917 crop)		210,000,000	55,376,000	100,000,000
Australia (Dec., 1917 crop)	156,000,000	115,000,000	70,632,000	85,000,000
India (April, 1917, crop)		379,000,000	52,504,000	65,000,000
Totals	204,000,000	1,586,558,000	554,144,000	575,000,000

The requirements were put at 595,000,000 bushels—excluding, of course, the Central Powers and their Allies. Meanwhile, in annual products Canada (year ending Mar. 31) had exported 225,372,941 lbs. of lard, bacon, beef, hams, mutton, pork and canned meats in 1915-16, and 279,399,867 lbs. in 1916-17, compared with 41,523,714 lbs. in 1913-14. The United States, in the same years (June 30) under the heading of lard, canned and cured beef, bacon, hams and fresh beef, had exported 1,609 million and 1,702 million pounds, respectively, compared with 874 millions. As to values and comparative production, the farmers and farm-workers of Canada, occupying 109,000,000 acres and worth in land, buildings, implements and live-stock or a total of $4,231,000,000, produced in 1910† field crops valued at $384,513,795; in 1914 the total was $638,580,300, in 1915 $825,370,600, in 1916 $886,494,900, and in 1917 $1,144,636,450. Higher prices had more to do with this progress than increased production, as the following figures of the chief crops‡ indicate:

* Article by T. K. Doherty in *International Review of Agricultural Economics* and also Ottawa official publications.

† Census of 1911.

‡ Census & Statistics Monthly, Ottawa, E. H. Godfrey, F.S.S., Editor.

Field Crop		Area in Acres	Yield per Acre Bushels	Total Yield Bushels	Average Price (Bushel)	Total Value
Fall Wheat	1915	1,030,581	28·45	29,320,600	$0·90	$ 27,149,700
	1916	818,264	21·50	17,590,000	1·54	27,118,300
	1917	725,300	21·50	15,533,450	2·08	32,336,900
Spring Wheat	1915	14,078,834	25·87	364,222,000	0·91	329,667,200
	1916	14,551,445	16·85	245,191,000	1·29	316,978,100
	1917	14,030,550	15·50	218,209,400	1·93	420,701,700
Oats	1915	11,555,681	40·24	464,954,400	0·36	171,009,100
	1916	10,996,487	37·30	410,211,000	0·51	210,957,500
	1917	13,313,400	30·25	403,009,800	0·69	277,065,300
Barley	1915	1,718,432	31·51	54,017,100	0·52	27,985,800
	1916	1,802,996	23·72	42,770,000	0·82	35,024,000
	1917	2,392,200	23·00	55,057,750	1·08	59,654,400
Potatoes	1915	485,777	124·24	60,353,000	0·60	36,459,800
	1916	472,992	133·82	63,297,000	0·81	50,982,300
	1917	656,958	121·50	79,892,000	1·01	80,804,400
Turnips, Mangolds, etc.	1915	156,691	384·05	60,175,000	0·24	14,588,700
	1916	141,839	264·24	36,921,100	0·39	14,329,000
	1917	218,233	290·75	63,451,000	0·46	29,253,000
			Tons	Tons	(Ton)	
Hay and Clover	1915	7,776,995	1·36	10,612,000	14·37	152,531,600
	1916	7,821,257	1·86	14,527,000	11·60	168,547,900
	1917	8,225,034	1·66	13,684,700	10·33	141,376,700
Fodder Corn	1915	332,469	10·17	3,382,770	4·91	16,612,600
	1916	293,058	6·65	1,907,800	4·92	9,393,000
	1917	366,518	7·34	2,690,370	5·14	13,834,900

Between 1915 and 1917, inclusive, there had been a decreased production in practically every crop except potatoes and vegetables and hay—the gardening work of the cities and towns being responsible for much of the first-mentioned increases. In Live-stock there was a steady though not large increase in numbers and a considerable one in values. Horses grew from 2,947,738 in 1914 (June 30) valued at $371,430,363 to 3,412,749 in 1917 valued at $429,123,000; cattle from 6,036,817 worth $297,130,793 to 7,920,940 worth $544,676,000; sheep from 2,058,045 worth $14,550,710 to 2,369,358 worth $35,576,000; swine from 3,434,261 worth $42,418,325 to 3,619,382 worth $92,886,000. Roughly, the farmers of Canada had in three years of war almost doubled the value of their field crops with a total increase of $500,000,000 in value and a decrease in production while enhancing the value of their Live-stock by over one-third or $375,000,000.

Speaking at Ottawa, on Sept. 14, Hon. Martin Burrell, Minister of Agriculture, stated that there were in Europe 28,000,000 less cattle than when the War broke out, 54,000,000 fewer sheep, and 32,000,000 less swine. As to the work of his Department the Minister spoke of the organization of the egg trade, and the initial steps that had been taken to standardize eggs and stimulate production. People complained of the high price of meat stuffs, dairy products and eggs, but omitted to remember the equally high price of feed. The Department had under consideration plans by which the screenings from the elevators of the West, thousands of tons of which were going to the United States, might be made available for feeding poultry and cattle in Canada. In dealing with food control and legislation of a restrictive character, Mr. Burrell said that there had

been constant requests for legislation prohibiting the slaughter of calves. England had taken action of this kind, and then had to reverse it—largely because of the extra demand which it had made on the reserves of cereals and foods which could be used by man. Restrictive legislation of this kind not only perpetuated bad types of animals but in preventing slaughter would restrict the farmer's market and probably discourage breeding. He had thought it wise to approach this question in another way:

> Last year we paid the expenses of any farmer, or representative of a farmer, who would take a carload of stockers and feeders back to the farms from the Winnipeg stockyards, and from October, 1916, to May 31st of this year, we sent back in this way 18,000 head of stock to Western farms, which otherwise would have been slaughtered or exported to the United States. We have also made an arrangement with the Banks of Canada by which prizes are offered at over 500 fairs to boys and girls who feed and care for calves and pigs for a certain period. Further than this, and recognizing the large amount of forage existing in Eastern Canada, we have completed an arrangement with the railways by which farmers will be able to bring carloads of breeding stock back from the stockyards of Toronto and Montreal to the farms freight-free.

Meanwhile, the production of creamery butter had increased from 64,698,165 lbs. in 1910, worth $15,645,845, to 82,564,130 lbs. in 1916, worth $26,966,355; that of factory cheese had grown from 199,904,205 lbs., valued at $21,587,124, to 192,968,597 lbs. in 1916, worth $35,512,622. The export of domestic butter in the fiscal year 1910-11 was 3,142,682 lbs., and the import 1,227,390 lbs.; in 1916-17 the exports were 7,990,435 lbs., and imports 3,038,843 lbs. The exports of cheese remained the same—181,000,000 lbs., and 180,000,000 lbs., respectively. During these years the need for farm labour was considerable but the supply depended largely upon the wages farmers were willing to pay in competition with all kinds of war industries and the call of military needs. All the Provinces organized—in 1917 particularly—to send help to the farmers through boys and men and young women. In Ontario and Quebec Government Bureaux of Labour were at work to promote production with, also, many forms of organized private effort; in Saskatchewan and Alberta the press and advertising posters and cheap railway rates, the pulpits and municipalities, the official Bureaux, were all utilized; in British Columbia, as elsewhere, school holidays were utilized and many Government appeals made. A Conference at Regina on Feb. 28 was held by R. B. Bennett of the National Service Board, with Provincial officials and Grain Growers, and he pointed out that "the chief difficulty in the way of realizing expectations of greater production is the shortage of labour, and extraordinary efforts have been and will be made to supply the deficiency." The Dominion Department of Agriculture sought help in the United States and obtained thousands of harvesters through official and public co-operation there. Meantime, the cost of labour had been leaping upward with official Ottawa statistics showing in 1914 the monthly rate (summer season, including board) as $35.55 for males and $18.81 for females, compared with corresponding figures for 1917 of $63.63 and $34.31, or nearly double. By the year the increase had been from $323.00 for males and $189.00 for females to $610.00 and $364.00 respectively.

During the Session Mr. Burrell and his Department were responsible for the Live-Stock Act, which regulated stock-yards and exchanges and public markets dealing in live-stock; licensed Commission merchants and dealt with complaints as to the operation, etc., of stockyards; regulated the grading, branding, and marking of live-stock, meat, poultry, eggs and wool with the size and marking of packages containing these products. The Department, meantime, did what it could to increase production and help the farmer in every direction—besides the great element of practical exemption from active service. In 1915 its watchwords were Patriotism and Production, in 1916 Patriotism and Thrift, and in 1917 Cultivation. Bank loans to farmers were relieved by legislation from various restrictions, wheat was made free into the United States and prices guaranteed in Canada. In smaller details the Experimental Farm organization issued *Seasonable Hints* monthly, which covered a wide range of subjects and much information; many pamphlets were published dealing with such topics as cheese, grain, insects, live-stock, butter-making, cow-testing, poultry-keeping, seed-cleaning, basket fruit, cold storages, etc.; the Diary, Entomological, Fruit, Health of Animals, Live-stock, Seed, and Tobacco Branches continued their activities and issued almost countless publications—bulletins and circulars dealing with dairy work, field-crops, plant diseases, orchards, gardens, poultry, etc. A special Bureau of Information was organized to deal with the question of food supplies. Mr. Burrell, on Feb. 12, issued an earnest appeal for increased production:

> The Government of this country fully appreciates what the farmers have done during the past two years. In urging them to maintain their efforts, though confronted with more difficult conditions, I do so, not because of the high prices which will doubtless hold for nearly all food products, but because of the important and special service which Canadian agriculture can render the Empire at this juncture. All who assist in this work render a great service to the State. I do not say the greatest, for that is done by those who, facing death, daily serve their country at the battle-front.

At the end of 1916 Sir George Foster had discussed with the Wheat Commission in London the purchase of Canada's 1917 output as a result of the British Government's decision to guarantee home wheat-growers a fixed price of about $1.82 per bushel and to acquire the surplus of India, Australia and Egypt. It was contended that the Empire could produce enough wheat to be independent of the Chicago or other food speculators and that as British farmers had agreed to sacrifice their war-profits the Overseas farmers might be willing to do the same. Negotiations commenced with Ottawa in February and soon extended to Winnipeg and the West. The British Government made the offer of purchase; the Canadian Government acted as intermediary and suggested from the Imperial Wheat Commission a flat rate of $1.30 per bushel; the Grain Growers and farmers of the West and Ontario met, as the Canadian Council of Agriculture, at Regina on Mar. 3 and rejected the offer as insufficient. They telegraphed Sir George Foster accordingly and suggested a flat rate of $1.70 or a guarantee of price running from a minimum of $1.50 to a maximum of $1.90—"Five cents a bushel below the

average price received for grain during the whole of the marketing months of the current season." The Hon. George Langley told the press on the 14th that "the price offered was altogether too low in view of the general rise of prices on all commodities which the farmer has to purchase, especially the price of labour that is certain to rule all through the coming season. In addition we had to take into consideration the uncertainties of the Western crop and the possibility of a shortage of grain that would leave a comparatively small surplus for exportation—in which case the natural movement of the market would be, probably, to carry the price well above $2 a bushel." In a public statement on Mar. 21 the Minister of Trade and Commerce deprecated this attitude:

> The British Government is not only anxious that Canada shall grow the largest possible crop of wheat this year, but it desires to know now that it can depend on getting all that Canada has to export and to be relieved to that extent from some of its anxiety as to sources of supply. It has sought to secure as far as possible its supply from Empire sources, and stated to me that it relies largely on the patriotism and power of production of Empire farmers to contribute their full measure of output this year and to sell it to the Government at reasonably remunerative rates.
>
> The geographical position of Canada, taken in connection with sea-war dangers and shortage of transport tonnage, makes it of great importance that its surplus supply should be at the sole disposal of the British Government. One vessel on the Atlantic route is nearly equal in carrying capacity to three on the Indian and Australian routes. The fixing of the price has, in the cases above mentioned, been a matter of agreement based on a reasonable price to the producer.

The Regina *Leader* of Mar. 26 gave the farmer's view of the situation after pointing out that the price suggested by Sir George Foster, $1.30 for No. 1 Northern at Fort William, meant about $1.15 to the farmer at his market town, and that in 1914 a Saskatchewan Commission had presented figures showing that it cost 62 cents to produce and haul a bushel of wheat to the initial shipping point: "Between 1913 and 1917 the cost has further and enormously increased. Every item that goes into the cost of production wheat has increased. Labour is hard to get at any price; food, clothing, fuel, all have largely advanced in price; farm implements and machinery are more expensive, and the Government has added to their cost by increasing the custom duties, and the amount of these duties has also been still further increased by reason of the higher valuation upon which the higher duties must be paid; taxes are heavier and there are more of them occasioned by the War." Sir George explained again, on Apr. 17, that the offer and price came from the British Government, or Royal Wheat Commission, and took into account the prices paid in the countries named above and the conditions of transportation.

Hugh McKellar, Editor of the Moose Jaw *Farmer* (May 10) criticized the action of the Council of Agriculture as arbitrary, unauthorized and not very loyal: "I maintain that farmers in Canada could have well afforded to take $1.30 a bushel for their surplus wheat of the 1917 crop, in order to help Great Britain win the War, no matter whether or not wheat goes to $5.00 a bushel." Then came the competitive buying by British agents, the leap of prices on the Winnipeg Grain Exchange to phenomenal figures and the

fluctuations in May and June wheat, with a condition which, between May 1-6, promised to bring disaster to Western grain companies. Arrangements were finally come to which the Winnipeg Exchange, through J. C. Gage, President, in a cable on May 7, described as follows: "In view of the generous and equitable arrangement made for settling outstanding contracts as well as for future purchases of balance of crop, practically all interests on our Exchange have given assurance that at least 90 per cent. of wheat that will be purchased or contracted by them will be sold to Allied Governments or Canadian mills."

While this latter situation was developing the Government, by Order-in-Council of Apr. 16, solved a troublesome problem for the moment, met a strenuous Western demand, facilitated British purchases of wheat and flour, raised the temporarily low prices in Canada caused by local conditions, to the American level, gave the Canadian farmer an alternative market to that of Great Britain, in the United States, and realized the policy of the U.S. Tariff laws under which wheat, wheat flour, semolina, and other wheat products, were to be entered free of duty from countries which removed duties upon identic U.S. products. For these reasons and in due form the three products mentioned were made free into Canada and became automatically free from Canada into the United States. Liberal motions along this line had been presented and defeated at Ottawa on Jan. 28, 1914, Apr. 23, 1914, and Feb. 23, 1916. The action was taken under the War Measures Act. On Apr. 24 J. G. Turriff (Lib.) moved in the Commons a Resolution "expressing pleasure that the Government has at last yielded to the persistent demands of the Grain Growers of the West, as frequently set forth by delegations and resolutions of the representatives of the farming interest, and repeatedly voiced by the Liberal party in this House. . . . This House is of the opinion that if the policy of Free Wheat is made permanent it will enormously increase the prosperity of the West and be to the general advantage of the whole Dominion." The Resolution urged that such permanence be assured by statute but after long debate it was defeated, as unnecessary, by a Government vote of 51 to 40 on May 10.

The Grain Growers' view of the Free Wheat action was expressed by J. A. Maharg, President of the Saskatchewan body, on Apr. 16: "With an assurance of good prices in competitive markets we can be certain that our labours will be repaid justly. Free wheat will help to bring back to the land that population which has gone elsewhere. The next logical step is to give the farmer the same opportunity to purchase necessary supplies required in the production of farm produce. The granting of free wheat will, further, have a far-reaching effect in strengthening the bond of union and the relations between our American neighbours and ourselves." "A larger field," he added, "would be opened up to the Western miller." Roderick McKenzie, Secretary of the Council of Agriculture, alleged that "it will, of course, bring the farmers more money and, in addition to getting into the U.S. market for low-grade grain, it is going to give us another avenue for export and provide a check on the

manipulation of grain through all our grain going to export by means of the one spout." Conservative newspapers took the view that conditions were not normal, that prices in Canada were being kept down, that home consumption would soon remove the United States as a competitive exporter, that war transportation difficulties made marketing increasingly difficult. *The Grain Growers' Guide* (Apr. 25) was jubilant: "Various reasons will be advanced as to why free wheat was granted, but it may be taken as a fact that the real reason is that the great bulk of the grain growers in Western Canada have demanded free wheat and have determined to get it by the use of their votes. . . . Minneapolis prices have ruled from five to ten cents over Winnipeg for many years, but now they are certain to be equalized. It will give permanence to the wheat growing industry and will attract immigrants to this country."

Following these events the Government (June 11) appointed a Board of Grain Supervisors to supervise the grain production and trade of Canada. It was composed of Robert Magill (Chairman), Secretary, Winnipeg Grain Exchange; H. W. Wood, President, United Farmers of Alberta; S. K. Rathwell, grain producer, Moose Jaw; T. A. Crerar, Grain Growers' Grain Co., Winnipeg; J. C. Gage, President, Grain Exchange, Winnipeg; W. R. Bawlf, grain dealer, Winnipeg; W. L. Best, Labour representative, Ottawa, and Controller Joseph Ainey, Montreal; Lionel H. Clarke, Toronto Harbour Commission; W. A. Mathewson of Winnipeg and James Stewart, British Wheat Purchasing Commission, Winnipeg. The Commission was given power to fix grain prices on shipment from storage elevators but not the price paid to farmers; it could accept offers of purchase from British or Allied Governments and determine what quantity to sell and prices required; it was given authority to take grain from elevators without the owners' permission and fix prices to them and the purchasers; it could investigate storage and accumulation of grain and prevent the restriction of marketing; it could ask the Railway Commission to order cars to any point and in any number—notwithstanding the powers of the Grain Act; pending the formation of a U.S. Board the Commission was to try and hold prices on a parity with those of the Republic. Sessions commenced at Winnipeg on June 20 and many interests were heard on varied problems and conditions. The first important action was the fixing of the maximum price for 1916 wheat, then in storage, at $2.40, to come into effect on Aug. 1; the second was the ensuing prohibition on export of this grain to the United States without permission. Other Orders of the Board included the abolition of trading in wheat for future delivery after Sept. 1; the fixing of Western wheat prices for a year from Aug. 31 at $2.15 to $2.21 and of Ontario winter wheat at $2.22 Montreal. On Aug. 5 a statement was issued by the Board addressed to Canadian grain growers and dealers, as follows:

H. T. Robson, the representative for North America of the Royal Commission on Wheat Supplies, London, who purchases all grain and cereal products for Great Britain and her European Allies, has requested the assistance of the Board and stated that it is essential that the flow of grain to the Allies be maintained steadily, and that



The Hon. Sir Edward Kemp, K.C.M.G., M.P.,
Minister of Overseas Military Forces of Canada.



The Hon. Arthur L. Sifton, K.C., M.P.,
Minister of Customs.

The Union Government of 1917

if the supply for any one month is short the consequences will be serious. . . . The Board of Grain Supervisors earnestly request the full and cordial co-operation of owners of wheat in Canada, so that the quantity required for the loading of the vessels provided will be secured.

The Saskatchewan Grain Growers at once asked that an embargo on shipments of flour and other wheat products to the States be imposed together with control of prices. On Sept. 12 the Board announced the fixing of prices for the 1917 crop of wheat on bases identical with those of the United States for the same grades at Minneapolis and Duluth; No. 1 Manitoba Northern $2.21, No. 2 $2.18, No. 3 $2.15; No. 1 Alberta Red Winter $2.21, No. 2 $2.18, No. 3 $2.15. As in the United States, American millers and the Allies were required to pay to the U.S. Grain Corporation one per cent. on the wheat purchased, in addition to the fixed charges, and in accordance with a request from the U.S. Government, the Board decided that Canadian flour millers, the Allies and other consumers of Canadian wheat would be required to pay, in addition to the fixed prices, a sum of two cents per bushel to the Board, and the Allies, including the United States, a further amount not exceeding two cents per bushel—the money to be used in carrying-charges on wheat held in country elevators. There was some criticism from Saskatchewan but in general the farmers were satisfied and by Oct. 24, under arrangement between the respective Food Administrations, large supplies of Canadian wheat were moving by way of the Great Lakes to the eastern U.S. flour mills and serious pressure in the American north-west relieved. On Nov. 21 the Grain Board received a cable from London, which closed matters up for the 1917 crop: "Have received cable from Royal Commission on Wheat Supplies whereby they authorize us to guarantee to you that the Wheat Export Co. will accept grain from Grain Supervisors, all allocations of Canadian wheat for the balance of season, basis of price of $2.21." Meantime Dr. Magill had resigned the Chairmanship of the Board and been succeeded by Leslie H. Boyd, K.C., of Montreal, who, also, was Director of Grain Elevators.

In the *Grain Growers' Guide* (Oct. 3) H. W. Wood of the United Farmers Association, Alberta, gave a history of the wheat price-fixing and congratulated the above Board, the farmers, and himself as a member of the Board, that the $2.40 fixed upon for the 1916 balance of crop was "the highest price that has been fixed by any authority in the Empire, or by any one of the Allied governments up to the present time and, so far as I am informed, it is the highest price that has ever been arbitrarily fixed on wheat at any time in any country in the world; it was nowhere in the Act made obligatory on us to fix these prices on a low level, nor was there at any time a disposition on the part of the Board to fix low prices. . . . Just how much influence our action in setting this price had on the United States Board in raising their price above the $2.00 mark, above which they seemed determined not to go, I do not know. But that it did have some influence I do not doubt." Elsewhere in his article Mr. Wood stated that $2.25 was the proper price for this crop. There was nowhere any question of the effect

of this increase upon the cost of living to the consumer or to the British or Allied Governments. On the other hand speculative prices in the States at this period ran up as high as $3.00, and there was, also, no doubt that the action, coupled with the stoppage of dealing in futures on the Exchanges, steadied speculation and prices in Canada.

Other agricultural incidents of the year included a War effort of Mr. Burrell, through the Premier's visit to England, to obtain action upon the cattle embargo. The Canadian Parliament and politicians of both sides had contended for a decade that this British prohibition of living cattle from Canada was unjust and undeserved; now, in view of the War Conference, the demand for foodstuffs in England, and the natural desire of the Imperial authorities to smooth over every possible point of friction with the Overseas Dominions, it thought this was the psychological moment to revive the issue. Sir Robert Borden did what was possible but in London, on May 25, Rt. Hon. R. E. Prothero, President, Board of Agriculture, reviewed the situation and stated that: "The prohibition cannot, I am advised, be justified on the ground of the health of the cattle bred and reared in Canada, and leaving that country for the first time by direct shipment to a British port, and they ought not to be excluded under the Diseased Animals Act of 1896. . . . When, however, farmers here are being asked to reduce their Live-stock, permission is plainly impossible, but the prohibition rests largely upon the agricultural policy of the United Kingdom rather than on the risk of disease."

In May the Dominion Government appointed J. A. Ruddick of the Department of Agriculture, and James Alexander of Montreal, to co-operate with James McGowen, Commissioner of the Imperial Board of Trade, who had arrived at Ottawa to purchase Canada's surplus Cheese supply for the use of the armies. On May 31 Sir Robert Borden stated in the Commons that the British Government had decided to take over at a fixed price all Cheese coming from the United States or Canada as was done some time before in Australia and New Zealand. The difficulty in Canada was settlement of a proper price. Eventually 21¾ cents on board steamers at Montreal was accepted—compared with 19 cents paid New Zealand for the 1916-17 crop—and under this arrangement between June 1 and Dec. 31, 1917, 1,860,237 boxes of 155,062,463 lbs. were handled by the Commission with $40,000,000 advanced by the Canadian Government to enable Great Britain to make the purchase. It may be added that the Department, early in the War, rendered great service to this industry by the discovery of a substitute for rennet through investigations of G. H. Barr of the Dairy Division.

A strong effort was made to protect the wool interests of the country which imported 50% of their raw wool and the Government, with the sanction of the Imperial authorities, formed the Canadian Wool Commission to take charge of the distribution of Australasian wool which was released to Canadian industry. It consisted of George Pattinson, Preston; L. Bonner, Paris; C. W. Bates, Carleton Place; James Rosamond, Almonte; George Forbes, Hespeler, and F. B. Hayes, Toronto, as Hon. Secretary. Sir George

Foster, accordingly, was notified by the Colonial Secretary on Apr. 28 that 16,000 bales of Australian and 7,000 of New Zealand wool could be sold to Canada for strictly manufacturing purposes and not for accumulation or speculation. The Trade Commissioners at Melbourne and Auckland, New Zealand—D. H. Ross and W. A. Beddoe—were appointed Canadian Wool Commissioners, and Lieut. W. G. Worth, C.E.F., in England. The work of the Commission was well under way by the close of the year. As to eggs Canada was now producing a surplus dependent upon export prices and the Canadian Produce Association in Convention at Montreal (Feb. 6), and, in view of large losses owing to the marketing of bad eggs, urged the Government to enact legislation "to provide and legalize standards for all Canadian eggs, and to provide such inspection as may be necessary, and that this legislation prescribe regulations to provide against the sale of eggs, unfit for food, and making due allowance for reasonable deterioration." The shipments from Montreal of eggs to Great Britain were 380,000 cases in 1916, 278,000 in 1915 and 112 cases for 1914; the total exports in 1916 (calendar year) were valued at $2,462,619.

Meantime, the Live-stock Branch, Department of Agriculture, had been doing a wide range of work. It completed arrangements with the Railway companies for the movement of cattle, sheep and swine from points where live-stock was scarce and feed abundant. On Oct. 26 a Conference of representatives from Provincial Departments of Agriculture for Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and P. E. Island was held at Ottawa with H. S. Arkell in the chair and an address from the Food Controller (Mr. Hanna) as to Hog products and their necessity. Resolutions were passed (1) expressing approval of the movement to increase Hog production and satisfaction that the Minister would regulate the spread between producers and consumer; (2) asking the Department "to make available to farmers and feeders of Live-stock wheat screenings of high grade, and also to properly control the manufacture and sale of bran, shorts and middlings"; (3) requesting the Live-stock Division to prepare a brief *résumé* of the facts presented at the meeting so as to stir up the farmers to the actual situation and stimulate them into hog production." This action was followed by a similar Conference of Western agricultural representatives, also, called by Hon. T. A. Crerar, the new Minister, and by an elaborate system of advertising as to the world shortage of meat, the plentiful supply of feed for the animals and the urgent need. Meantime the receipts of cattle at the Canadian markets were 806,847 in 1917, of hogs 1,148,192, and of sheep 351,339—a decrease except in cattle.

The Seed requirements of the country were great, the deficit considerable, the Government action energetic and continuous. That of 1915-16 was on a large scale; late in 1916 the Seed Purchasing Commission was appointed under authority of Hon. Arthur Meighen, then Acting Minister of Agriculture, and it arranged that all farmers in need of help to procure their supplies of seed grain, should establish their claims in the municipality where they lived and its governing body assume responsibility for financing their purchases, either

directly, or with the co-operation of their Provincial Governments. Headquarters were established at Regina and the active aid of the Governments of Manitoba and Saskatchewan received; 629,000 bushels of seed wheat and 408,000 of seed oats purchased; special freight rates arranged and orders filled from Ontario, Quebec and New Brunswick, as well as the West. For the 1917 crop $1,400,000 was spent; in October, 1917, the Commission was purchasing supplies for the new year, and A. E. Wilson of Indian Head was specially appointed in this connection. These were a few of the activities of the Department; over all Canada and in varied matters it also conducted, in this year, several advertising campaigns. From apples to increased production, vegetables to thrift, the people were urged to co-operation and work.

Dominion aid to agricultural instruction in the Provinces was continued under the Act of 1913 with a total paid of $3,400,000 up to Mar. 31, 1917—Agricultural colleges and schools getting $1,015,230, Instruction and demonstrations $1,766,761, Elementary teaching $309,602, Women's Work $110,084, etc. The total 1917 grant was $1,100,000 to all the Provinces. The Department of Agriculture in 1917 turned over the purchase of oats and flour for War Office account to the Wheat Export Co. Its total business in this connection under the supervision of J. A. Ruddick, Dairy Commissioner, had been, from the beginning of the War, over $100,000,000 with an expenditure in 1917—including hay—of $35,866,126.

Farmers in Canada, during the War years, had two dominant beliefs—one, that their industry was the basis of Canadian strength and a factor in war success; the other that it was just as patriotic to produce as to fight. Without arguing either point it may be said that the Census figures showed in 1911 a valuation for Canadian farm property (including live-stock) of $4,231,840,636, which in 1917 was at least $5,000,000,000; that in the fiscal years 1914-15-16-17 the shipments abroad of farm products (agricultural and animal) totalled $1,113,000,000; that most of this export went to the United Kingdom at war prices and profits to either the farmer or the middleman; that every report of Provincial or Dominion farm organizations showed prosperity and excellent financial conditions; that the above export compared with a total of $861,000,000 of industrial production—including War industries and munitions; that the average value of occupied farm lands went up from $38.41 per acre in 1914 to $43.92 in 1917; that in the four years 1914-17 the production of wheat was 1,114,876,450 bushels valued (Census and Statistics Office) at $1,350,368,900; that the increased values of grain and live-stock in 1914-17 was $875,000,000.

How did the farmers meet their War obligations? As producers they did admirably and, of course, were well paid for it and deserved to be; as volunteers for active service they did particularly well in the West with an enlistment to August 1917, of 40,000; as contributors to war funds and investors in War loans they did not compare with the urban interests. Their organizations became very strong—so much so as to have a representative in the Union Government of 1917. In a co-operative direction these did good work

organizing agriculture; in a political sense they endeavoured to organize all the farmers of Canada; in war matters their views were not so prominent. The Saskatchewan and Alberta Co-operative Elevator Companies and the Manitoba Grain Growers' Co. handled enormous quantities of grain and their combined profits in 1916 exceeded $1,800,000 with a storage capacity of 5,000,000 bushels. These business organizations were combined, through their Executive Committees, with the Saskatchewan and Manitoba Grain Growers' Associations, the United Farmers of Alberta and, in 1917, the United Farmers of Ontario, its Co-operative Company, and the *Grain Growers' Guide* of Winnipeg, into the Canadian Council of Agriculture, and represented a membership of about 75,000. This body met from time to time to deal with all kinds of national, fiscal, financial and Provincial issues. The War was not dealt with except in the matter of Britain's wheat purchase offer, but in preparing a Constitution and platform—afterwards accepted by all the affiliated Societies—the following clause was included in a long preliminary statement which covered a declaration that (1) the Protective tariff had fostered combines and trusts; that (2) "agriculture is almost stagnant throughout Canada as shown by the declining rural population in both Eastern and Western Canada, due largely to the greatly increased cost of agricultural implements and machinery, clothing, boots and shoes, building material and practically everything the farmer has to buy, caused by the Protective tariff"; that (3) "the Protective tariff is the most wasteful and costly method ever designed for raising national revenue, because for every dollar obtained thereby for the public treasury, at least three dollars pass into the pockets of the protected interests"; and

> Whereas the War has revealed the amazing financial strength of Great Britain, due to the free trade policy which has enabled her to draw her supplies freely from every quarter of the globe and consequently to under-sell her competitors on the world's markets, and because this policy has not only been profitable to Great Britain, but has greatly strengthened the bonds of Empire by facilitating trade between the Motherland and her Overseas Dominions, we believe that the best interests of the Empire and of Canada would be served by reciprocal action on the part of Canada through gradual reductions of the tariff on British imports, having for its object a closer union and a better understanding between Canada and the Motherland, and by so doing not only strengthen the hands of Great Britain in the life and death struggle in which she is now engaged, but at the same time bring about a great reduction in the cost of living to our Canadian people.

Speaking to the Manitoba Grain Growers at Brandon on Jan. 10 President R. C. Henders declared, as to the War, that "our honour, our very soul, as well as the national liberty, were at stake, and we could not stay out of it except at a loss of these." He supported National Service and urged a National Government. Despite protests and an attempted Resolution against it this Convention heard F. J. Dixon, M.L.A., a politician of alleged disloyal and anti-war views, speak on Free trade; it also approved National Service, registration, increased production and war organization of farm labour, the foundation of a National Government and a Census of the wealth of Canada. It urged the creation of a Department to look after the appointment of returned soldiers to official posts. At

the annual meeting of this organization, which usually had 600 representative farmers present, the War was not a vital subject of discussion. H. W. Wood, President of the United Farmers of Alberta, delivered an elaborate address to his Convention—(Edmonton, Jan 23) with the following reference, only, to this subject: "Many of the U.F.A. members, as well as many of the sons of U.F.A. members, are at the Front giving or offering their lives in defence of national freedom. That this freedom will be preserved no one doubts. But that the rights of the people of Canada, especially of Western Canada, will be preserved and respected is not so clear." So with the reports of Directors, etc. The Winnipeg *Free Press* (Feb. 7) editorially criticized the apparent indifference of the organization in this respect and for not expressing approval of National Service or adopting the Patriotic Acre scheme. The answer of the *Grain Growers' Guide* (Feb. 14) was that "the Province of Alberta leads Canada in the proportion of soldiers it has given to the War and the number of soldiers from the farm homes of that Province is very large." Amongst many Resolutions passed was one declaring that the Patriotic Fund should be raised by Federal taxation, so levied as to reach everyone able to contribute, and with power of collection in the hands of municipalities. On July 12 the Directors of the U.F.A. passed a Resolution affirming "belief in the principle of the selective Conscription of men to carry on the War, and the conscription of wealth for the same purpose."

Meantime, the Manitoba Horse Breeders' Association (Jan. 10) had urged the Conscription of labour so as to compel aliens to work for reasonable wages: various District organizations of the Saskatchewan Grain Growers had recorded by Resolution a firm belief in one standard of reward and equality of compensation—equal pensions—for officers and soldiers; President J. A. Maharg, at the Moose Jaw Convention of the Saskatchewan Grain Growers, with 2,000 delegates present (Feb. 12), urged friendly relations with the United States during and after the War, suggested a Conference of returned soldiers to advise the country what they wanted done for them in land or training, advocated early encouragement of immigration. The Executive of this body reported the recent shipment of 3,200,000 lbs. of Saskatchewan flour to the Imperial Government as a Patriotic acre contribution and a total valued at $200,000, with the enlistment of an estimated 5,000 members. Resolutions were passed (1) in favour of Pensions to all disabled soldiers in proportion to disability and irrespective of rank, (2) asking the Government to support dependants of soldiers killed in service until the Pensions became available, (3) declaring that no alien enemy applications for homesteads should be accepted till the Canadian soldiers had returned.

The United Farmers of Ontario organization was formed for the special advancement of material interests along specific lines of advocacy, which included U.S. Reciprocity as a chief plank; its organ, the *Weekly Sun* of Toronto, was edited by Gordon Waldron, a devoted follower of the late Goldwin Smith; the War, according to this journal, was something which had to be endured but of which

the least said the better. When references were made they consisted in side-attacks upon Militarism and jingoes who were worse than Germans! W. L. Smith, a semi-editorial writer, on Aug. 8 threatened the cities with food privation if farmers had to pay much more for their labour: "They will probably decide to save what they can and let the rest go. They will at least be assured of their own food, and if people in the cities lack this prime necessity in the coming winter it will be nothing more than what is coming to them. . . . Certain it is, farmers after working late and early to produce a bumper crop are not going to pay the value of that crop for the mere harvesting of the same." On Oct. 31, dealing with the agitation to increase hog production, Mr. Smith wrote: "There is, however, *not much reason to fear* any great surplus in hogs in 1918. Hogs cannot live on the east wind or even on grass alone." Conscription would make it more difficult to provide for them the necessary grain and milk. Canada on one occasion was said to have been "hurrahed" into the War; it was added that the War might help plutocracy in America more than democracy in Europe. And so on.

The organization was growing, however, and in its third year, 1917, had 8,000 members enrolled. President R. H. Halbert, at its annual meeting, dealt at length (Feb. 28) with Farmers' problems which, to him, appeared to be entirely economic. A somewhat negative Resolution was passed as to Conscription: "Since human life is more valuable than gold, this Convention most solemnly protests against any proposal looking to the conscription of men for battle, while leaving wealth exempt from the same measure of enforced service. It is a manifest and glaring injustice that Canadian mothers should be compelled to surrender boys around whom their dearest hopes in life are centred, while plutocrats, fattening on special privileges and war business, are left in undisturbed possession of their riches."

At the succeeding Convention on Dec. 19 it was declared that: "No farmer will produce on mere patriotism. We cannot live on patriotism. We should have enough to cover the cost of production and a little interest on our investment." At the same time the duty to produce more and work harder was admitted. Mr. Halbert proclaimed Agriculture as "the hope of human liberty" and the farmers as "the peacemakers of humanity who will heal the scars of war." He touched a real problem in these words: "One day we are exhorted to produce for the sake of Belgium and the Allies, and the next we are told that we will have to give our sons to fight in the trenches in France. We are between the devil and the deep sea." In Regina on Nov. 15 the Western Live-stock Convention urged upon the Dominion Government "the imperative necessity of instructing Military Registrars and Exemption tribunals to exercise every possible precaution in order to avoid the drafting of farmers' sons, young farmers, and *bona fide* experienced farm labour, whether applying for exemption or not, whose removal would seriously interfere with the conduct of agricultural operation." The conscription of alien labour for agricultural work was also suggested. District No. 14 of the Saskatchewan Grain Growers (Nov. 16)

demanded "the conscription of such wealth as it may be found possible to conscript without hampering the operations of industry"; the levying of a tax upon the value of all unused or inadequately used land, whether in urban or rural districts; and heavily graduated income taxes levied upon all incomes in excess of $2,000 per year. Government life insurance for all soldiers at a low premium was also urged.

There was a good deal of Pacificism taught at farmers' Conventions in both East and West. Mrs. Nellie McClung was prominent in this respect and her view was illustrated at the Edmonton Convention on Jan. 26 when she compared the British singing of the 2nd verse of the National Anthem with the German war-thought training in College, school, press, literature and public life, and added: "Let us be sure that we do not poison the hearts of our children with military training." So with John Evans of Nutana, a Director of the Saskatchewan Grain Growers (Regina, Dec. 19): "This is not the time for hate. In Britain, France and the U.S.A., since the War commenced, there are men who are big enough to come forward and unite the different classes and interests in their countries." He put the opposition in Canada to Reciprocity with the United States, and the plans to defeat German world-conquest in trade after the War, on the same level and as equally evil. The Grain Growers of District No. 8, on this occasion, passed Resolutions asking for repeal of the War-Time Elections Act and in favour of a Federal Board to control and adjust Labour.

Meanwhile in Saskatchewan and Alberta the Farmers' Non-Partisan League—an American pacifist Farmers' organization of Socialistic tendencies and 200,000 membership in Minnesota, South Dakota, Montana, Kansas, Nebraska and Colorado—had obtained influence and strength. It was really a new and extreme political organization with the ideals and forms of faith of another country. The U.S. President was A. C. Townley, the platform, state-ownership and nationalization of everything. In a North Dakota election, alliance with the I.W.W. and resistance to recruiting were publicly charged. It affected war matters as one more distraction and influence away from concentration on production, on patriotic thought and war-action. Neither the American nor Canadian platforms, though developed in war years, had any direct reference to that subject. Indirectly they urged the conscription of wealth in some undefined way, as well as of men, the arrangement of Government insurance for soldiers and better protection for soldiers' homes against mortgages and taxes. The following table of Canadian general production in 1917 may be added here as a fairly close estimate in a remarkable record for 7,200,000 people:

Field Crops	$1,100,000,000
Dairy Products Sold or Held	1,300,000,000
Eggs, Fruit, &c.	40,000,000
Lumber	176,000,000
Manufacturing Industries	2,000,000,000
Fisheries	34,000,000
Minerals	200,000,000
Total	$4,850,000,000

Canadian Industry in the War: Munitions, Shipping and Fuel.

A Special Census of Canadian manufactures for 1915 was made public in 1917 and in the industries especially affected by the War showed food products costing, for materials and labour, $330,977,700 and with a value of production totalling $388,815,362; in Textiles the respective totals were $114,937,167 and $144,686,605; in Iron and Steel $93,309,283 and $120,422,420; in Leather, etc., $58,047,881 and $71,036,644. The value of direct war trade in all industries was stated for 1915 at $133,417,371 but this could not have included munitions. The total value of Canadian industrial products in 1915 was $1,407,137,140 compared with $1,165,975,639 in 1910, $718,352,603 in 1905, and $481,053,375 in 1900. The estimate for 1917 was 2,000 millions. As to industrial centres Montreal stood first with $243,237,575 output in 1915 and Toronto next with $219,143,728. The exports of Canadian manufactured goods in the fiscal year 1914 totalled $57,000,000 and in 1917 $477,000,000. During this period the manufacturers of Canada had to suffer from higher prices in raw material far beyond the normal upward movement of the preceding 25 years which ran at about 2½%. The following compilation by index figures is of value in this connection:*

Source of Index	No. of Commodities	July 1914	Oct. 1915	Oct. 1916	Oct. 1917
Dept. of Labour, Ottawa...	271	134·6	152·4	187·2	242·6
Annalist.....	25	144·7	140·8	187·0	280·2
Bradstreet's.....	96	8·6	9·9	12·0	16·9
Dun.....	200	119·7	126·6	152·3	219·6
Gibson.....	22	58·9	60·	82·2	120·1

Manufacturers, at this time, came in for much unfair criticism in respect to profits which occasionally were excessive but, as a rule, were reasonable; in any event they could usually last only for the War period and would necessarily cover considerable final losses in plant investment, etc. This was not always the case, of course. In the greater iron and steel industries, for instance, many of the additions to plant would be permanent elements of production. According to David Carnegie, Ordnance Adviser of the Imperial Munitions Board (Ottawa address, Apr. 26, 1917), which institution dealt with 650 factories in 144 towns, from Halifax to Victoria, engaged in making munitions of one kind or another: "Manufacturers from almost every industry in Canada have turned their attention to the production of munitions, and it is gratifying to record that few of them have failed in producing the standard of work required. . . . The approximate value of shell-forging plant machinery installed is estimated at about $5,000,000. Coming to the plants for the machining and assembling of shells and the manufacture of component parts, there have been installed over 18,000 machines and 90,000 h.p. to drive them, the estimated cost approximating $35,000,000."

Colonel Carnegie pointed out that Sir J. W. Flavelle, also, had initiated great national factories for Canada to do the loading of fuses, the manufacture of gun cotton, acids, tri-nitro-toluol, acetone,

* James E. Ferguson, of Woodstock, in *Industrial Canada*, February, 1918.

cordite, nitro-cellulose powder, aeroplanes and electric steel and that the stock of each of these concerns was held by the Board. By the year 1917 the whole great industry, controlled by this Board, dealing with $800,000,000 worth of past or present orders, was standardized as to product; new processes, new equipment and new skill utilized for development, and new industries created; an impetus given to a myriad subsidiary interests and the production of minerals, the improvement of chemical methods; the initiation of refining in copper, zinc and lead, and the use of electro-thermic processes for ferro-alloys effected; the close scientific study of metals and physical, chemical and other values carried out; with 250,000 workers improved in mental processes and personal skill and material returns—including 12,000 women. Senator N. Curry, speaking with much industrial authority, declared in an interview on Jan. 5 that: "The greater part of machinery bought for shell-making is suitable for general commercial work, and being new and more up-to-date than most plants were equipped with before the War, will, in most cases, be kept in service. The knowledge and experience gained by the metal workers of Canada during the War will be of very great benefit in their regular business." Other manufacturers believed that from 50% to 75% of munition plants would be useless for peace purposes.

There was no doubt as to industrial prosperity in Canada during 1917. A. C. Flumerfelt told the Victoria press on Feb. 10, as to a recent trip, that "munition plants are running night and day at Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Brantford, Oshawa, Whitby, Trenton and at other points." Thomas Cantley, Hon. Frederic Nicholls, F. W. Baillie, C. W. Sherman, R. O. McCulloch, Wm. Inglis, Robert Hobson, Lloyd Harris, Mark Workman, Thos. Findley, headed great industrial concerns interested in war production, or partly so. J. W. Flavelle on Apr. 18 stated the value of orders received by his Board to Mar. 30 as $850,000,000, shipments as $470,000,000, and disbursements as $543,000,000; up to this time the Government and the Banks had advanced $300,000,000 for Imperial purchases here; meanwhile the Government, by its legislation of May, took from munition makers excess profit taxes of 50% on all profits in excess of 15%, but not exceeding 20% per annum, and 75% of all profits in excess of 20% per annum upon capital. At this time the capacity of Canadian factories approximated 400,000 18-pr. shrapnel, complete rounds, per week, including cartridge cases, primers, fuses and propellants; a weekly capacity for nearly 400,000 high explosive shells, ranging in sizes from 18-pounders to 9·2 inch shells and making an approximate total weekly output of 800,000 shells. Speaking of the conditions in this industry Col. Cantley of the N.S. Steel Company said at Winnipeg on June 12 that:

> The manufacture of munitions has been a long and hard struggle, which only the fit have survived. Of those who have been tempted to try it many have lost money, some having been practically ruined. Others have done no better than recover their investment. Still others have made a small profit that hardly compensated them for the risk they incurred. A few have done well, but only because they, after great toil, mastered a most difficult problem and proved themselves especially efficient. I have no hesitation in offering the opinion that the man who has made money out of the manufacture of munitions has richly earned it.

There were during the year several ups and downs in orders which turned upon (1) the increased capacity of Great Britain, (2) the difficulty and dangers of transportation, and (3) the conduct of Government financing. In August a general re-adjustment took place, a number of men and women were released from munition factories, certain lines of production were discontinued and in others production was restricted—under instructions from the Munitions Board of Aug. 21. In the Commons (Sept. 8) E. M. Macdonald inquired as to conditions: "I understand the situation in Canada to be that a great number of the industries which have been producing certain types of shells have been notified that they must stop altogether. This notification comes without the slightest preliminary warning." Sir Thomas White, in his reply, said: "It is an object to Great Britain, from a financial standpoint, to manufacture as much of her own requirements as possible on the other side of the Atlantic. She is continuing to order in this country the shells which she specially requires." As a matter of fact advances to Britain for this purpose were continuing: "In round figures we have supplied to the Imperial treasury during this year: January, $20,000,000; February, $25.000,000; March, $34,000,000; April, $25,000,000; May, $26,000,000; June, $36,000,000; July, $48,000,000; August, $37,000,000; and the estimate for the month of September is $40,000,000."

At this time it was announced that many plants hitherto engaged in the manufacture of 8-inch and 9·2-inch shells for the British Government would be converted into plants for producing 6-inch shells; Great Britain also entered the American as well as the Canadian market on a large scale for these latter shells. American orders, also, came to Canada—munitions, woollen, and cotton goods, ships and other war supplies—induced by the pressure of preparation and rush of men to the colours there; Canada, also, had to import $156,000,000 worth of metals from the United States to carry on its industries, in addition to coal and other necessaries. On Nov. 10 Sir Joseph Flavelle stated that the U.S. Ordnance authorities had placed orders in Canada for about 7,000,000 75-millimetre shells, the American Government supplying all steel and component parts, but the forging and assembling to be done in Canada. In this connection a $250,000,000 credit was arranged at Washington. The conditions in this respect were becoming part of the British-Canadian financial situation which turned upon how far the Canadian people would advance money to the Government to lend Great Britain for the purchase of war supplies and, by the end of 1917, it was found that the response had been splendid and that the orders placed in Canada through the Imperial Munitions Board had risen to $1,100,000,000 with a total actually expended of $875,000,000.* The country which in 1914 hardly knew what a shell was, had since then, machined 53,000,000, with 40,000,000 brass cartridges cases and 58,000,000 copper bands and, in one projectile, was supplying 50% of British requirements on all fronts. Explosives such as cordite, T.N.T., acetone, methyl-ethyl and nitric

* Address by Hon. N. W. Rowell in Toronto on Feb. 23rd, 1918.

acid were under steady manufacture; the refining of molybdenite and shipping of asbestos had been developed and a large airplane industry created; Fuses, the much-discussed product of 1916, were being turned out at 275,000 per month.

Meantime, the trade and industrial and war interests of the country had also concentrated upon ship-building as a new and vital need. At the beginning of the year Canada had less than 1,000,000 tons of all kinds of merchant ships—to carry its enormous trade, to transport armies and supplies to the Front, and to help meet the world-shortage of the year in shipping. On Jan. 20 Mr. Hazen, Minister of Marine, announced that "in order to provide for a large employment now and pave the way for permanent and increased ship-building after the War, permission has been granted for the export of ships"—7 steel cargo ships at Vancouver, 3 at Port Arthur, 6 at Toronto, 2 at Montreal and 3 at New Glasgow. There was yet, however, much apathy as to this industry, due very largely to the impression that ships, especially in war-time, were a precarious investment. Col. Cantley at New Glasgow (Feb. 8), urged action after pointing out the enormous demand and need, and profit also, there was in building for present and future merchant trade: "Canada has every natural advantage necessary for the successful development of a ship-building industry, with her extensive coast-line on both sides of the Dominion, with numerous and splendid harbours, with an ample supply of timber, large coal output and a well-developed iron and steel industry. Practically all the material entering into the construction of ships is made or can readily be made in Canada." Government assistance, however, was necessary either by bounty, tariff protection or subsidy.

As the months passed activity grew in all Canadian ship-yards and by March it was stated that 100 vessels, ranging from 250 to 6,000 tons, were under construction. The Imperial Munitions Board had added ships to its munitions and aeroplane manufacture and on Mar. 13 it was announced that the contracts already placed were around $25,000,000 and that ships of substantial carrying capacity and of steel would be constructed: "The British Government has sent out a representative, who is placing, wherever possible, contracts for new ships and purchasing those already in the market; vessels under construction here for Norwegian interests have been bought for delivery at Montreal, Toronto, Collingwood, Port Arthur and the Pacific coast." The chief difficulty in construction was obtaining steel plates from the United States. Existing firms were given contracts while new and large plants on the Atlantic and Pacific coasts were arranged for and efforts made to fully utilize the promised subsidies of the British Columbia and Nova Scotia Governments. The next two years were expected to see an expenditure of $100,000,000 by the Munitions Board with $60,000,000 for the current year. Sir Thomas White told the Commons on Apr. 23 that "orders have been placed by the Imperial Government for the construction of 22 steel vessels, with a total tonnage of 175,000, while orders for eight others are pending." The Munitions Board was given supervision of the British orders and business and, prac-

tically, control of ship-building in Canada. R. P. Butchart of Vancouver was appointed Director for the Board on the Pacific, while J. W. Norcross of Canada Steamships Ltd., was associated with Eastern development and W. I. Gear of the Reford Company, Montreal, was, a little later, appointed Director of Steel Ship-building.

In the Commons on May 22 the Finance Minister stated that the Government, in view of the exchange situation, had offered the Imperial Munitions Board a credit of $10,000,000 to be availed of as required for the purpose of their ship-building programme and as money lent to the Imperial Government. E. M. Macdonald urged that the Government adopt a strong policy of mercantile marine construction in Canada and Sir T. White intimated in reply that a bounty system or plan of granting subsidies would have to be adopted. The shortage of steel plate was a great obstacle and he considered wooden ships as an emergency proposition only. Mr. Hazen, Minister of Marine, stated that there was a current shortage in Dominion vessels for the coal and oil trades; A. K. Maclean regarded the lack of timber and labour as serious elements in building wooden ships on the Atlantic Coast. As to steel ship construction, on a large scale, Mr. Workman, President of the Dominion Steel Corporation (May 12), was pessimistic; he did not believe Canada could do it within 2 or 3 years. Meantime, work was restricted by the scarcity of steel, though Vancouver and Halifax sought in varied ways to develop operations there, and in the Commons (June 1) Hon. C. Marcil urged that the shipping glories of Quebec and Montreal should be revived—even if it were by small wooden ships below the 2,500 tons desired by the British Government. Mr. Hazen stated that many ships were already under construction in that Province—at Montreal, Lévis, Sorel and Isle d'Orléans—as well as at various Lake ports and on the coasts. The situation at this time may be summarized as follows:

Steamers and Sailing Vessels	No.	Tonnage Steel	No.	Tonnage Wood	No.	Tonnage Totals
Atlantic Coast	10	20,560	60	20,110	70	40,670
Great Lakes	21	42,134	1	40	22	42,174
Pacific Coast	9	39,960	13	13,720	22	53,680
Total	40	102,654	74	33,870	114	136,524

The wooden ships being made for the Board were largely experimental at this time as the British Minister of Shipping was not sure of their effectiveness; it was claimed for British Columbia, where 27 were under construction, that with proper aid 1,000 could easily be built. In Parliament on Sept. 6 E. M. Macdonald urged Government action, Hon. Wm. Pugsley wanted wooden ships constructed and J. H. Sinclair urged Government steel ship-building. Sir George Foster, Minister of Trade, declared wooden building on a large scale impracticable and stated 6,000 tons as the best economic size for steel ships. As to Government construction: "Conditions make it absolutely impossible for Canada, at the present time, to engage in the business." At the end of 1917 and with very little public knowledge of the fact this industry had made great strides with 20 large new Companies in operation (since 1914), with 107 ships under construction of which 44 were in Altantic coast ship-

yards, 46 on the Great Lakes and 18 on the Pacific coast, with a total tonnage of 155,691 and a value of $46,000,000—compared with new shipping in 1915 of 18,832 tons. Meantime, the Munitions Board had let many contracts for 1918 construction in addition to those specified above. An attempt at concrete ship-building was initiated at Montreal.

Nearly all lines of industry were prosperous in Canada, despite the handicaps of labour shortage, delays in transportation and shortage in supplies. The very important production of steel ingots and direct steel castings grew, for instance, from 828,641 tons in 1914 to 1,728,812 tons in 1917—or a four-year total of 5,006,598 tons, while electric steel leaped from 61 to 39,069 tons in the same period. This, of course, was essentially a war-output. The consumption of raw cotton and production of cotton goods during 1914-17 had grown considerably and orders for Canadian troops were replaced by requirements from those of the United States; the motor-car industry had grown from a registration of 81,712 in 1915 to 178,000 in 1917 with, also, an investment by the public of about $150,000,000 and an output from Canadian factories of an estimated $60,000,000; chemicals became one of the vital war industries and every month new works of this or of a metallurgical character were established—such as benzol, Tri-nitro-toluol, aniline oils and salts, dyestuffs, aspirin, resorcin and benzoic acid derivations; the paint and varnish industry continued to suffer from lack of raw materials and restriction of building operations but, on the other hand, made sweeping progress in export business and, in a war connection, made shell varnishes, stains for shell boxes, helped in munitions and expected to benefit from ship-building developments; the flour trade had a four-year period of the greatest prosperity with, for instance, an average export price in 1916 of $5.59 per bbl., compared with $4.26 in 1914 or 31% increase. The Pulp and paper industry expanded greatly with an increase of exports in wood-paper to the United States, between 1906 and 1916, of 287% and in paper of 965%—or a total value in the latter year, according to U.S. statistics, of $26,261,299. R. H. Coats, Dominion Statistician, estimated the Canadian paper-mill product in 1917 as worth $45,000,000 and that of the pulp-mills as $28,000,000, or nearly double the paper and pulp production of 1915. The total exports in this varied and important industry* were as follows:

Year of Mar. 31st.	Paper	Chemical Pulp	Mechanical Pulp	Pulp-Wood	Total
1914	$12,675,036	$2,923,083	$3,441,741	$7,388,770	$26,428,630
1915	15,478,338	4,806,622	4,459,539	6,817,311	31,561,810
1916	20,021,270	6,801,011	3,575,537	5,743,847	36,141,665
1917	26,072,646	14,032,920	6,371,133	6,448,189	52,924,888

In the Furniture industry the chief change was one of prices or rather the rising cost of materials going into the finished products; Canning interests prospered but the consumer abroad or the purchaser for export had to meet an ocean freight up to $5.00 per cwt. compared with 40 cents before the War; in agricultural implements production did not increase owing to curtailment of markets and it was claimed

* Canadian Bank of Commerce Monthly Letter, March, 1918.

that the selling price, though rising, had not increased in proportion to the cost of raw materials. One of the growing problems of 1917 was that of Fuel. Canada was largely dependent upon the United States for its anthracite coal; its industries had to have it, or electricity, and the latter was not always available. The possible exhaustion of the American anthracite fields* in a hundred years made Canadian dependance even more serious; the war experiences of Holland, Switzerland and the Scandinavian countries made the possibly humiliating character of such a position obvious. During the latter part of 1917 mining troubles and transportation difficulties in the United States reacted upon Canada, reduced its supplies and, in the winter of both 1916-17 and 1917-18, the coal shortage caused much discomfort, threatened something worse and even menaced Munition work for a time. According to A. V. White, in his studies of this subject, the Coal resources of Canada were as follows:

Province	Coal Square Miles	Semi-Anthracite Tons	Bituminous Tons	Sub-Bituminous Tons	Lignite Tons
Nova Scotia...	521		10,691,000,000		
N. Brunswick..	121		166,000,000		
Ontario.....	10				27,500,000
Manitoba.....	48				176,000,000
Saskatchewan .	13,406				65,793,000,000
Alberta.....	81,878	845,900,000	217,918,000,000	932,053,000,000	29,095,000,000
Brit. Columbia	6,045		77,923,000,000		5,715,500,000
Yukon.....	2,840		275,000,000		5,159,000,000
North-west Territories..	600				5,280,000,000
Arctic Islands.	6,000		6,600,000,000		
Total.....	111,169	845,900,000	313,573,000,000	932,053,000,000	111,246,000,000

The coal-beds of Alberta, British Columbia and the Yukon were supposed to contain enthracite but it was not the type of the U.S. Lake Superior region. The total production of bituminous coal in 1916 was 13,800,000 tons, of which 1,735,588 tons were exported; the import of this coal from the United States was 13,000,000 tons; of anthracite the importation was 4,500,000. Sir George Foster explained the situation leading up to the shortage in the Commons on Aug. 22. The nominal output of U.S. anthracite was 67,700,000 tons and that of bituminous about 500,000,000 tons, while the production in 1916-17 was greater than normal. Against this, however, were greatly increased war demands—the steel industry alone wanting 40,000,000 more tons and the railways 30% additional supply for haulage. Added to this was the car and engine shortage of the railways. Meantime, in Canada, the earlier winter of 1917 saw much privation and the cutting off of passenger trains and enforced economy in the use of fuel; shortage in supplies for many people and the blocking of trains and shipments; difficulties in distribution as well as in mining owing to the labour scarcity; much demand for soft coal and a rise in prices—running at Montreal up to $20 a ton on Feb. 14. All through Ontario there was at this time a serious shortage with supplies doled out in 100-lb. lots and the burning at some places of fences and furniture. Relief came on Feb. 18 but for a few days the situation was bad.

* Arthur V. White, Consulting Engineer to the Commission on Conservation, estimated in a valuable pamphlet issued in 1918 that the War would greatly lessen this period.

In the Commons, on May 14, J. E. Armstrong brought this question up and urged the development of Canada's fuel resources with organization, scientific research, and a co-ordinated survey of Canadian and Empire mineral supplies; dealt with the mineral production and demands caused by the War and the danger of a cutting off in the U.S. export of coal; described the disastrous result to Canadian industries and declared that Canada had 1,234 billion metric tons of coal (compared with the U.S. total of 3,538 billions) available but only two small deposits of anthracite; urged the development of peat as to which Russia was now producing 10,000,000 metric tons a year. Between 1908-1914 the Mines Branch had located 140,000 acres of Peat bogs in Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, P.E. Island and Manitoba, which would yield 115,000,000 tons of fuel and produce a multitude of valuable by-products—especially sulphate of ammonia. He urged, by Resolution, that "the deposits of bituminous and anthracite coal in Canada, located in the extreme eastern and western portions thereof, be more fully and thoroughly utilized for the benefit of the residents of the central Provinces; that the enormous peat and lignite deposits so widely distributed through all portions of the Dominion be also scientifically made use of for the same purpose; and further, that the Government of Canada make a special effort to have these valuable deposits more fully and rapidly developed." J. G. Turriff urged the Government to take practical steps to demonstrate the value of the coal areas of Saskatchewan; George McCraney suggested experiments in the use of straw for fuel and lighting purposes; D. D. McKenzie thought the deepening of the St. Lawrence waterways and canals for heavily loaded steamers was the best solution. Sir Thomas White described the Peat question as one of commercial failure at present; it might change under new conditions. The motion was accepted with the addition of oil-shales and water-powers as subject for attention.

By Order-in-Council of June 8 the position of Fuel Controller was constituted. After stating that Quebec, in the coming season, could not be sure of more than 200,000 tons of its 2,000,000 requirements for factories and railways, from Nova Scotia, that reduced output and war demands in the States made supplies from there more difficult, that strikes in the Western Provinces had diminished the Canadian product (by over 200,000 tons), the duties of the Controller were defined as investigation of coal conditions in Canada, and the probable output or demand, outside sources of supply, transport for foreign coal, co-operation between producers, carriers, and consumers, co-ordination of the various interests affected. Charles A. Magrath, Chairman, International Boundary Commission, was appointed; a little later C. W. Peterson of Calgary became Deputy Controller and W. H. Armstrong, Vancouver, was made Director of Coal Operations in the mining regions of British Columbia and Alberta (District 18) with power of investigation and, under certain conditions, power to take pssession of and operate any mine or coke-producing plant. The Ontario Government on July 28 appointed R. C. Harris, Toronto, to act as Hon. Fuel Commissioner for the Province and to co-operate with Mr. Magrath. H. P. McCue,

an American specialist, was made Assistant Fuel Controller at a large salary ($25,000 per annum). Mr. Magrath made it clear that he would not permit extortionate prices for coal and intended to control the situation in this respect.

On July 26 he issued a statement urging economy and declaring that if the War went on many months more he might have to place restriction on the use of coal, wood, gasoline, and even natural gas. In the States coal at the mine was, late in August, given a fixed price of $4.10 to $4.90 for the four grades of Anthracite and $1.75 to $2.25 for Bituminous. In Winnipeg on Sept 29 hard coal was selling at $12.50 per ton with a retail dealer's profit of 50 cents; this profit Mr. Magrath declared reasonable under the circumstances and a little later fixed it as the general margin of retail profit. At the same time (Oct. 25) brokers' charges and wholesalers' commissions were regulated, prices at the mine were to be fixed after agreement with the Controller, supplies were restricted to a two-months' requirement. By December the fuel situation was again critical and the conditions of February, 1917, already imminent. The U.S. Fuel Administration intimated that Canada should take steps for economy and limitation of use as in the Republic; if so it would receive a pro-rata supply on the same bases as the States of the Union. Meanwhile, the question of electric power became increasingly urgent and the 18,000,000 h.p. of the water-power resources of Canada, with a development of only 1,800,000 h.p. were increasingly discussed. The attitude of Canadian manufacturers toward the War was in 1917 one of support, activity in war production, preparedness, to some extent, for a future of varied nature. The annual Convention of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association—a powerful organization with 3,239 members on Apr. 30—was held at Winnipeg on June 12-14. Lieut.-Col. Thomas Cantley, retiring President, described current industrial difficulties as follows:

> Labour has never been in so great demand in Canada as it is at present, nor ever so highly paid. Manufacturing materials of every kind have greatly advanced in value and are still daily becoming increasingly difficult to secure; in some instances the prohibition of their export from other countries has made it necessary for us to have recourse to inferior substitutes. For a considerable portion of our normal products there has ceased to be a demand, so that many manufacturers have had to adapt equipment to the manufacture of new products, and cultivate new markets. The movement of traffic has been attended by exasperating delays. Owing to a shortage of production and the difficulties of transportation, coal has advanced to famine prices, threatening to deprive us of both heat and power. Our expenses have been increased by the necessity of providing liberal compensation for industrial accidents. Our Legislatures, meanwhile, have added to the list of Statutes that tend to interfere with—when they should facilitate—inter-Provincial trade, and over and above all these troubles we have begun to feel the burden of taxation which before long must fall with even greater heaviness upon us as the War indebtedness of Canada is increased.

He deprecated abuse of the manufacturers, asserted their proven patriotism and enterprise, criticized the Excess Profits tax, regretted the agitation to lower tariff duties and described 35 years of Protection as having prepared "a large and varied industrial equipment of first-class efficiency." The speedy adaptation of that equipment,

supplemented by a very large investment in new plant, of about $25,000,000, for the production of munitions and war supplies, had not only "enabled Canada to render assistance of immeasurable value to the Allied cause, but it also enabled her to keep her workmen fully employed at high wages." S. R. Parsons of Toronto, the new President, spoke briefly at the banquet which closed the Convention, but did not treat of the War. Resolutions touching war conditions were passed as follows:

1. Urging that "immediate steps be taken to assist in overcoming the desperate need for Railway equipment, which at present exists, by providing an ample supply of cars and locomotives and turning them over to the Companies under lease or contract of purchase."

2. Recording "the keen satisfaction it feels at the courage displayed by the Prime Minister in providing for the conscription of Canada's manhood, and pledges him its unqualified support in whatever application of the principle of Conscription he, with his intimate knowledge of the needs of the situation, may deem it wise to bring into operation."

3. Suggesting that the Government's Advisory Board on Industrial Research should: (1) organize Industrial Bureaux to inform manufacturers as to new processes and technique, and (2) institute Laboratories for solution of industrial problems in substitutes, waste, etc.

4. Urging Government inquiry "into the best methods for conserving and increasing our domestic and overseas trade, to the end that our present prosperity may not unduly suffer when the stimulus resulting from orders for munitions and other war supplies is removed."

The Legislation Committee, through Lloyd Harris, reported objections to the Excess Profits tax as: (1) danger to future investment of capital for extension of old industries or establishment of new ones; (2) removal of incentives to enterprise and discouragement of production; (3) injury to after-the-war business and prospects and a tax on present efficiency in war production. The Tariff Committee, through G. H. Douglas, reported that "what the fiscal policy needed for the upbuilding and welding of Empire countries is the general adoption by all British countries of tariff preferences for Empire products corresponding to the preferences which are granted to Empire products under the tariff of Canada." Besides Mr. Parsons the officers elected for 1917-18 included W. J. Bulman, Winnipeg, and T. P. Howard, Montreal, as Vice-Presidents, and J. F. Ellis, Toronto, as Treasurer. The following were the Chairmen of Branches in 1917:

Branch	Name	Address
Hamilton	W. H. Marsh	Hamilton.
Prairie Provinces	W. R. Ingram	Winnipeg.
Maritime Provinces	Archibald McCall	New Glasgow.
Montreal	T. H. Wardleworth	Montreal.
Quebec	J. H. Gignac	Quebec.
Toronto	Thos. Roden	Toronto.
British Columbia	W. H. Harvey	Vancouver.

A Manufacturers' delegation waited on the Premier at Ottawa on Sept. 12 and submitted Resolutions (1) pledging loyal support to the Military Service Act, "even at the cost of much inconvenience and loss arising from present labour conditions, and to do everything in our power to make possible the complete carrying out of

the provisions of the Act"; (2) suggesting a National Cabinet with business, industry, agriculture and labour represented; (3) urging the election of non-partisan supporters of the Government; (4) favouring "reasonable taxation of the enterprises and wealth-producing power of the country" and, incidentally, a fair Income tax. The following table shows the progress of two basic products in export during the War-years ending Mar. 31:

	1915	1916	1917
Minerals, Metals and Manufactures of..	$68,407,080	$217,657,607	$441,137,752
Iron and Steel and Manufactures of....	18,372,059	140,513,556	305,122,884

Transportation and the War: Nationalization of Railways.

The Railways constituted a vital war problem for Canada in its Government policy, financial interests and general welfare. There was, during much of 1917, a severe shortage in rolling stock, great difficulty and prolonged delays in obtaining renewals of equipment, serious increases in the price of all railway material, large advances and demands as to wages and heavy reductions in labour supply, a natural impairment of credit and difficulty in obtaining money, considerable congestion in traffic owing to war requirements and production and no adequate increase of rates to meet increasing costs, or inadequate facilities, or deficiencies in equipment. Construction projects were eliminated or reduced to a minimum—the new track construction of 1916 was 297 miles compared with 719 in 1915. At the same time, as the year 1917 passed and a record volume of traffic was carried over Canadian lines, it was found that record difficulties had been met in many directions. Earnings had mounted higher with increasing costs and splendid work by the management of the four great systems of Canada prevented any such break-down in operation as characterized the United States. Economy became a habit, efficiency was largely developed. The chief statistics of the four War-years (June 30) were as follows:

	1914	1915	1916	1917
Total Mileage.....	30,795	35,578	37,434	38,604
Capitalization.....	$1,808,820,761	$1,875,810,888	$1,893,877,819	$1,985,119,991
Tons of Freight Carried....	101,393,989	87,204,838	109,659,088	121,916,272
Number of Passengers.....	46,702,280	46,322,035	49,027,671	53,749,680
Gross Earnings.....	$243,083,539	$199,843,072	$263,527,157	$310,771,479
Operating Expenses.....	$178,975,258	$147,731,099	$180,542,259	$222,890,637
Net Earnings.....	$64,108,280	$52,111,972	$81,346,394	$87,880,842

A combination of problems brought combined action and on Oct. 24, as a result of war conditions and of Government suggestion, the Canadian Railway Association for National Defence was formed at Montreal with the object of formulating in detail a policy of operation for all or any of the railways, for the co-ordinating of industrial activities toward the prosecution of the War, and for rendering the most efficient possible service to the national cause. It was hoped that through heavier loading of cars, elimination of unnecessary train service, the co-operative use of all facilities to the best advantage, the country's needs might be better served—and, of course, the convenience of the Railways also. The Execu-

tive Committee was composed of the Presidents of the C.P.R., C.N.R., G.T.R., and the N.Y. Central as representing American railway interests in Canada—Lord Shaughnessy, Sir. Wm. Mackenzie, Howard G. Kelley and Alfred Smith, respectively. The two chief Committees were as follows:

Administrative Board		Car Service Committee	
U. E. Gillen	Grand Trunk	W. A. Kingsland	Canadian Northern
C. A. Hayes	Government Railways	W. M. Ripley	Government Railways
D. B. Hanna	Canadian Northern	A. E. Locke	Toronto, H. & B.
E. D. Bronner	Michigan Central	J. E. Duval	Grand Trunk
J. H. Walsh	Quebec Central	Arthur Hatton	Canadian Pacific
Sir George Bury	Canadian Pacific	W. A. Griffin	T. & N. O.
F. F. Backus	Toronto, H. & B.		

Mr. Gillen was Chairman of the Board and Mr. Hatton of the Car Service Committee. One of the first problems dealt with was the recovery of about 20,000 cars, or 10% of the 211,900 Canadian freight cars, which were held for various reasons by American railways in the United States. Under the constant interchange of cars between the two countries this number had accumulated in the United States over and above the American cars similarly held in Canada. Immediate steps were taken in this connection —with a Conference at New York on Dec. 5—and, also, in the matter of cars making their long journey from point to point in Canada with only two-thirds, or three-quarters, of their proper load—the consequent delay in handling thousands of tons of freight, and the holding up of perhaps 25% of the total haulage capacity. Other things were done. The speed of all trains was regulated so as to use a minimum quantity of coal for a maximum effort; passenger trains were reduced by a total of 2,000,000 train miles per year; traffic difficulties were supervised as a whole and conditions co-ordinated; economy in the use and movement of cars was cultivated with effect.

Meanwhile, efforts had been made to establish an increase in freight rates and, on Mar. 26, the Canadian Freight Association—acting for the Railways—announced for operation on Apr. 23 an addition of about 15% to the average existing rates in Western Canada. The Canadian Manufacturers' Association at once protested to the Dominion Railway Commission, though it was understood that they objected more to details than to the general average of increase while vigorous protests, as to both details and principle, came from the Western Grain-Growers and the matter was held up by the Government Railway Commission to consider and investigate. The Vancouver Board of Trade claimed before this body at a sitting there on June 6 that such an increase would add to the high cost of living and, in any case, should not apply to local transportation in British Columbia; D. B. Hanna of the C.N.R. told the Commission at Toronto on June 12 that the growing cost of operating expenses—in coal, wages, locomotives, cars, and materials of all sorts—made the increase imperative; the Toronto Board of Trade did not oppose this action but suggested to the Commission that it be an emergency measure only; the United Farmers of Ontario

denounced the proposal and declared that such an increase would mean, practically, a gift of $18,500,000 to the C.P.R., while the C.N.R. would get $5,321,000 and the G.T.R. $5,873,256; R. McKenzie, Secretary of the Canadian Council of Agriculture, presented an elaborate Memorandum opposing the increase as an added burden to the primary industries of agriculture, lumber, etc., and enlarging upon the profits of the C.P.R.; J. B. Musselman, of the Saskatchewan Grain Growers, claimed that $40,000,000 directly, and as much more indirectly, would be added to the consumer's burdens. Finally, on Dec. 27, the Railway Commission gave judgment permitting an increase of from 10 to 15% in freight and passenger rates with an estimated additional revenue of $13,682,100 to the C.P.R., $6,068,802 to the G.T.R., and $3,791,150 to the C.N.R. The manufacturers approved the action as a War measure, the farmers and shippers of the West continued an active propaganda against it.* Meanwhile, in July, an increased rate on grain products passing by lake and rail from Fort William to Toronto and Montreal was allowed despite the protests of millers and others.

The question of Railway nationalization or public ownership on a large scale was made possible by the War and its application in respect to certain Canadian railways was made inevitable by the war-created conditions. The action of the Government in saving the railway and financial situation in 1916 by special aid to the Grand Trunk Pacific and Canadian Northern Railways for the purpose of meeting current obligations and interest payments precipitated the appointment (July 13, 1916) of a Royal Commission to inquire into Railways and Transportation—including territories served by the three great systems of Canada, physical conditions, operative methods, branch lines, connections in the United States, steamship connections and financial conditions, together with problems of re-organization, or state acquisition. The Commissioners appointed were Alfred H. Smith, President of the N.Y. Central, Sir Henry L. Drayton, Chairman of the Railway Commission, and Sir George Paish of London—the latter being unable to act was replaced by Wm. M. Acworth of London. The Report was presented to Parliament on May 3, with one Section signed by Sir H. L. Drayton and Mr. Acworth and the other by Mr. Smith. The majority report was ambitious in treatment and analyzed at length the condition of the three chief railways; deprecated the control of the G.T.R. and C.N.R. passing entirely into the hands of the Canadian Pacific or the control of all three into the hands of the Government; opposed the management of these railways as a whole being vested in any new private corporation; recommended that the Canadian Northern, Grand Trunk, Grand Trunk Pacific, Intercolonial and National Transcontinental be transferred by Act of Parliament to an independent Board of Trustees, which should be incorporated and specifically constituted as the Dominion Railway Company with (1) ownership of the Lines to be vested in it absolutely, (2) Government responsibility to the Company to be assumed for the interest on existing securities of these railways; (3) constitution of the

* Early in 1918 the Government, as a matter of policy, suspended the increased rates.

Board to be non-political, permanent, self-perpetuating and not subject to direct Government or Parliamentary control.

The statement was made that existing fixed charges of these five railways were $34,000,000 per annum and to this was added $6,000,000 for interest on new capital required; on the basis of actual net earnings in 1916 it was assumed by the Commissioners that the shortage at the inception of the proposed plan would be about $12,500,000, making an additional gross income of $50,000,000 necessary and this they regarded as possible. It was pointed out that the operated mileage of Canada was far greater per capita than that of Britain or France and roughly equal to that of the German Empire or India; that this mileage had far outstripped the growth of the population and the available traffic; that the 8 systems involved in this Report had received from Government subsidies $157,294,329, from the sale of lands $158,189,933, from Loans outstanding, or investment, $396,924,483, from Guarantees outstanding $256,042,992—a total of $968,451,737. The Commissioners declared that Canadian Railways were in excess of existing requirements, that highways should be improved to help the farmers in bringing grain to market, that Hudson Bay Railway construction should not be re-commenced, that the natural tendency of railway rates in Canada, as in the United States, was to rise, that the Guarantee policy in railway building was dangerous. It was recommended, in addition to the main points already specified, that the Railway Commission be given jurisdiction over all Dominion railways and report to Parliament as to all proposed grants of charters, subsidies and guarantees; that there should be a continuous public audit of Dominion Railway accounts; that Railway Councils should be established so as to bring together railway management and public interests.

Mr. Smith in his Report took definite ground in approval of past Government aid to railways in money, credit and legislation, but supplemented this with regret that there had not been some official supervision of policy and expenditure; eulogized the C.P.R., alleged that the Grand Trunk, standing alone with better operating conditions, could become profitable, and declared that with a return to normal conditions "and provided with the capital necessary for equipment and for additional local facilities, this road could work its way out in a reasonable time." He urged this strong argument against the policy proposed by the Majority report: "The three great Canadian companies amongst them either own, lease, or control no less than 7,000 miles of railway situated in the United States. And some at least of these lines are necessary economic complements of the Canadian systems. It is clearly impossible that the Dominion Government should be subjected, not only to the regulating authority of the Interstate Commerce Commission and the several State Railway Commissions of the United States, but also to the police regulations of all the States which these lines enter. Technically, no doubt, the difficulty could be got over by vesting the legal ownership in Government officials under their own names as trustees for the Government. But the practical

fact would remain. It would in effect be the Canadian Government which would be ordered by the United States Interstate and State Commissions to alter its rates, and Canadian Government officials who would be required by United States law courts to explain their actions and justify their conduct." He did not believe in nationalization and could not accept the general conclusions of his colleagues:

> My friends seek to avoid Government ownership and operation—in fact condemn it as inadvisable, but propose a plan which contains so many elements of danger in the direction which is sought to be avoided that I am unable to join them. Their plan would add about a billion dollars to the direct Debt of Canada. The interest on this is about forty millions, adding very largely to Government expenses. Judging from the experience Canada has had with its Government railways, it is fair to assume that this would remain a permanent burden. Operated by private companies, this interest would ultimately be borne by the Companies without recourse to the Government funds, and at the same cost of service to railway patrons as would obtain under Government operation. Their plan also leaves out some of the railways. This is unfair to the investors whose property is to be subjected to Government competition. It also discriminates in the method by which the respective properties are to be acquired. I cannot approve the proposed centralization of control. There are problems local to separate regions which often require prompt action and co-operation between the railroads and the people served.

He suggested certain remedies for the existing situation: "Let the Canadian Pacific alone; let the Grand Trunk operate the eastern lines now held by that Company and the Canadian Northern; let the Canadian Northern operate the western lines, now held by that Company and the Grand Trunk Pacific system; let the Government operate the connections or procure their operation by private companies; all of which should be done under arrangements that are equitable and yet look to the not distant day when the country will have survived the War and resumed its prosperous growth." He believed that most of the trouble in Canadian railways (apart from War conditions) was due to absence of co-ordination and co-operation under Government regulation; that the commercial and political unification of Canada had called for much over-building and duplication; that the Grand Trunk would be better off financially without the Grand Trunk Pacific, and that the Canadian Northern had been built economically and soundly though its continuation west of the Rockies and some of its Eastern extensions were unwise. Attached to the Report was a physical appraisement of the C.N.R. and G.T.R., made by Prof. G. F. Swain of Boston, and his corps of expert assistants and covering 12,073 miles of line with 1,352 miles of the C.P.R. for purposes of comparison.

These Reports aroused great interest. The majority one, though disclaiming Public ownership and control as being everywhere injuriously affected by politics, was yet accepted very generally as supporting that policy; a later address by Sir Henry Drayton in Toronto (May 10) appeared to confirm this view. The bulk of the press was in favour of some such policy but able journals like the Montreal *Gazette* and the Winnipeg *Free Press* were doubtful of its advantages and were much more assured as to the private initiative, careful investment and management, and direct incentive which corporate ownership was claimed to give. With this latter

view evidence afterwards given by Mr. Acworth before an American Congress Committee accorded. He alleged that "taking them all for all, the private Railway companies of England and the United States have served the public better than the Government railways of the Continent, or of Australian colonies." The financial press, as a whole, opposed Government ownership and criticized the Drayton-Acworth scheme as public ownership without political control and this was declared to be impossible. W. H. Moore of the Canadian Northern issued a booklet in which he discussed various alleged errors in the majority Report and strongly criticized its conclusions.

Meantime the Government had to decide an immediate issue—apart from theories, precedents of peace times in other countries, or the rights and wrongs of particular proposals. The Canadian Northern and Grand Trunk Pacific had to have more help, under war conditions which made it impossible to obtain money on the open market, yet public opinion clearly was opposed to further Government aid without Government ownership or control; the Prime Minister himself had at one time led a political campaign in favour of public ownership of the Grand Trunk Pacific in its early stages; the very success and wealth of the C.P.R. made the public suspicious of "great and grasping corporations" while the opposite condition in other railways made them fearful of future Canadian burdens from corporations that might not succeed. The West was a unit for Government ownership and the West was swinging a wide measure of political influence. In Parliament on Aug. 1 Sir Thomas White presented the Government's plan or solution of the problem. After dealing at length with the Royal Commission, its Reports, and its conclusions he stated that: "The finances of the Canadian Pacific are all that you might desire. The finances of the Grand Trunk Railway are entirely satisfactory with the exception only of their contingent liability, which is a very heavy one, in respect to the securities of the Grand Trunk Pacific which they have guaranteed. The position of the Canadian Northern is that, although the Company makes net earnings, any surplus cash it has on that account it requires to pay for betterments and rolling stock. The result in that the Company is short of cash for the purpose of paying interest upon its underlying securities. . . . The prolongation of the War has made it impossible for the Canadian Northern to float any additional securities, to issue any further debenture stock."

His proposal was for the Government (1) to acquire the 600,000 shares of capital stock of the C.N.R. Company—par value $60,000,000—at a price to be determined but not to exceed $10,000,000; (2) to appoint three arbitrators to settle such values and obtain such reports and facts as might be necessary; (3) to give the Company upon transfer of these shares all necessary aid in arranging its indebtedness and obligations. Under this plan ownership of the whole Canadian Northern system would be attained by purchase of the $60,000,000 of the Company's stock still in the hands of private individuals or pledged as security for loans. The remaining $40,-

000,000 of its stock had been in possession of the Government since 1914, when the latter guaranteed an issue of Canadian Northern bonds to the amount of $40,000,000. As to values the Drayton-Acworth report put the minimum cash investment in this System at $383,302,451 with $100,000,000 of capital representing no cash consideration; the C.N.R. Company put its property investment on June 30, 1916 (including stock) at $494,112,489. As to the Grand Trunk Pacific a later Bill provided for a Loan of $7,500,000 re-payable on demand, to meet current interest requirements, secured by mortgage and backed by a Government constitution of its Board of Directors. Another Bill presented by Mr. Cochrane, Minister of Railways, provided for placing all Government railways under the Railway Commission.

The discussion of these proposals in Parliament, and the policy involved, was long and controversial. Sir T. White pointed out on Aug. 1 that under the C.N.R. policy of the Government: "We shall, by this transaction, acquire 9,513 miles of the Canadian Northern Railway System, with branches in all Provinces of Canada except New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, and including 6,000 miles of branches in Western Canada. That system has entry to every important city and centre in the Dominion of Canada. We shall have all the adjuncts of the road, including telegraph companies and elevator companies." The Government already had the Intercolonial with its access over a leased line to Montreal. When the Quebec Bridge was completed across the St. Lawrence, this Intercolonial Line would have this access over the Canadian Northern-Quebec to the terminals of the C.N.R. in Montreal. He pointed out that the ownership and control of these terminals and, indeed, those of the Canadian Northern System in all parts of Canada, would be under the control and ownership of the Dominion. The Intercolonial would, under these conditions, have connection with Ontario and with Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia. In addition to this the Government owned the National Transcontinental from Moncton to Winnipeg.

The 2nd reading of the Bill was moved on Aug. 14, spoken to by the Minister of Finance, the Prime Minister, Hon. G. P. Graham, Hon. W. Pugsley, J. E. Armstrong, D. D. McKenzie, W. F. Maclean, Hon. R. Lemieux, and passed on the 16th after Mr. Graham (Lib.) had moved an amendment, which was defeated by 67 to 41, declaring that: "Parliament should proceed to take over the said Railway for the benefit of the people of Canada under the said provision of the said Act and that the capital stock of the said Canadian Northern Railway Co. should be considered in the said foreclosure order as possessing no value and that nothing should be paid therefor." It was a party vote and much Liberal feeling was shown as to possible payments to Mackenzie and Mann for a stock which on the one hand, represented the investment of many years of labour, thought, skill and effort and on the other hand did not represent cash. There was much debate on the 3rd reading and Mr. Pugsley (Lib.) moved an amendment on Aug. 29 that the final award as to payment for stock be subject to ratification by Parlia-

ment. This was defeated by 53 to 37 and the Bill then passed. Amongst the Liberals opposing Government ownership of railways were J. A. Robb, Huntington, F. B. Carvell, Carleton, N.B., Pius Michaud, Victoria, N.B., D. D. McKenzie of Cape Breton, N.S. Mr. Carvell described the policy as a "farce and fallacy." It may be added here that a List of Shareholders in the C.N.R. Company submitted by Sir T. White (Aug. 23) showed the Government as holding $40,000,000, Mackenzie, Mann & Co. Ltd., $58,614,000, Messrs. Mackenzie, Hanna and Mann $10,000 each, and John Aird and H. V. F. Jones in Trust, $1,000,000. In the Senate the Hon. H. Bostock, Liberal leader, claimed (Sept. 5) that the Government was assuming liabilities of $653,246,949 and moved a long amendment to the 2nd reading reviewing alleged financial conditions and deferring further consideration of the Bill until information by the Government had been given upon the points raised. It was defeated by 43 to 37 as were a number of other amendments.

Much might be said about the Railways individually and the influence of the War upon their general conditions. The Canadian Pacific dominated the financial situation on the continent so far as railway prosperity and progress were concerned. Its 1917 balance sheet showed total Assets of $1,038,074,983 including cash on hand on Dec. 31 of $31,424,893, property investments of $695,195,293, available resources placed at $279,650,538, and working assets (with cash in hand) $63,229,149. The Liabilities included $556,966,803 of stock and $55,650,000 of bonds and note certificates; the surplus revenue from operation was $127,275,369 and the surplus in other Assets was $113, 639,443. The debates in Parliament and the country on Railway nationalization and the Royal Commission Report evoked many compliments upon the high financial position of the C.P.R.; the Montreal *Gazette* urged that it should be allowed to take over the C.N.R. and Sir H. L. Drayton stated at Toronto on May 10 that "the C.P.R. Company is giving an efficient public service and is well and efficiently organized, stands well in the world's financial circles, and has a great borrowing power, as well as liquid assets held in reserve." It was stated in May to have 2,000 freight cars under construction; on July 16 it finally took over the management, operation and control of the Allan Line of 32 steamships with 3 under construction; its management, including Lord Shaughnessy, was naturally opposed to Public ownership of railways and may have used legitimate influence against the C.N.R. acquisition but there was no truth in current allegations as to a combination between Sir W. Laurier and Lord Shaughnessy; the latter in denying any active steps of this kind, on Sept. 3, stated that Members of the Government had initiated the original discussion as to C.P.R. acquisition of the Canadian Northern.*

As to the War action of the C.P.R., it was generous and continuous. The Company was credited with giving more men to active service than any other organization in Canada. The total on Jan. 1, 1917, was stated as 7,114 employees of whom 176 had been killed

*Sir Thomas White denied this on Sept. 4, and declared that the suggestion came from the Railways, and that he stated the plan to be impracticable when asked.

and 415 wounded. Numbers continued to enlist during this year while Brig.-Gen. F. S. Meighen, a Director of the C.P.R., did good service abroad. One of the problems of Conscription was how to deal with the depleted ranks of this and other railways. Financially the Company stood ready to loan its securities in England to the Imperial Government for pledge in New York as collateral to British obligations; a matured scheme, however, of $200,000,000 collateral trust bonds, payable in the United States currency, approved by shareholders and allowed by Parliament, was temporarily abandoned owing to the Republic coming into the War. An agreement was carried out with the Imperial Government under which 4% consolidated debenture stock to the amount of $40,000,000 was issued and loaned to the Imperial Treasury for a maximum period of 5 years, at a premium of ½% per annum, over the interest payable on the stock; in June it was announced that the C.P.R. had lent $10,000,000 to the Imperial Munitions Board to assist the Imperial Government in its purchases of war supplies; to the Canadian Patriotic Fund $150,000 was given in 1916 and $200,000 in 1917 and by the employees of the Company a total of $87,962 in these years; Lord Shaughnessy, as President of the C.P.R., took an active part in Patriotic Fund and Red Cross collections and in National Bond sales; the Company purchased for the War Office $25,000,000 of Canadian products and manufactured large quantities of munitions.

The Canadian Northern, since its inception in 1896, had cut such a figure in the progress and politics of Canada that absorbing books could be written about its history. The War came at its most critical stage of final evolution and prevented a full realization of the carefully-worked-out plans of its founders or promoters—Mackenzie, Mann, Hanna, Lash. It did, however, survive as a separate entity and as one of the great Transcontinental lines of Canada. with a time to come when the services of Sir Wm. Mackenzie and Sir Donald Mann, in particular, would be recognized as of National value in the moneys borrowed abroad and expended in Canada, in the aid given to transportation throughout the West, in the advertising of Canadian resources and progress. The events of 1917, not already mentioned, included an Order-in-Council of March declaring the Canadian Northern Pacific, the C.N. Western and the C.N. Saskatchewan Companies' lines to be "works for the general advantage of Canada," and under the complete jurisdiction of the Railway Board in respect of rate control, etc. A little later a Special Commission, composed of E. E. Loomis, President of the Lehigh Valley Railway and J. W. Platten, President, U.S. Mortgage & Trust Co., New York, reported to the C.N.R. Company the results of an investigation of its financial condition and stated that its capital-investment had been "secured economically and expended wisely"; that its undertaking was sound in all essentials and the Railway well located and well built; that main-line grades over practically its entire route were the "most favourable in existence," and that, under a normally developed traffic-density, the Railway "should operate at a ratio previously unknown and at enormous profit"; that of the arable lands tributary to the C.N.R. System

in the Prairie Provinces less than 15% was under cultivation, "so that large increases in both population and traffic may be expected within a few years"; that if $86,000,000 could be obtained in the next five years for necessary betterments, etc., the Railway could be carried on and all interest charges met.

The Company did not publicly oppose the Government policy but it fought nationalization during the year as a principle and would, of course, have liked further Government loans to carry it over the War and reconstruction periods. In August Montreal financial men such as F. W. Molson, H. R. Drummond. H. A. Ekers, Z. Hébert, W. R. Miller, Geo. Caverhill, G. F. Benson and many others signed a protest to the Government declaring that its acquisition of this Railway meant "a national burden of unknown magnitude, and one certainly greater than any ever before imposed upon this country, with the exception of the War Debt." As to this the situation was exaggerated and the Minority report of A. H. Smith of the Royal Commission clearly pointed out that: "The precarious financial situation of the Canadian Northern is due, in part, to its uncompleted condition, and to the fact that needed capital cannot be obtained. This Sytem is not at present able to earn all its fixed charges. As important parts of the System have but recently emerged from the construction period, it would be truly remarkable if it were able to do so. It does earn a very large proportion of such charges, and probably could earn all of them but for the burden of eastern extensions and duplications that have been placed upon it. Practically all commercial enterprises, and particularly railroads, must go through a development period." The Company had a good year's business in 1917, despite depletion of man-power and financial difficulties, with considerable increases in freight and passenger revenues, train earnings and mileage as well as in operating expenses.

The Grand Trunk Railway had always faced difficulties in Canada —pioneer ones of construction, financial ones of far-away control, political ones of local complication, and then, finally, the Grand Trunk Pacific problem. Despite the heavy expenditures and liabilities incurred on this latter project, obstacles might have been once more overcome had not the War smashed all ordinary bases of action. As it was, a splendid railway had been built and a string of hotels established worthy of a far greater population. E. J. Chamberlin, President, in a statement of Apr. 21 described the situation as follows: "The conditions that obtain to-day in our great industries were undreamt of before the War and the railways cannot be blamed if they failed to see the coming of the conflict. The period immediately before the opening of hostilities was marked by a tremendous decline in railroad traffic. Net revenues fell to the vanishing point. There were tens of thousands of idle freight cars and hundreds of idle locomotives. The confidence of investors in railway securities had been shaken by the persistent and successful efforts of various bodies to prevent the roads from earning a fair payment for transportation service. They have been called upon during the past two years to carry a burden of a magnitude

that would previously have been considered outside the realms of possibility." In Ontario coal shortage and the retention of Canadian cars in United States traffic, especially hampered the Grand Trunk during both winter seasons of 1917 and it also became obvious that there was a shortage in locomotives. At the annual meeting of the G.T.R. in London (Apr. 26) A. W. Smithers, Chairman, pointed out that during the War "not only did prices rise but it had been impossible to obtain delivery of supplies even when they were prepared to pay the high prices, and, in a word, they had had to be content with a hand-to-mouth existence." He stated that a list of articles used by the Railway showed such rises as 50, 70, 90 and even 200% in prices compared with pre-war times. Their lines in the United States, also, had been affected by the Adamson 8-hour Law which meant, with some modification of detail, that "men were to be paid for eight hours' work at the rate of ten hours' pay," or an increase of about 25% in the wages of trainmen: "If the railways are to continue to exist increased rates must be allowed."

As to the Drayton-Acworth Report and questions of Public ownership President Chamberlin appeared before the Commission and contended that (1) the Government had, in effect, gone into partnership with the Grand Trunk Pacific and subsequently, by subsidies and guarantees, had enabled a rival (the Canadian Northern) to come into existence as a Transcontinental line; (2) that this action of the Government was, in view of its position as a partner with the Grand Trunk Pacific, tantamount to bad faith; (3) that the simultaneous construction of the Canadian Northern in the same territory greatly enhanced the difficulty of obtaining labour, doubled the cost, and prolonged the period of construction; (4) that a new duty on steel rails was imposed after the Grand Trunk Pacific Act was passed, and that this added $5,000,000 to the cost of construction; (5) that the G.T.R. would never have gone into the scheme had they known they would be exposed to Canadian Northern competition. The Report placed the total Grand Trunk commitment for the Grand Trunk Pacific at $123,280,980 and asserted the former's inability to meet these liabilities under existing conditions. Mr. Chamberlin contended in reply (May 19) that Grand Trunk credit was high and, apart from the newer Line, its financial position good; that the tons of freight carried per mile of line in 1916 was 5,347 and its number of passengers 3,357—in both cases away above its competitors; that it had the largest average gross earnings per mile of line of any of the greater railways of Canada, or 157% of the average rate of all lines. The proposals of the Commission were strongly criticized in England by Grand Trunk shareholders and by such papers as the London *Times*, *Daily Telegraph* and *Morning Post*. In the Toronto *Globe* of July 10 Mr. Chairman Smithers stated the attitude of his Company which had a capital of $430,000,000 practically all held in Great Britain; which had raised much of this at 4% or one per cent. less than it could have been borrowed in New York; which during 65 years had only received $28,000,000 in aid from Canadian Governments or municipalities compared with aid to the C.P.R. of $347,000,000, to the C.N.R.

of $298,000,000 and to the Grand Trunk Pacific of $114,000,000. His criticism of the Royal Commission was concise:

> The majority Report proposes that the Canadian Northern should be taken over by the Government and relieved of all its liabilities, but does not propose to apply the same method to the Grand Trunk Pacific, which has received far less assistance than any other road. The Commission proposes that in consideration of the G.T.P. being taken over by the Government, the old Grand Trunk, as one of the parties to the construction of the G.T.P. should be surrendered to the Government on terms amounting to the semi-confiscation of the rights of British stockholders. In other words, it suggests that the pioneer railway of Canada, which, out of its own resources, has rendered far more service to Canada than any other railway, should be the only railway to be treated in this unjust way, a way certainly unprecedented in the history of Canada.

The answer of the Government to this and other statements was made by Sir Thomas White on Aug. 23 and it was explicit as to the G.T.P., vague as to the Grand Trunk: "We have already the Intercolonial, which is ours. We have the National Transcontinental from Moncton to Winnipeg, which line is ours. The Grand Trunk Pacific railway must come in. There is also the Grand Trunk, which has liabilities in connection with that railway. I do not forecast the future with respect to that situation." Mr. Smithers visited Canada in October and to the Winnipeg *Free Press* on the 12th pointed out what construction of the Grand Trunk 65 years before meant—and its maintenance for years afterwards—when labour, materials, engineers and money had all to be brought from England: "Through all the phases of railway improvement, which has been almost continuous from that day to the present, the Grand Trunk Company has provided out of its own resources and on its own credit the capital necessary to keep the Railway up to modern conditions. . . . Notwithstanding the many financial and political crises that have occurred in the 65 years of its existence, the Grand Trunk has never defaulted on its fixed charges, although nearly every Railway in the United States has done so." Meanwhile (Aug. 28) the retirement had taken place of E. J. Chamberlin as President of the Grand Trunk and Grand Trunk Pacific Railways, after a five-year tenure of the post; his successor was Howard G. Kelley, an able railway man with 26 years' experience in the United States, who had been Chief Engineer since 1907 and Vice-President since 1911. W. H. Biggar, K.C., became Vice-President in charge of legal matters, U. E. Gillen, Vice-President in charge of operation and W. D. Robb, Vice-President in charge of motive-power, etc., with W. P. Hinton as Vice-President and General Manager of the Grand Trunk Pacific. It may be added that these two Railways and the C.N.R. contributed large numbers of men to the War forces and that the Grand Trunk carried out various Government orders for munitions; during 1917, also, this Company increased its gross receipts by nearly $5,000,000 while its working expenses rose $9,000,000. As to the Intercolonial (Government) Railway it was greatly affected by the cartage of war supplies to Halifax and St. John at competitive rates with the much shorter lines of the C.P.R. and C.N.R. For the fiscal year (Mar. 31, 1917) it earned $16,805,723 and expended $15,731,389 with a surplus which was absorbed

by equipment renewal needs. Operating expenses increased owing to the growing cost of coal, wages, material and supplies. The Transcontinental Railway (Government) earned $5,916,550 with operating expenses of $7,883,177. The operating of all the 4,063 miles of Government lines totalled $24,645,433 as against $17,797,-061 in 1916 and the earnings were $23,465,565 as against $18,373,147. These roads carried large numbers of troops as well as war supplies. Other statistics of the greater Railways of Canada were as follows —the C.P.R. and G.T.R. figures being for 1917 and the others for 1916:

Particulars	Canadian Pacific	Canadian Northern	Grand Trunk	Grand Trunk Pacific	Intercolonial (Governm't)	National Transcont'l (Gov'm't)
Gross Earn'gs	$152,389,334	$35,476,275	$53,627,410	$8,282,787	$15,686,661	$5,798,516
Working Expenses.....	105,843,316	25,244,186	45,014,470	7,272,976	13,323,183	5,360,061
Surplus *....	36,316,875		131,395		2,196,264	
Net Earnings.	46,546,018	9,373,530	11,343,695	1,060,345	2,363,478	429,454

The Banks and the War: Banking Conditions and Appointments.

In countries where financial operations were free Banking continued through these years of war to be an excellent barometer of national conditions. The Canadian system was primarily an excellent one, suited to a sparsely-settled and far-flung country, capable of maintaining a flexible supply of money for changing seasons, fitted for the transfer of the surplus in one section to meet the needs of another perhaps 3,000 miles away. After the first critical days of August, 1914, the confidence of Canadians in their system had been complete and their deposits on demand and notice increased from $1,012,-739,990 on Dec. 31, 1914, to $1,144,680,651 on Dec. 31, 1915, to $1,303,215,134 on Dec. 31, 1916, and $1,565,319,884 on Dec. 31, 1917; a total increase of deposits in three years of war of over $500,-000,000. The fact that this great increase took place in face of 5% war bonds, and at an average interest rate of 3%, spoke volumes for popular support of the Banks. There was criticism, of course, and especially as to the investments in call loans at New York and elsewhere in the States which increased from 85 millions on Dec. 31, 1914, to 137 millions at the end of 1915, 173 millions at the end of 1916 and 134 millions at the end of 1917. The value of this liquid asset was shown, though not as fully as expected, by its reduction at the outbreak of war from 125 millions on July 31 to 74 millions on Nov. 30. Meantime, Bank clearings after the partial collapse of the first war-months grew with the development of war business and production and at the end of each year the total was as follows: 1915, $7,797,430,809; 1916, $10,557,060,950; 1917, $12,469,426,435. A natural tendency of these years of curtailment in expenditures and shortage in men was a halt in the creation of Bank branches—a check in the tremendous organization of offices which had gone on during the previous decade and which now proceeded on sedate lines during the War years from 3,047 in 1914 (Dec. 31) to 3,087 in 1915, 3,116 in 1916 and 3,214 in 1917—the branches outside of Canada in the latter year totalling 124 or 15

* Figures varied somewhat as to details, but there was no surplus in the cases of the C.N.R. and G.T.P., whose deficits or interest charges to be met totalled $7,454,000.

in the United States, 29 in Newfoundland, 59 in the West Indies, where the Royal Bank of Canada competed with the Colonial Bank of Britain, 12 in Mexico, Central and South America, 8 in England and 1 in France. The net profits of 18 chartered Banks in 1917 were $17,142,852 upon 111 millions of paid-up capital and 114 millions of Rest, or barely 8%, compared with $15,560,169 in 1916. As to this point Sir John Aird, in reviewing the Canadian Bank of Commerce business during the year pointed out that the increasingly keen competition in business had resulted in the Banks being called upon to "perform far greater services for smaller remuneration, so that the increase in the volume of their business is out of proportion to the increase in their profits." The chief elements of Banking business in the four years of war—1914 to 1917—were as follows:—

Particulars	Dec. 31, 1914	Dec. 31, 1915	Dec. 31, 1916	Dec. 31, 1917
Current Gold and Coin	$ 62,569,688	$ 67,995,610	$ 71,172,169	$ 82,032,863
Dominion Notes Held	138,056,339	145,547,870	124,750,241	167,509,121
Government and Reserve Deposits	16,432,562	24,135,205	50,561,475	103,039,631
Government and Other Securities Held	105,660,507	122,495,227	262,778,409	468,406,273
Call and Short and Current Loans in Canada	854,546,031	859,746,102	902,948,540	930,312,318
Call and Short and Current Loans Elsewhere	128,426,724	195,637,608	250,274,854	246,064,580
Total Assets	1,555,556,815	1,737,992,244	1,948,044,256	2,323,163,783
Capital Paid Up	113,916,913	113,987,577	113,346,341	111,673,776
Rest or Reserve Fund	113,070,859	112,457,333	113,383,343	114,673,776
Notes in Circulation	105,969,755	122,199,582	148,785,287	192,923,824
Deposits on Demand or Notice	1,012,739,990	1,144,680,651	1,303,215,134	1,565,419,884
Deposits Elsewhere than in Canada	98,901,413	134,650,183	162,860,614	174,779,104
Total Liabilities	1,314,646,254	1,499,283,690	1,706,948,568	2,081,733,392

Meanwhile, the Canadian Bankers' Association, of which E. L. Pease of the Royal Bank of Canada was President, had become a war-power in the country through its co-operation and loyal support of Government policy and the Finance Minister. The Banks had advanced in 1916 $100,000,000 to the Imperial authorities for munitions; six Banks, a little later, loaned $20,000,000 additional as a sort of syndicate for buying wheat and storing it over the winter; in January, 1917, the Banks bought Canadian Treasury bills for $50,000,000, maturing early in 1918, in July and August another $70,000,000 of 3½ months' bills, and in October $75,000,000 which matured in 1919; they facilitated the sale of $550,000,000 of Canadian securities in the Canadian market, lent money to customers for this purpose and lost, inevitably, a portion of their deposits which may or may not have come back to the individual bank in other forms; toward the close of the year they opened a credit for the Imperial Government, through the Wheat Export Company, of $100,000,000 for the purchase of grain while a further sum of $80,000,000 was placed at the disposal of British representatives for the purchase of cheese, bacon and other foodstuffs; they financed munition and war-supply plants, held the wheels of trade and credit and production firm, helped shipbuilding, encouraged thrift, preached caution, practiced economy; they aided the Minister of Agriculture in the promotion of production and the expansion of live-stock, and lent money to the farmers on crops and live-stock under new Parlia-

mentary enactments; contributed largely year by year to the Patriotic Fund, the British and Canadian Red Cross, Belgian Relief, the Y.M.C.A., etc., and purchased, or offered to do so, large blocks of war loans. In this latter respect the Banks especially aided the Victory Loan of October, 1917, and Bankers' Committees were appointed throughout Canada with Chairmen as follows:Montreal, C. E. Neill; Quebec, N. Lavoie; Halifax, D. MacGillivray; St. John, A. C. Skelton; Charlottetown, H. W. Dunning; Toronto, H. V. F. Jones; Winnipeg, H. B. Shaw; Calgary, C. G. K. Nourse; Regina, R. J. Williams; Edmonton, G. R. F. Kirkpatrick; Victoria, D. Doig; Vancouver, G. V. Holt. This and other aid to a proffered Loan of 150 millions resulted in over 400 millions being subscribed. The enlistment from Bank Staffs was large, representative, spontaneous, and ran from an Assistant General Manager to thousands of junior clerks. The figures were not authoritatively known or published in 1917 but are given herewith and in detail for the first time:*

Bank	Staff Beginning of War		Staff Jan. 15th 1918		Enlistments to Jan. 15, 1918	Percentage of Enlistments to Male Staff August, 1914	Category A Men or Men Called under the Central Appeal Court
	Men	Women	Men	Women			
Montreal	1,416	228	1,082	808	710	50·14	82
Nova Scotia	909	77	722	358	460	50·61	124
B.N.A.	712	113	494	282	340	47·75	65
Toronto	768	60	570	254	318	41·41	99
Molsons	623	28	524	177	191	30·66	56
Nationale	420	3	578	8	11	2·62	106
Merchants	1,179	45	1,018	414	596	50·55	167
Provinciale	267	5	354	16	8	3·00	100
Union	1,508	94	1,122	554	787	52·19	207
Commerce	2,693	360	2,019	1,086	1,460	54·21	263
Royal	2,254	244	1,826	1,122	946	41·97	259
Dominion	725	68	529	292	377	52·00	66
Hamilton	630	59	510	233	259	41·11	58
Standard	605	29	520	225	186	30·74	64
Hochelaga	571	21	683	84	60	10·51	129
Ottawa	539	31	403	163	230	42·67	71
Imperial	892	98	575	377	447	50·11	47
Home	254	15	173	79	97	38·19	12
Northern Crown	460	19	322	155	181	39·35	42
Sterling	211	12	139	72	64	30.33	19
Weyburn	38	..	57	10	13	34.21	6
Total	17,674	1,609	14,220	6,769	7,741		2,042

Incidents of the year included the continued publication by the Canadian Bank of Commerce of elaborate pamphlets giving letters from its Staff-recruits at the Front, the issue of its valuable Monthly Letter upon Financial conditions in Canada and its yearly Review of Business Conditions by members of the Staff; the celebration by the Bank of Montreal on Nov. 3 of its century of corporate and business existence during a period in which Canada was made, and made over again, and developed from a wilderness into a great country with the Bank as a prominent factor in the best elements of this progress;† the statement of Sir F. Williams-Taylor (Dec. 3) that "the great London Clearing Banks have increased their holding of Government securities from 12% of their deposits before the War to about 40% at present and this compares with a trifling pre-war percentage and a present percentage of 20% held by Cana-

* Through the courtesy of E. L. Pease, President of the Canadian Bankers' Association, and to date of Jan. 15, 1918.

†NOTE.—See *Supplement* at end of the volume.

dian Banks"; the optimistic remark of M. J. Haney, President of the Home Bank of Canada (June 26) that "Canada has passed from a trading post to a nation within the Empire and that with her magnificent agricultural lands in every Province, her timber, and untold areas of coal and iron, her nickel, silver and gold, and, furthermore, the great asset of her water-powers in every province, extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific, this country should be the Factory of the world." The more important appointments of the year included H. B. Shaw to be General Manager of the Union Bank of Canada at Winnipeg, and J. W. Hamilton, Assistant General Manager; C. H. Easson as General Manager of the Standard Bank of Canada, Toronto, in place of the late G. P. Scholfield; H. V. Cann to be Assistant General Manager, Bank of Ottawa, Ottawa, and J. A. McLeod to the same post in the Bank of Nova Scotia, Toronto. Other appointments were as follows:

Bank of Montreal	Director	J. H. Ashdown	Winnipeg.
Bank of Montreal	Director	H. W. Beauclerk	Montreal.
Bank of Montreal	Director	Col. Henry Cockshutt	Brantford.
Bank of Montreal	Director	G. B. Fraser	Montreal.
Bank of Montreal	Manager of Branch	W. Turner	Chicago.
Bank of Montreal	Assistant to President	O. R. Sharp	Montreal.
Canadian Bank of Commerce.	Director	Chas. N. Candee	Toronto.
Canadian Bank of Commerce.	First Agent at New York.	F. B. Francis	New York.
Canadian Bank of Commerce.	Third Agent at New York.	C. J. Stephenson	New York.
Canadian Bank of Commerce.	Supervisor (Foreign Dep.).	S. H. Logan	Toronto.
Royal Bank of Canada	Supt. of Branches	M. W. Wilson	Montreal.
Royal Bank of Canada	Secretary of the Bank	S. D. Boak	Montreal.
Royal Bank of Canada	General Inspector	N. Hillary	Montreal.
Royal Bank of Canada	General Inspector	G. W. MacKimmie	Montreal.
Royal Bank of Canada	General Inspector	S. R. Noble	Montreal.
Royal Bank of Canada	Director	C. C. Blackadar	Halifax.
Royal Bank of Canada	Manager, New York	F. T. Walker	New York.
Merchants Bank of Canada	Director	Thomas Ahearn	Ottawa.
Merchants Bank of Canada	Director	Lt.-Col. J. R. Moodie	Hamilton.
Merchants Bank of Canada	Inspector	J. N. Kennedy	Winnipeg.
Merchants Bank of Canada	Assistant Western Superintendent	W. J. Finucan	Winnipeg.
Bank of Nova Scotia	President	Charles Archibald	Halifax.
Bank of Nova Scotia	Vice-President	George S. Campbell	Halifax.
Bank of Nova Scotia	Vice-President	J. Walter Allison	Halifax.
Weyburn Security Bank	Director	N. D. McKinnon	Weyburn.
Union Bank of Canada	Chief Inspector	P. Vibert	Winnipeg.
Union Bank of Canada	Western Inspector	W. M. Chandler	Winnipeg.
Northern Crown Bank	Director	George Fisher	Winnipeg.
Northern Crown Bank	Director	H. J. Symington	Winnipeg.
The Bank of Ottawa	Director	M. J. O'Brien	Renfrew.
The Bank of Ottawa	Director	Hon. George Gordon	North Bay.
Standard Bank of Canada	Director	T. B. Greening	Hamilton.
Standard Bank of Canada	Director	James Hardy	Toronto.
The Dominion Bank	Director	R. S. McLaughlin	Oshawa.
The Dominion Bank	Director	H. H. Williams	Toronto.
Sterling Bank of Canada	Director	J. W. Norcross	Montreal.
Montreal City and District Bank	Director	H. H. Judah	Montreal.
Home Bank of Canada	Superintendent, Western Offices	F. Daniel Coyle	Toronto.

Attitude of Canadian Churches in the War.

The position of the Roman Catholic Church in the War was greatly discussed in Canada during 1917 —its attitude in Quebec, Australia and Ireland especially. These problems are dealt with elsewhere and under the headings indicated. Of the general Canadian situation there was no question. The Church of Cardinal Mercier of Belgium, Cardinal Bourne of Great Britain and Cardinal Gibbons of the United States was also the Church, in this great struggle, of Archbishops McNeil, Sinnott and Casey in Canada. The international character of the Church brought its own problems

here as well as elsewhere and it was sometimes difficult for Protestants to make allowance for a religious organization in which Cardinal Hartmann of Cologne and the heads of the Church in France were pitted against each other by national demand and action; in which many Catholics put the Russian treatment of the Archbishop of Lemberg on a par with the German action toward the Archbishop of Malines; in which such racial issues as those of French Canada and Ireland found a place in the war-thought and policy of one and the same Church. The Pope, himself, naturally and properly urged peace; that he should not take sides may have been essential to success as a possible Mediator; that it had never been the place of His Holiness to take action upon such moral issues as the invasion of Belgium was strongly maintained by such unquestioned British patriots as Cardinal Bourne of Westminster and Archbishop McNeil of Toronto. Time alone could give its final verdict upon this vital point.

There were certain things the Church continued to stand for in this war-period with much effect. One was its opposition to such developments as the moving-picture craze had introduced into Canadian and American life; another was its attitude toward the argument of Dr. C. W. Elliot of Harvard that the War had proved Christianity a failure; in Canada it continued to oppose the diversion, under some Provincial laws, of Catholic taxes, through corporate companies, to Public school purposes and to denounce the Manitoba system which practically compelled Catholics to support both kinds of schools; everywhere it stood for religion in education as the basis of private life and public thought. The Archbishops and Bishops in Canada supported in large measure the War Funds and National Loans incident to the conflict and no question of French or English Canada was involved in this matter. Archbishop A. A. Sinnott of Winnipeg was especially active in all patriotic causes. In unveiling an Honour Roll of the local Catholic Club (Feb. 4) His Grace expressed the ardent hope that this example would be emulated by many others; at a similar ceremony (Feb. 25) in a church which had sent 118 of its men to active service he was equally emphatic: "It is as Catholics faithful to the teachings of our Church, that we gather here this evening to honour those of our own kith and kin, our friends and acquaintances, who had such a high sense of duty that they counted all things as nothing in comparison with the traditions and ideals for which their country stood and with the liberty which they enjoyed under her protection. May we not say with truth that in the presence of the enemy and the sacrifices which the War has entailed, there are only in this country citizens of Canada, citizens of Britain, citizens of the Empire."

Unveiling an Honour Roll of the Brandon Catholic Church on June 10 the Archbishop delivered one of the most patriotic speeches ever heard in that city. There was no faltering in this statement: "We have come together to do honour to those of our brethren of this parish who have taken up arms in defence of their country, and we hold the ceremony in the church before the altar of sacrifice because we believe that intelligent devotion to country can only

take its rise and receive its unfailing reward in devotion to God." On Nov. 25 His Grace issued a pastoral to be read in the churches of his Archdiocese, urging investment in the National Victory Loan: "He who willingly and knowingly refuses such (aid) must be condemned as ungrateful and recreant in his duty to that country whose protection, prosperity and liberty he uses and enjoys, and, therefore, false to the teachings of our holy religion." Addressing H.E. Cardinal Bégin during a visit to St. John (Oct. 16) Bishop E. A. LeBlanc declared that the Pope and the British Empire were, each alike, striving for a peace "in which the moral force of right will replace the material force of arms, and the burden and menace of militarism will be forever removed." In this view he was supported by the Cardinal. At the other end of the Dominion Archbishop Casey of Vancouver was equally earnest and in a pastoral letter to his churches of British Columbia (Nov. 25) His Grace urged financial war support and military enlistment: "Our very life as a nation, our homes and our firesides, nay, even vital principles of humanity and civilization, as we understand them, are at stake in the issue of this gigantic contest. We are, therefore, to place our all, blood and treasure, at the disposal of the authorities of our nation, so that our duty to our country may be fulfilled to its uttermost degree."

Bishop McDonald of Victoria, B.C. (Nov. 5) was equally emphatic: "We have full confidence that God is with us in this struggle. God is justice itself. His very essence is right, and to fight for the right is to fight for God." So with Bishop McNally of Calgary in a pastoral letter of Nov. 11 calling upon his people to support the Victory Loan. Archbishop McNeil of Toronto was frequent in loyal speech during the year. One quotation may be given (Nov. 5): "Men, money, munitions—these are strictly sinews of war. Not all of us can aid King and country by going to the Front or by working in munition factories; but all, both men and women, can and should aid by lending money to the Government for war purposes." So with Bishop Fallon of London in his appeals to loyalty and British sentiment, his open support of the Union Government and Conscription, his offer early in the year to give to the Patriotic Fund one-third of his income yearly till the end of the War if 100 others in London, with an income of over $3,000, would do the same. As to politics it may be added that the Rev. Father F. Minehan joined Bishop Fallon in supporting the Union Government and was balanced in that respect by the Rev. Father Drummond, the eloquent Jesuit of Edmonton, who supported Sir Wilfrid Laurier.

No exact or official figures were published during the year as to enlistments by religious denominations but Newman Hall, a Catholic organization of Toronto, issued a statement on Nov. 1 that up to Oct. 1, 1916, the Ontario recruiting, according to religious thought, had been as follows: Anglican 15% of the Anglican population, Presbyterian 4·82% of its denomination, Catholic 2·92% and Methodists 2·69% of their Faith. The *Catholic Register* of Toronto on May 10 published figures collected by the Holy Name Union which showed that out of 17 reporting parishes (March, 1917) in Toronto there were over 3,000 enlistments. Detailed and exact

figures for 13 parishes* showed that out of 1,800 recruits there had been 201 casualties. It also was claimed in the Antigonish *Casket* that 47% of the enlistments in Nova Scotia were Catholic. Archbishop McNeil estimated that 15,000 Catholics had enlisted in Ontario. A Church movement of this year was the effort to organize a Catholic Young Men's Association based on the Y.M.C.A. and one Young Men's Catholic Institution was opened at St. John on Jan. 29. A part of this plan was pressed by Major the Rev. J. J. O'Gorman of Ottawa and looked to the erection of distinct Catholic Army Huts at the Front; a Society was duly incorporated with organization effected and Lieut.-Col. the Rev. W. T. Workman, M.C., Assistant Director of Chaplain Service, London, elected as President on Nov. 5. The actual work had been going on since June with Huts under operation by the end of the year at the Canadian Camps in England and at various points in France for which $60,000 had been collected in Canada. They were to be open to all but to have a Catholic atmosphere and, as their Letters-patent stated, to "serve the two-fold purpose of chapels for Catholic soldiers and recreation huts for all soldiers, and to supply Catholic chaplains with rosaries and other devotional aids for distribution to Catholic soldiers."

Meanwhile the U.S. Knights of Columbus had taken up the idea and raised, by Aug. 30, over $1,000,000 and much more in the following months. At the annual Convention of August in Chicago Canada was represented by 19 Delegates covering all its Provinces and an ultimate total of $3,000,000 was decided upon. In the Dominion a regular assessment of members was imposed and voluntary subscriptions also sought. Meantime many Catholic Chaplains had won war honours at the Front for gallantry and devotion under fire; the Rev. Father Nolan, O.M.I., in a Winnipeg address on Feb. 11, "rejoiced that Canada had not failed to bear her share of Imperial responsibility" and extolled the work of women amongst whom "the religion of patriotism receives an exaltation incapable to men"; the Rev. Dr. A. B. O'Neill at the University of St. Joseph, N.B. (July 8) urged Conscription as the only square deal; Rev. Nicholas Roche, Provincial of the Basilian Order, pointed out in a Toronto sermon (Oct. 14) that "thousands of Catholic priests have distinguished themselves on the battlefield, either as combatants or as chaplains." The other side was shown by priests like the Rev. Father Whelan of St. Patrick's, Ottawa, who on Dec. 30 preached vehemently against Conscription.

The great Methodist body of Canada was conspicuous in its war work and its officials enthusiastic in urging enlistment, in preaching loyalty, in aiding War Funds, in backing up the Y.M.C.A.; the chief Methodist organ, the *Christian Guardian*, was insistent in its support of every policy calculated to strengthen war action and administration—National Service cards, enlistment and recruiting, Conscription, Union Government. As it urged on June 20, so it practiced: "Our Church believes in a religion which is patriotic to the core. 'Fear God' and 'Honour the King' are most closely allied, and we are proud of the fact that our Methodist people have

* Supplied by Courtesy of F. R. Boylan, Toronto.

never failed to respond to a truly patriotic appeal. Yes, the Church has a right to inculcate patriotism and to rally her sons to the defence of the flag in this great world-war." It was estimated at this time that 460 Methodist ministers were in khaki, many of them as privates, and the Conferences of the Church everywhere expressed themselves in terms of open loyalty and war support. The Methodist Church of Alberta (June 1 at Calgary) with its 67 Ministers on active service, urged the Government to "immediately compel into national service all the available resources of men, material, and wealth in the Dominion"; the London, Ontario, Conference (June 6), by a standing vote, urged "Selective Conscription, based on a just and equitable principle," and also branded war-profiteers as taking blood money from the people; the Methodist Conference of New Brunswick (June 16) declared for the "immediate conscription of wealth and labour and the nationalization of all natural resources so as to enable the carrying on of the War to the earliest successful conclusion"; the London, Ontario, Conference, to a standing vote, while singing the National Anthem, urged (June 8) Conscription and also Prohibition, while the Hamilton Conference (June 4) asked for Conscription of men and wealth; the British Columbia Conference (May 16) declared that "we take solemn pride in the fact that a total of 33, or one-fourth of the effective strength of the Conference, apart from superannuates, have enlisted at the call of their country and leave us virtually with no students capable of meeting military requirements." The Rev. Dr. S. D. Chown, General Superintendent, was unceasingly patriotic in speech and in formal addresses to his Church, as a whole—illustrated by the following appeal of Jan. 3 to support National Service: "If ye seek righteousness and peace, if ye stand for liberty, duty and sympathy for the weak, ye shall be prospered materially. If ever a war in all history was seeking first the kingdom of God, this is, so far as we are engaged in it. If we win, we shall have material welfare; if we lose, we shall descend into economic, if not personal, slavery."

The Church of England in Canada was proud of its War record, as to which Archbishop Worrell of Nova Scotia claimed on June 1 that 44% of the Canadian troops belonged to this Church, or 165,145 out of a specific 353,000. His Grace claimed that in Canada, as a whole, the Anglicans stood first, the Presbyterians second, the Baptists third, the Methodists fourth and the Catholics fifth, while the number of chaplains allotted were in the following order: Roman Catholics, Presbyterians, Anglicans, Methodists, Baptists. The Archbishop earnestly supported Conscription both before and after the Premier's decision. "Why," he asked the N.S. Synod on May 29, "men of infinite value to a community should be called upon to sacrifice themselves in order that a number of worthless and non-producing creatures may go on in their animal enjoyment, is beyond comprehension"; at the Provincial Synod in Montreal on Oct. 2 he endorsed the Union Government idea. In Winnipeg on June 19 Archbishop Matheson, Metropolitan of Canada, strongly endorsed Selective Conscription before his Synod and urged more

unity in support of Government policy. Other leaders of the Church also expressed themselves earnestly. Bishop Richardson of New Brunswick in his Synod address of Feb. 6 reviewed the War situation and Canada's part, urged the need for Conscription and the raising of even more than the promised 500,000: "There ought to go out to the Government from every source and centre of influence a strong challenge, yes, even a peremptory demand, that nothing be left undone to secure from Canada the largest possible contingent of fighting men."

Bishop Farthing of Montreal supported the various stages of Government policy—National Service, Conscription, Union Government—and on Apr. 22 5,000 voices cheered His Lordship in the local Arena as he declared that the "man who will not take his share in the common work of the nation is a miserable hypocrite and must be compelled to do his work," that if this is a democracy every man should be treated alike; while, in his Cathedral on Aug. 5, he denounced "the cursed game of politics." Bishop de Pencier of New Westminster spent some time with the 62nd Battalion at the Front. Bishop Williams of Huron in a Montreal address on Oct. 2 declared that: "Britain would not have been in this war at all had it not been for the power of Christian principles. The example of a great nation thus risking its life to keep its word is something new in history and is a great step toward establishing the law of Christ to be the law of nations." Bishop Sweeny of Toronto, before his Synod on June 5, urged that the "more complete and effectual mobilization of the entire resources of Canada in men and material be unreservedly placed at the disposal of our country and Empire." This Synod appointed a strong Committee to look after returned soldiers of the Church; that of the ecclesiastical Province of Canada (Oct. 4) passed a Resolution by 38 to 8 in favour of prayers for the dead—in view of war conditions and the example of the Primate of England.

The Presbyterian Church in Canada left war action very largely to the initiative and sentiment of its own people. It, however, gave them a lead on June 10 when the General Assembly of the Church passed this Resolution: "The Assembly desires to express its approval of the efforts being made to rouse sluggards among the youth of Canada to a sense of their duty and to enrol those available in the armies of Canada. It endorses a policy of Selective Conscription as applied to the battlefield and also as applied to the wealth and talent of the country for the service of Canada, at this time, when so much is at stake. All minor issues should be set aside in a common enthusiasm to win the War." That this war feeling was deep and real could not be better illustrated than in the putting aside of all the convictions and conflict and sincere personal beliefs surrounding the Church Union movement in recent years until the War should be over. Strong organization against Union had grown with the months. *The Message* had been issued to oppose it steadily, and many prominent men had joined this negative propaganda; on the other side, however, stood the greater names of Presbyterianism—the most influential in the country—and they could

have forced the issue. The General Assembly, however, on June 12 unanimously decided not to press the subject upon the churches and to "earnestly urge upon our people that debate and organized propagandism on either side should be discontinued" until two years after the close of the War. Major the Rev. Dr. C. W. Gordon of Winnipeg not only did special service as chaplain at the Front but gave various earnest addresses in Canada along lines of war help —illustrated by his Winnipeg sermon of Jan. 14: "Before Canada there is but one simple, single duty, and for every man, woman and child in Canada that duty is to plough this tearing, terrible furrow of war straight through to the end."

The Baptists changed in these years from the most pacifist of all religious divisions to one of the most militant. Its Saskatchewan Convention on June 15 declared that the foundations of peace and liberty were menaced and urged Conscription of men-power, war profits, measured increments of wealth; the Northern Baptist Association at North Bay (June 10) urged Conscription of men and wealth and others followed suit. Capt. the Rev. W. A. Cameron of Toronto was an eloquent exponent of this patriotism—in the trenches and at home. The Lutheran Evangelical Conference reported at Mildmay on Apr. 26 that 500 of its boys were in khaki and pledged its Church by resolution "to do all we can in patriotic, Red Cross and other ways to break down militarism and crush the autocratic spirit of the German Empire." It may be added that the Canadian Bible Society supplied each soldier with a small copy of the New Testament and that early in 1917 the number thus given was over 300,000. As to the chaplains at the Front, Capt. C. G. D. Roberts, in a letter published on Feb. 10, declared that the Canadian Chaplain Service had been "so successful, so rich in results, and conducted along such broadly humane lines, that it is impossible to do it justice." As to the rest:

> The organization as a whole guards the interests of each communion; and guards them impartially. The representation of the different Churches upon the establishment is strictly proportionate to the strength of their membership among the troops. That Church, whichever it may be, which sends the smallest number of its adherents into the field, naturally requires the smallest representation. Any form of sectarian propaganda is firmly ruled out. . . . It would be contrary to the whole self-sacrificing spirit of the C.C.S. to single out by name any of those who have distinguished themselves by deeds of individual heroism. In some cases such achievements have received official recognition. In other cases they have escaped or evaded such recognition.

Canadian Labour and the War: Issues of 1917

The War-strain of the workman in all the Allied countries was considerable at this time; in England and France it was very heavy, in the United States only commencing, in Canada effort still was voluntary and the pressure steady but not severe. The fundamental issue which grew acute, in proportion as the War touched the lives and interests of the labouring class, was how the cherished fruits of agitation and organization were to be subordinated by organized Labour to imperative War necessities—without losing or dangerously submerging the results of a long struggle for increased

wages, shorter hours, greater liberties, the evolving national life as conceived by Labour leaders. An adjustment was reached in England after three years of disturbance, in France after the first realization of what German conquest meant, in the United States very rapidly outside of I.W.W. and Germanized circles, in Canada rather quickly by the great masses of the workers but more slowly by their official leaders.

The growth of Unionism in Canada had been steady and the membership of organized Labour increased from 133,132 in 1911 to 166,163 in 1914 and then, owing to war conditions and partly to recruiting, fell to 143,343 in 1915—rising again to 160,407 in 1916. In this latter year there were 1,842 local Trade Union branches and, up to its close, 22,192 enlistments of members. According to the 1910 Census there were 987,302 male workers in the building trades, domestic service, manufacturing establishments, mining, and transportation; there were many more mixed and merged in other occupations and the membership of Labour Unions was probably one in eight of the total male workers of the country. So, in the United States, when in 1910 the Census showed 27,194,914 engaged in manual labour with 7·7 per cent. members of Labour organizations.

The workmen of Canada did splendidly during the year and the War—in service, in avoidance of strikes, in acceptance of emergency work, in recruiting for the Army. The leaders were not so helpful and J. C. Watters, President of the Trades and Labour Council, James Simpson, Vice-President and a well-known Socialist, F. J. Dixon, M.L.A., and R. A. Rigg, M.L.A., of Winnipeg, J. H. McVety of Vancouver and Alphonse Verville, M.P., of Montreal, seemed to vie with Socialist leaders in other countries in fighting war action and organization of the people—up to a certain point. Mr. Watters had never been very strong in his War sentiments, judging by an interview of Aug. 4, 1914, in the Sydney (N.S.) *Record:* "You can quote me as saying that England should hang her head in shame at an alliance with barbaric Russia against the country most highly civilized in all the world. There is no good reason why England should go to war with Germany. Germany, of all countries, has stood pre-eminently for peace. Germany stands alone as the leader in the world's civilization. . . . The policy of the Labour party is to make war against war and we are proud of Keir Hardie's proposal that there should be a great international strike against war."

During 1917 the Labour leaders mentioned above vigorously opposed Conscription and some of them even Registration; Messrs. Watters and Verville wanted a general strike to prevent the Military Service Act coming into force. Mr. Simpson desired an organization of Soldiers and Workmen similar to the institution which had smashed up Russia. These men did not appear to be in touch with the majority Labourites and leaders in either Britain or the States; Samuel Gompers, indeed, President of the American Federation of Labour, with which the Canadian organization was affiliated, in speeches at Buffalo and Toronto, plainly portrayed the imperative

need for loyal labour support to the objects of the War in both Canada and the United States. At the end of 1916 Labour delegations to Ottawa had expressed the fear that National Service registration would lead to Conscription and the Prime Minister had pledged himself not to use the cards to that end—though refusing to say that Conscription might not become necessary. Messrs. Watters, Simpson, Rigg and P. M. Draper had accepted the assurance and urged organized labour to support National Service. In a succeeding address to his Unions Mr. Watters declared that the policy of the Labour Congress in its 1914 meeting had been "to send every assistance possible to the Allies in a mighty endeavour to secure early and final victory for the cause of freedom and democracy." This policy was qualified at the Vancouver Convention by the adoption of "uuchangeable opposition to all that savours of Conscription." At the Toronto Convention of 1916 the War policy of the Congress was still further modified by opposing Registration. Voluntaryism was the keynote of the Congress action but the pledge of the Premier as to Registration not being used in case of Conscription permitted the Executive to approve the National Service plan. In this view it was supported by the Toronto and Ottawa Trades and Labour Councils and opposed by those of Montreal, Winnipeg and Vancouver.

A series of Labour meetings against National Service followed. A Regina mass-meeting on Jan. 3, protested and called upon the Borden Government to resign and the Edmonton Labour Council declined to approve or disapprove; Calgary labour men held a meeting (Jan. 4) and by one majority refused to approve the Registration scheme or sign the cards, and Socialists at Port Arthur came to a similar conclusion after various speeches in foreign tongues; a Vancouver mass-meeting in the Labour Temple (Jan. 6) denounced the scheme and urged workmen not to sign the cards; in Winnipeg R. A. Rigg, M.L.A., and F. J. Dixon, M.L.A., addressed a number of meetings—the latter declaring on the 7th that he was not going "to die for a myth" and on the 17th that if he thought the War was for liberty, as some did, he, also, would be in the trenches. J. H. McVety, President of the Vancouver Labour party, was in favour of Registration and at the Revelstoke Convention of the B.C. Federation of Labour (Jan. 29-31) did his best to obtain a favourable expression of opinion but this was negatived by 19 to 15. Joseph Naylor, Cumberland, succeeded Mr. McVety as President and the following Resolution was passed: "That Conscription be not put into effect before it has been submitted to a Referendum vote of the people of Canada."

On May 18 James Simpson issued, as Vice-President, a statement on behalf of the Trades and Labour Congress as to the Government's Conscription announcement and declared that: "The Government has not commanded the respect and confidence of the Labour organizations of Canada in its administration of the country's affairs during this crisis. . . . He (Sir Robert Borden) has not taken the organized Labour movement of Canada into his confidence, nor has he conferred with Labour's chief representatives since he

returned, and until such time as he does we are justified in assuming that Conscription is unnecessary." A meeting of the Ontario Labour Educational Association at London on May 25 passed Resolutions in favour of (1) Government control and operation of Cold Storage plants; (2) appointment of a Food Controller with an Advisory Committee of whom one-fifth should be labour men; (3) taking at least 75% of all war profits for war purposes; (4) re-organization of the Pension Board with a view to increasing the grants; (5) nationalization of "the industries in the country which are necessary to the successful carrying out of the War—the wages and conditions of the workers to be guaranteed by the Government"; (6) nationalization of the Banks of Canada.

A Socialist-labour gathering at Vancouver (May 28) was openly seditious in its speakers; the Calgary Trades and Labour Council (May 25) declared that "we demand the conscription of the entire wealth of the country, and we will oppose any conscription of men until this is done," and heard the Rev. Wm. Irvine announce that every man should give up his bank-book and all he had before men should be forced to fight; in Vancouver (May 27) an Anti-Conscription League was formed with a vote of 662 against 29, and many workmen of military age were present; on the same day at Toronto Labour Temple hundreds of men and women voted emphatically to oppose the compulsory military proposals of the Government, "believing as we do that militarism is absolutely opposed to any form of democratic government," with James Simpson declaring that it was no longer necessary now that the United States had come in; a crowded Church meeting in Winnipeg (May 27) heard F. J. Dixon say that "as far as fighting goes, I prefer to do mine here, and if I have to shed my blood I prefer to shed it here where I know it will be for freedom."

At Vancouver on May 30 the Labour Council, led by J. H. McVety, passed a Resolution declaring that a Conscription law "would not only sacrifice the workers without their consent, but would also annul those protective measures which organized labour has been able to force from the employers," and demanded a referendum in the Provincial organization as to a general strike if the Act should pass. Meanwhile, meetings had been held and Resolutions against Conscription passed by many Miners' organizations in Alberta and British Columbia; in North Ontario those of Cobalt, Porcupine, etc., had also acted. The Winnipeg Labour Council (May 31) opposed Conscription and urged a Referendum. On June 2 a National Labour Conference was held at Ottawa and discussed at length a special Report which said: "We declare ourselves as most emphatically opposed to the proposed Conscription measure, and we urge the workers in Canada to oppose, by every means in their power, the enactment of such legislation." The Premier's statements were officially claimed to contain not one argument in favour of such action and only five delegates voted against the Report. An official review of proceedings declared that a campaign would begin at once for the re-organization of the Imperial Munitions Board for reasons based, apparently, upon its essential War-time policy:

1. Violation of sanitary requirements, lowering the wage standards, elimination of the eight-hour day and introduction of the 12 and 14-hour day and seven-day week.
2. Unnecessary dilution of labour by the introduction of female labour and no general effort to maintain the same standard wages as received by the men.
3. Substitution of cheap, semi-skilled labour from rural districts for construction work and a declared policy of refusing to recognize Trades Union representatives.

A Labour meeting in Vancouver followed on June 4 with a speech from E. T. Kingsley in which he asked if members of Boards of Trade and Ministerial associations "ever did anything useful or produced anything?" At Ottawa on the 5th Mr. Simpson stated that "steps would be taken to form an organization of a Workmen's and Soldiers' Council in Canada somewhat on the plan of the organization in Russia"—but if the effort was made it did not come to anything; at Victoria (June 6) the Labour Council declared against Conscription and in Montreal on the 7th the local Council once more put itself on record. On June 14 Mr. Watters issued a Manifesto of straight Socialism and continued opposition:

> The greatest service that Canada can render the Allies, therefore, is to conscript (not borrow) the wealth of the nation, to take over and operate the mines, railroads, munition works and other establishments necessary to the prosecution of the War (including the Banking system), to eliminate the last vestige of profiteering, thus giving the nation the benefit, instead of the profiteer, of the work done. . . . I consider it my duty to sound a note of warning to the organized workers not to permit themselves to be shackled with the chains of Conscription. In the event of its being established any effort on the part of the workers to ameliorate conditions can be frustrated by simply calling them to the colours and placing them under military discipline.

The Halifax Labour Council on the same date declared for a Referendum first and stated that "no form of Conscription should be submitted to the people unless it carries with it provisions for the nationalization of food supplies, the conscription of surplus wealth, the control and operation by the Dominion of Canada of all industries essential to the carrying on of the War." A pronounced agitation by circulating literature and holding meetings followed but was merged to some extent in the political issues which soon developed. Mr. Verville in the Commons on June 28 described a general strike as possible; Mr. Watters issued a statement (July 3) urging the conscription of both man-power and wealth-power—if not, "it becomes the duty of Labour to bring pressure upon the Government by refusing to work" and by promoting a general strike; a circular issued on July 9 and calling the September Congress, dealt negatively with the War problems of the country, expressed fear as to after-war immigration, urged work against organized capitalism.

On July 15 (Sunday) Mr. Watters addressed 3,000 anti-war French-Canadians at Hull and declared that on the day the Military Service Act passed "organized Labour would lay down its tools and refuse to work," denounced Lloyd George as "a tricky politician who had disgraced humanity," criticized Sir J. W. Flavelle and alleged that "we must, and shall, refuse to be sent to the Front to protect profiteers." On Aug. 10 a similar address at Sydney, N.S., was marred by interruptions and eggs; at Halifax he found it impossible to hold an intended meeting though the Longshoreman's

Union promised support; at St. John a small audience on the 22nd heard a two-hour speech and reiteration of the claim that there was absolutely no ground or "one substantial reason" for Conscription; at Ottawa on Sept. 8 he went further in Socialism than ever and declared: "Food supplies, railroads, buildings, and industries are the real wealth which we want, and cannot be taken out of the country like stocks and bonds." The B.C. Federation of Labour (Sept. 3) held a special meeting when J. Kavanagh, the new President of the Vancouver Labour Council declared conscripts "the most degraded of slaves." By 56 to 8 the question of a general strike was left to the Executive—after a Referendum had only been partially responded to by the Provincial Unions with their 10,000 members.

The 33rd annual Convention of the Trades and Labour Council of Canada met at Ottawa on Sept. 17-22 with J. C. Watters in the chair and heard an address from Hon. T. W. Crothers, Minister of Labour, in which he stated that 150,000 workmen were included in the Canadian forces; gave a cordial welcome to Sir Robert Borden who urged them to remember the men at the Front; accorded an ovation to Mr. Watters who deprecated "the bitter and uncalled-for attacks" to which he had been subjected. The ensuing debates were vigorous, a few of the speeches were seditious but, upon the whole, they were moderate and the results of the discussion reasonable. The Executive Committee reported a re-affirmation of the opposition of the Congress to Conscription, but stated that it was not deemed right, patriotic or in the interests of the Dominion or of the labour classes to do anything to prevent the obtaining of all the results anticipated from the enforcement of the law; vigorously opposed any form of Industrial Conscription or interference with Unionism; urged the formation of an "Independent Labour Party" similar to that of Great Britain—though using the same name they did not appear to mean the anti-war branch led by Ramsay Macdonald; opposed the War-Times Election Act, approved the principle, though not conditions, of the Canadian Northern expropriation and declared the present soldiers' pensions to be inadequate; suggested an invitation to Colonial labour to send representatives to British Labour Congresses; urged the resignation of Sir Joseph Flavelle owing to his alleged indifference to Union wages and conditions; demanded Mothers' and Old-Age pensions.

Many anti-Conscription Resolutions were presented—Calgary, Transcona, Edmonton, etc., but the Executive Committee Report was adopted after amendments (1) proposing Conscription of wealth as an essential part of the policy, (2) no application of law until after a General Election, (3) immediate repeal of the Act, had been defeated and the Executive Report, as quoted above, carried. A straight vote on Conscription showed all but 20 against it. Other Resolutions urged (1) regulation of the prices of food commodities; (2) enactment of an 8-hour day to come into force on the day that Peace treaties were signed; (3) increase in Privates' pay to $2.00 a day and in Separation allowances by 60%; (4) abolition of the Canadian Patriotic Fund as showing discrimination in distribution

and collection alike, with a certain taint of charity; (5) abolition of all distinctions in the Army so far as Pensions were concerned; and the uniform grant of $100 per month to all totally disabled soldiers—whether Generals or Privates; (6) creation of Demobilization Boards with labour representatives in the military districts. The Immigration Committee reported in favour of a Literacy test—reading and writing in any language—for immigrants; declared that the Chinese head-tax should be abolished and the entry permitted "of the subjects of China and Japan and the natives of India upon a percentage of population basis of one Oriental for each 1,000 of the Dominion's population, exclusive of such Orientals as are already in the Dominion." Resolutions were approved in favour of (1) a Workmen's and Soldiers' Council "to protect the interests of the soldiers and workers in all contemplated adjustments of our present systems," and (2) of co-operation between the Labour Congress and the G.W.V.A., as to rates of wages; many local motions, 60 or more, were approved along lines similar to preceding years and J. C. Watters of Ottawa was unanimously re-elected President with James Simpson, Toronto, R. A. Rigg, M.L.A., Winnipeg, and Arthur Martel, Montreal, as Vice-Presidents; P. M. Draper remained Secretary-Treasurer.

Incidents of the Convention were vigorous condemnation of the War-time Election Act as threatening "the formation of a military caste"; an anti-War speech from Laura Hughes of Toronto, in which she declared that France was going the way of Russia, that capitalists were the cause of all the trouble, that Labourites must "endorse the demand of the workers of Russia, Great Britain, France and the United States for a policy of no annexations and no indemnities"; a Resolution declaring that the Congress and the American Federation of Labour should work together for the conscription of wealth; the official statement that membership had increased by 15,000 over 1916; the influence upon the Convention of the attitude taken by President Gompers of the American Federation of Labour in his speeches and work and his telegram to the Chairman speaking of the "common cause to defend democratic institutions and ideals against autocratic forces that seek to dominate the world relations"; the selection of Messrs. Watters, Simpson and Draper as Delegates to the Labour Conference to be called by British Labourites to discuss Peace terms; the Socialistic address of J. Winstone, the British Fraternal delegate, who had failed to carry the late Keir Hardie's seat.

Meanwhile, the 9th Convention of the Canadian Federation of Labour—composed of workmen who preferred a national to an international body—was a small gathering, on Sept. 5-7, and met at Sherbrooke. C. G. Pepper of Ottawa presided and was re-elected President; he stated that they had lost the support of the Provincial Workmen's Association of Nova Scotia during the year. Resolutions were passed (1) asking the Government to increase the War-tax on excessive profits and (2) asking that the Food Controller, Mr. Hanna, "devote his efforts to a reduction of the cost of living instead of determining what the people should eat."

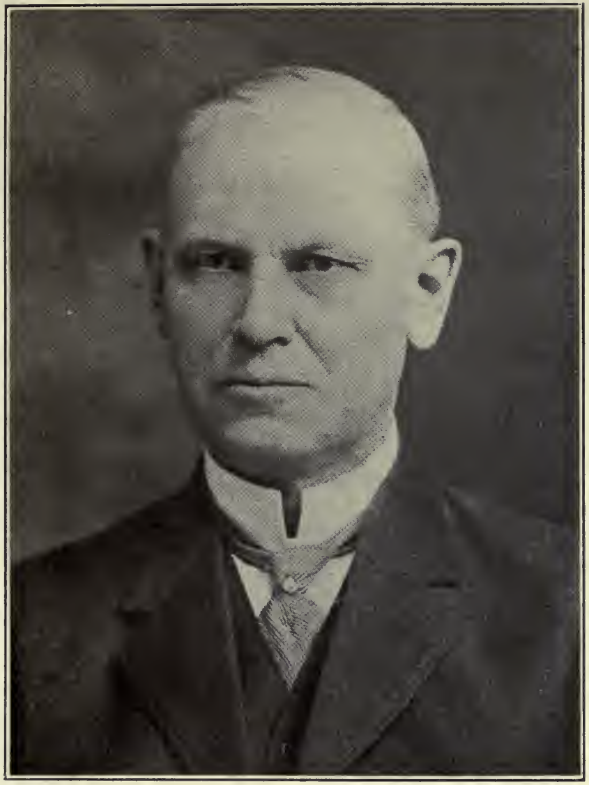
Following these Conventions organized Labour opposition to Conscription ceased. In their action the leaders in office had not represented their 160,000 members as a whole—to say nothing of workers outside the ranks; old-time leaders such as G. D. Robertson, Gus Francq of Montreal, Calvin Lawrence, Wm. Glockling, J. G. O'Donoghue, D. A. Carey, W. L. Best, P. M. Draper, had not supported the hostile view and had been whole-heartedly in war support. The continued right to strike, however, and a desire for the fair taxation of wealth was a general demand. Mixed up with an unpatriotic minority in Labour organizations, but most potent outside of them, were a number of I.W.W. advocates and some pro-Germans or confirmed Pacifists. The miners of District 18 (Alberta and the Crow's Nest) of the United Mine Workers of America had a section of these men and they precipitated strike after strike in the all-essential production of coal; similar elements were at work in Vancouver and in the mines of Vancouver Island; the Western Federation of Miners, whose leaders were under serious American suspicion, had much influence in Porcupine and Cobalt. Fred. Coleman, an American writer and student of Labour conditions, told the Vancouver *Sun* (Aug. 3) that he saw many traces of I.W.W. influence in Canada: "It is the hidden, sneaky, secret propaganda that is hardest to reach and if the Canadian labouring man is not careful he will find that the scheming pro-German element will have him working for it before he realizes it. If the men who are striking had full knowledge of German efforts to cause labour unrest they would be mighty careful." As to this the Winnipeg *Telegram* of Dec. 25th was explicit: "The trouble in the Canadian coal mines has been so persistent, and often so manifestly unfair, that there lurks a suspicion that behind it is some sinister influence."

Only organized labour expressed itself in an articulate form upon Conscription though 22,000 went voluntarily from the former and 130,000 from the unorganized section. Labour unions of Lethbridge, Alberta, met on May 4 and approved Conscription; the Greater Toronto Labour party did the same on June 10 and Calvin Lawrence, Dominion legislative representative of the Locomotive Engineers, endorsed the Military Service Act on June 11; the Regina Typographical Union supported Conscription (July 8) while W. L. Best and G. B. Nicholson of the Locomotive Engineers declared in published statements that Mr. Watters, in this matter, did not represent Canadian Labour. The Montreal Council would not discuss the general strike question. So far as strikes were concerned they proved the statements made above and occurred chiefly in the Mining districts mentioned. Including the three war-years of 1914-16 there had been 162 Labour disputes in Canada, involving 38,975 men with 744,480 hours lost, compared with 361 disputes, involving 110,141 men and the loss of 4,405,606 hours in the preceding three years. In 1917 there was an increase—148 disputes with 48,329 men involved and 1,134,970 hours lost.

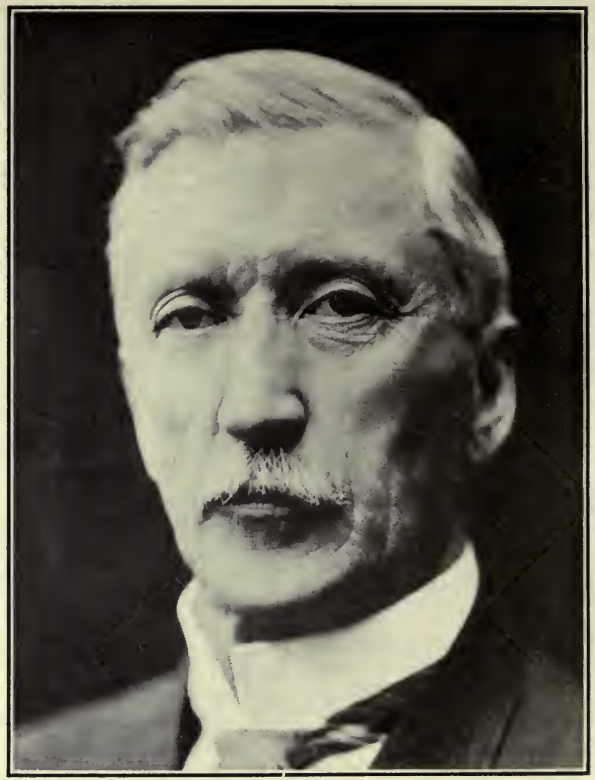
On Jan. 16 5,870 coal mine and coke-oven employees in District No. 18 went on strike and a time loss of 42,000 days was involved before the dispute was terminated. On Apr. 1, 7,475 employees in

the same district struck and the dispute was not terminated until July 3, when the Dominion Government appointed a Director of Coal Operations to take control of the mines. This dispute involved a loss of 512,075 days or 45 per cent. of the total time loss in the year. Another serious strike was that of 1,600 employees at the smelter at Trail, B.C. This dispute, which began Nov. 15, caused a time loss of 48,000 days. The great majority of the troubles were minor ones—small in numbers and loss of time; 65% were chiefly caused by the desire for higher wages; official statements showed 56% settled in favour of the employers, 22% in favour of the men and 20% compromises. In the first of the Alberta mine strikes the men demanded higher wages after signing agreements for a given term, during a time when closed mines would have meant great suffering in the West, and it was only settled by the Government guaranteeing the operators an increased price from large customers such as the C.P.R. During the second one in May the operators offered another 15% increase to the miners who would not accept less than 25%, and 6,000 men who had been taking a 4-weeks' holiday, formally went out—work not being resumed till July 3, when W. H. Armstrong, appointed by the Government as Director of Coal Operating, arranged a satisfactory increase based upon the additional cost of living which, later on, was accepted by all concerned as involving 19 cents per day; at the close of the year Lethbridge miners were out because the C.P.R. was employing men not members of the U.M.W. The comment of the Calgary *Herald* (Dec. 20) was explicit: "There seems to be some trouble-making element in the Alberta miners' organization that is a power for evil all the time. No sooner is one bit of discord straightened out than another takes its place." Meanwhile the U.M.W. was figuring in sedition trials in the States as hampering munition production, etc.

In Northern Ontario the troubles were chiefly those of unrest and constant pressure for increased wages with no desire to give longer hours or facilitate war-production; with also the employment of alien enemies and men of doubtful stability. At Vancouver a Longshoreman's strike in August suspended six shipments to Australia and supplies for the Army in Mesopotamia; the men declined to meet the Board of Trade and F. W. Peters of the C.P.R. charged I.W.W. action and German money; the Vancouver *Sun* (Aug. 3) declared that disturbances and conditions indicated I.W.W. anarchy and violence; the C.P.R. offered to accept their demands but the offer was refused because a stated period was included. Two days later the issue was settled after the docks had been tied up for a week. At Fort William and Port Arthur an Elevator strike occurred early in October and resulted in the stoppage of the movement of grain throughout Western Canada with a chance of grain destruction by strikers of whom 75% were said to be of alien origin—the strikers alleging 22%. Recognition of union and higher wages were the issues, the Government was appealed to for protection by the operating interests and L. H. Boyd, K.C., Chairman of the Grain Commission, was appointed Director of Elevator Operations and was sent up to effect a settlement. After conferences he disposed of the matter on Oct. 8 with most of the demands granted.



The Hon. F. B. Carvell, K.C., M.P.
Minister of Public Works.



The Hon. Frank Cochrane, M.P.
Minister without Portfolio.

The Union Government of 1917.

Canadian Women and the War: Suffrage and Societies.

Social conditions in far-flung Canada did not permit of the same volume of war-work amongst its women as characterized Great Britain. There were too few of them, they were too scattered in great agricultural regions, they were too busy with the essential duties of a new country. The total female workers (1911) in a population of 7,200,000 were 364,821; the total, according to population, was 3,384,000 females to 3,821,000 males; there was no surplus of women—many with leisure time and ample means—as in the Old Land. Between July, 1914, and July, 1917, the number of women workers in the United Kingdom increased from 3,231,000 to 4,766,000 and of the latter total 670,000 were in munition work and 632,000 in other Government or war-work.* No such statistics are available for Canada but there was considerable female labour and, in 1917, the increase was marked though with only a limited tendency to volunteer for such work as that of the Auxiliary British Army Corps of 30,000 women who went to France to act as mechanics, automobile drivers, cooks, milkers, shepherdesses, haymakers, market-gardeners and harvesters.

The chief Women's organization in war-work matters was the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire with its 40,000 members and a collection of $800,000 during the year for war and patriotic purposes. Mrs. A. E. Gooderham of Toronto, in her Presidential address at the 17th annual Convention, May 28-June 1, at Victoria, B.C., emphasized the increasing need for exclusion of politics from the meetings of the Order; the desirability of its members making a separate study in this respect and doing their full duty as citizens under new suffrage conditions; the place of the War in their hearts and minds: "We all have known anxiety; we all have suffered and we all have denied ourselves. Yes, but what has been the measure of our anxiety, and our suffering and our self-denial? Have we been willing to go further than the force of circumstances made it necessary for us to go? Have we felt as never before the oneness of the Empire? Have we realized that the individual has a great responsibility in society?" Mrs. J. Murray Clark reported the formation of 84 new Chapters in the year ending April, 1917, and Mrs. John Bruce reported ordinary receipts of $11,069 for the year and special contributions of $2,314 for Canadian Red Cross, $3,005 for Secours Nationale, $5,830 for Y.M.C.A. Overseas, $3,607 for British Sailors' Relief Fund, $2,623 for St. Dunstan's Home for Blind Soldiers, $2,196 for Prisoners of War Relief, etc., with $753,601 raised by the various Chapters for war-work of which $345,611 was contributed by Ontario and $82,000 by Quebec.

Resolutions were passed of (1) loyalty to King and Queen and Empire, and (2) of prayer that "money, labour and service be conscripted of every man and woman so that all may equally do their duty to their King, country and Empire." A patriotic address was given by Mrs. Elliott Langstaff, President of the Order in the United States; Mrs. Melville Martin of Regina urged the establishment of

* According to the German authoress, Frau Gertrude Baeumer, there were 9,500,000 women in Germany working for a living at the beginning of 1917.

Provincial Chapters in the unorganized Provinces; Mrs. H. D. Spence of Calgary dealt eloquently with the ideals of Loyalty; Mrs. Colin H. Campbell of Winnipeg reviewed the problem of the Returned Soldiers with perception and sympathy; Mrs. A. W. McDougald of Montreal spoke of organization and disciplined service amongst women; the affiliated Victoria League of London, England, reported a year of Empire educational work and war-efforts, as did the National Chapters in Bermuda and the Bahamas. the Committee for Work in India and that responsible for South African Graves' decoration. Of the 4 Provincial Chapters New Brunswick reported 21 local Chapters and 806 members with $28,345 raised during the year; Manitoba, 69 Chapters and 2,856 members with $87,000 raised; British Columbia, 92 Chapters and 3,198 members with $55,000 raised; Saskatchewan, 57 Chapters and 2,800 members with $65,000 raised in cash. A curious incident of the Convention —not recorded in its journal *Echoes*—was the unanimous passage of a Resolution requesting the Prime Minister "that drastic measures to the utmost limit of the law be taken to punish the treasonable conduct of M. Armand Lavergne and that he be deprived of all rank and insignia pertaining to the profession which he disgraces." Other motions favoured (1) the establishment by the Federal Government of Homes for the orphaned children of soldiers killed in the War; (2) the abolition of any celebration of Paardeburg Day in view of Boer support in the World-war; (3) asking for a law enforcing the playing of the National Anthem at the beginning instead of the close of performances or functions. The officers elected, or in most cases re-elected, were Mrs. A. E. Gooderham, Toronto, President; Lady Mackenzie, Mrs. E. F. B. Johnston and Mrs. W. R. Riddell, Toronto, Mrs. McLimont, Quebec, and Mrs. Grant, Halifax, Vice-Presidents; Secretary, Mrs. H. W. Auden, Treasurer, Mrs. John Bruce, Organizing-Secretary, Mrs. Murray Clark—all of Toronto; Educational Secretary, Mrs. Geo. H. Smith, St. Catharines.

During the year the I.O.D.E. and its Junior Branch—the Children of the Empire—were incorporated by Parliament; the former expressed official regret at the calling of an Election in war-time and supported the Win-the-War campaign and Toronto Convention of Aug. 2; circulated a Petition to the Government to grant furloughs to all men of the First C.E.F. who were still Overseas; appealed to members, through the National Executive, to observe 2 meatless days and 2 potatoless days a week and to abstain from the use of veal and lamb; protested by Executive Resolution against a proposed economy in the flying of the national flag over schools and public buildings in Toronto: "If there was no British flag, and no sentiment connected with it, there would be no general enlistment nor would the millions of soldiers of Great Britain be available. Nothing appeals to the British soldier or sailor as his national flag does." At a meeting in London on Oct. 24 Mrs. C. T. Campbell stated that since 1914 that district of the I.O.D.E. had collected $70,000 for war purposes. Every chapter in Canada did something along this line and they kept up, as well, their regular Empire and local work—collecting for a dozen war funds, making supplies for

hospitals, knitting socks for soldiers and looking after returned or wounded men, making comfort bags and every conceivable article of use and convenience for the soldiers, holding and giving entertainments, luncheons, functions of all kinds, supporting the Red Cross, or helping in garden and farm production, looking after soldiers' dependants.

One Ontario Chapter (Lindsay) sent 93,949 articles in a year to the Field Comforts Commission in London; the Provincial Chapter in British Columbia, under Mrs. Henry Croft, organized for the second time a gift in large quantities of home-made jam for troops in trench or hospital abroad; during the Montreal Patriotic Fund campaign of February the local I.O.D.E. supplied 1,000 volunteer women workers; the I.O.D.E. Convalescent (Soldiers) Home of Winnipeg reported in April that 3,545 returned men had been cared for during the past year in its most comfortable quarters. An interesting incident in this connection was the publication of an Historical Souvenir prepared by the Manitoba Chapter and giving an elaborate record in handsome form of its many-sided activities. The Provincial Presidents of the Order in 1917 were Mrs. Colin H. Campbell, Manitoba, Mrs. W. Melville Martin, Saskatchewan, Mrs. Henry Croft, British Columbia, and Mrs. G. C. Van Wart, New Brunswick.

The National Council of Women of Canada took an active share in public work, and incidentally in that of the War, during 1917. Its annual meeting was held at Winnipeg, May 31-June 8, with Mrs. F. H. Torrington, Toronto, in the chair, and the Marchioness of Aberdeen amongst the guests present. The speeches and reports dealt largely with the Suffrage question and Resolutions were passed (1) urging those interested in Moving Pictures to provide suitable pictures for children; (2) asking the Government for a standardization in sizes for all canned goods and in weight for canned meats; (3) approving a Daylight Saving law during the War; (4) asking the Federal franchise for the women of all Canada; (5) expressing sympathy with the women of France, Belgium and Poland in "the atrocities described in documents forwarded"; (6) approving "physical training under qualified educationists" for boys and girls in all schools with Military drill, during the War only, for all youths between 18 and 20 years of age and the deferring of discussion as to compulsory military training until after the War. A Committee dealt elaborately with Women in agriculture and urged the extension of Western homestead rights to women; one on Citizenship reviewed the Suffrage situation and the work of the Council along this line; the Committee on Women's Employment estimated 20,000 as engaged in Munitions and war-work.

The Reports of many federated societies were presented and the officers elected included H.E. the Duchess of Devonshire as Hon. President; Mrs. Torrington, President; Lady Aberdeen, Advisory President; Mrs. R. D. Fairbairn, Toronto, Corresponding Secretary; and Mrs. G. C. Watt, Brantford, Treasurer. During the year most of the 38 Local Councils met and passed Resolutions and discussed questions of national betterment or public morals or social

reform and there was a certain amount of war-work done; but it was not of an organized, uniform, persistent character. The Halifax Council published a useful list of positions which women could take in order to relieve men for active service—clerical, store-sales, printing business, reporting chauffeurs, delivery waggons, railway ticket-sellers, meter reading, musicians, letter-carriers, tailoring, teaching, janitor and elevator work, etc. The Hamilton Council promoted war-thrift, that of Winnipeg asked the Dominion Government (May 22) for the appointment of a Food Controller and the fixing of a limit to the amount of cereals used in the production of alcoholic beverages; that of Victoria protested the War-times Election Act as unjust in its exclusion of many women; that of Winnipeg asked for Government control of Cold-storage plants. In March Mrs. Willoughby Cummings, D.C.L., resigned as National Secretary, after holding the position—with one year's exception—since 1894.

When the National Service Board called upon Women to place 100,000 placards *re* Food conservation in factories, shops, etc., the National Council of Women, with its immense number of affiliated societies, undertook the work; it also organized in various places Committees for pledge-card work in this connection; the Montreal Local Council of Women declared in favour of Conscription, as did the Executive of the National body and a majority of its federated Associations; the Victoria Local Council passed a Resolution in favour of Military drill; that of Winnipeg asked (Jan. 26) for a National Government and this the Executive approved after reference to the subordinate bodies. A National Council meeting in Toronto (Mar. 31) declared that a vote was a trust and should be so regarded; that Canada's chief political danger lay in the patronage system; that infant mortality, the feeble-minded, and venereal disease were problems demanding instant attention; that Government should reform the system of immigration.

On Sept. 25 the Regina Local Council protested against the War-Times franchise for women and on Nov. 13 the Toronto Local Council declared that "it is the duty of every patriotic woman to support the Union Government and Win-the-War movement." A certain fundamental divergence of thought became visible in this organization during 1917 similar to that amongst men prior to the War. It was clearly shown at a meeting of the National Council Executive at Ottawa on Mar. 21 when Miss Constance Boulton declared compulsory military training to be essential for the protection of a free democracy and Mrs. Adam Shortt replied, amidst applause, that "to give our boys naval and military training is to build a bonfire ready for the match. Why should we give our boys something we are fighting to withstand to-day? Up to the age of 18 years no boy should handle a musket." This body was affiliated with the International Council of Women and had 9 representatives upon its Standing Committees.

The Women on the farms followed the example set in the cities and organized during these war-years to some purpose. In the West they had, by 1917, several branch organizations of the Grain

Growers' Associations. That of Manitoba met at Brandon on Jan. 12 in connection with the men's meetings but decided to meet separately in 1918—as in Saskatchewan and Alberta. Resolutions were passed in favour of Medical inspection in schools, of women school trustees, of the segregation of mental deficients, and of studying the best way to supply free medical and hospital service. Another motion urged that wives of municipal voters be given the municipal vote. Mrs. Tooth was President and Mrs. J. S. Wood of Oakville 1st Vice-President. At the Moose Jaw meeting of the Saskatchewan Grain Growers the Women's Association met also on Feb. 12-16 with Mrs. J. M. McNaughtan of Piche—re-elected by acclamation—in the chair. Resolutions were passed in favour of medical certificates of health before marriage licenses issue, Woman's Suffrage, more efficient help for farm women, district nurses, increased medical aid in rural districts, municipal franchise for women, grant of homesteads to women, co-operative bakeries and laundries. In May the Secretary of this body issued a circular letter urging attention to sanitary conditions in schools, the legal dangers in making wills, the need for District nurses, the question of Homesteads for women, the need of a teacher's presence at school in the noon-hour: "Let your neighbours know that Red Cross work can be successfully carried on through the medium of the Association and they will more readily organize in their district." The Executive issued a similar circular expressing appreciation of past efforts in Red Cross and Patriotic work and declaring that it "must be executed through extra sacrifice and not at the expense of work to which we are already pledged."

The United Farm Women of Alberta met at the same time as the men's organization (Jan. 23-25 at Edmonton) with Mrs. Irene Parlby of Alix as the capable President. In her annual address Mrs. Parlby dealt with local issues chiefly, but in reporting to the Men's Association she made a strong patriotic appeal for war support; in other addresses of the Convention the Ruthenians, Dependant Children, Political reforms, Citizenship, Recreation for boys and girls and Co-operation were the subjects. In all these gatherings the War was not officially dealt with but there was much quiet discussion regarding its resulting conditions.

The Women's Institutes of Alberta numbered 135 at the beginning of 1917 with 3,700 members. During the year thousands of dollars were raised for war funds and hundreds of parcels collected for the Red Cross. A Convention of these bodies was held at Calgary on Mar. 15-17, with 500 delegates present, reported 135 branches and $13,359 raised for patriotic and relief work. Miss Isabel Nobel, Daysland, was elected President. The Institutes were aided by the Department of Agriculture and were based upon similar organizations in Ontario; in Saskatchewan and Quebec the same societies were called Homemakers' Clubs, in Manitoba the Home Economics Association, in British Columbia they went by the old name and all were centres of much quiet war effort. In Saskatchewan and Alberta, however, the presence of a large alien population of enemy origin had its influence in restricting public work. Those of Ontario at their

16th annual meeting in Toronto (Nov. 20) discussed increased thrift, more Red Cross work, greater food production, the making of fruit preserves for the Front. In British Columbia the Institutes were splendidly organized with Conferences of the Okanagan, Vancouver Island and other districts and considerable effort in war-work, food production and the study of women's interests and duties.

The Women's Canadian Clubs did not, as a united body, do war-work; separately many of them were enthusiastic and energetic. Everywhere, however, their luncheons and meetings did bring women together and interest them individually in the issues and practical needs of the conflict. As Mrs. H. P. Plumptre of Toronto put it to the Victoria Club (Oct. 15): "What has happened in Belgium, Serbia and Armenia has shown us what war really is. Most unexpectedly has it demonstrated the value of women and has been the means of letting down the bars of prejudice against their entry into public life." The Club at Victoria in its Khaki Club for returned soldiers and untiring war-work by members and Executive, its concerts and tag-days and special Funds and those of Vancouver, Winnipeg, St. John, Edmonton, Hamilton, Montreal and Toronto, did excellent service either in work or through the educative influence of addresses or by both. The Woman's Canadian Club, Hamilton, had 12 addresses during the year on War subjects; that of Montreal 4 and St. John 5; that of Toronto 8, including one by Lord Montagu of Beaulieu on Aviation; that of Vancouver 4 and Victoria 5; that of Winnipeg 10 including one meeting for Rt. Hon. W. F. Massey of New Zealand.

The work of the Women's Christian Temperance Union was primarily along lines of peace; its tendency in war days was to confine activities to moral warnings and social work. The anti-liquor movement was one of its greatest objects of support and triumph, anti-cigarettes then took its place to some extent but was not a popular theme with the men at the Front. The Resolutions, etc., of the British Columbia Association (New Westminster, June 12) illustrate these activities: Protest against the liquor traffic, congratulation to the King upon his attitude, reference to the war temptations for young women and request to Government for making age of consent 18 years, criticism of Food Conservation and cost of living problems. In a long address before the W.C.T.U. District Convention at Heward, Sask., by the President, Mrs. H. E. Armstrong, there was no word of the War or German atrocities in Belgium, Poland, etc., but there was a pen picture of Cossacks raiding a Polish village before the War! Mrs. Robert Sinton, President of the Regina Branch, objected (Sept. 26) to the refusal of a vote to alien women, as did the Alberta Provincial W.C.T.U. on Oct. 5. This latter body asked for a medical marriage certificate and the admission of women to Theological courses and degrees. In the West these Associations all did good work for the Red Cross and Patriotic Funds. The Halifax W.C.T.U. in March urged Woman's Suffrage upon the Legislature. In Ontario soldiers comforts received much aid and an immense number of parcels

were sent from the Unions of Toronto and the Province generally; 40 Unions reported in June that patriotic work along independent lines was being done.

The Young Women's Christian Association had become a strong organization in 1917 with Christian fellowship, service, study, prayer and missionary effort as the basis of action. The student work was increasing with a summer Conference of 69 students held in Muskoka, and representing 2,200 members. The Foreign or missionary department had Secretaries in Tokio, Hong-Kong, Bombay and Colombo and co-operated with the Y.W.C.A. of Britain, United States and Australia. Lady Falconer of Toronto was President of the Dominion Council of the Associations and there were 7 National Secretaries; the financial receipts of 1916-17 were $23,000. There was much in the work of this organization similar to that of the W.C.T.U.; it looked after working girls in particular, provided lodging-houses, rest and recreation rooms, physical exercise, etc. As to War-work it took special oversight of munition workers in factories and on farms; helped in getting girls for Ontario and British Columbia fruit-picking; devoted much time in certain localities such as Victoria to Red Cross work and Convalescent Homes; received an allotment of $15,000 from the Y.M.C.A. collection in May; was asked by the Munitions Board at Ottawa tc take charge of the welfare of girls employed in the munition works of Canadian cities; established in Toronto a canteen in one factory employing 1,000 girls, and in St. Catharines operated a large hotel as a Y.W.C.A. hostel.

The Girl Guide movement was primarily intended (1912) to train girls in physical development, woodcraft and exercise, housekeeping and cookery, discipline and a sense of duty, obedience to authority and good manners. Companies were organized by October, 1917, to the number of 290 with 10,000 members scattered through the Provinces of Canada; Lady Pellatt of Toronto was Chief Commissioner and an earnest supporter of the movement. Like the Boy Scouts the Girl Guides owed their origin to Sir R. Baden-Powell. The share of the organization in war-work was individual except that almost every Company was a centre of activity and enthusiasm for any patriotic cause. A War-thrift badge, for instance, was given to encourage investment in war bonds; the collection of money for wool and other material and the knitting of Red Cross supplies were largely shared in; much clothing was made and many Guides went into various forms of war employment. A wide-spread organization of international character was the King's Daughters and Sons, a religious body similar in many respects to the Y.W.C.A., and, as described by its Ontario Secretary, Mrs. Wm. Burnett, its work was as wide as the world's needs—among the poor and unfortunate, the lonely, the shut-ins, etc.: "In Cobourg we find much that we can do for the returned soldiers in the Military Hospital and we furnish and maintain a King's Daughters' room in our town hospital."* There were 59 circles in the Ontario Branch and its President, Mrs. M. S. Savage, reported on Oct. 3, 1917, that "thought

*Letter to the Author, Jan. 21, 1918.

and energy has been so given up to patriotic work, Red Cross and all its accompanying demands, that some circles have given up their regular meetings and are working with other organizations." British Columbia had a very active Provincial organization; the guilds at Ottawa and St. John, Victoria, Toronto, Montreal and Owen Sound did service in helping work-girls in various directions.

Of miscellaneous organizations the Victorian Order of Nurses, with its various Branches in Province or city and its care of 50,000 patients throughout Canada by 294 nurses, formed a most useful basis for Nursing-help abroad; the Canadian Association of Trained Nurses, was an important professional organization from which many volunteers went Overseas, with Helen Randal, Vancouver, as President; the National Ladies' Guild for Sailors, interested itself in British sailors and in the Homes and Clubs for sailors existing in Canada. Queen Mary's Needlework Guild, in which Her Majesty was directly interested and which sent many supplies abroad; the University Hospital Supplies' Association, which helped the French and British Red Cross, as well as the Canadian; the Women's Emergency Corps, in Toronto, which first took up the work of registering women for war service; the Women's Patriotic League of Toronto, with its extensive knitting and soldiers' comforts work; the Women's War-Time Thrift Committee which did an important work in Ontario; the Jewish Council of Women, the Women's Liberal and Conservative Clubs of Toronto, and many another, all rendered substantial war service. The Women's Hospital Supply Association of Toronto University shipped from March, 1915, to September, 1917, 1,400 cases of supplies containing 160,000 articles to the Front; the Quebec Housewives' League was organized during 1917 with 10,000 active members but its work was confined to controlling local prices and social reform lines; the Thrift and Resources Committee was formed in Toronto as a branch of the Ontario Government organization and during its first year had 4,000 gardens put in and tended by soldiers' wives.

Countless Associations of local character and work were organized to supplement the larger activities. Women organized and fitted up Soldiers' Clubs, knitted and served to meet soldiers' needs in a hundred forms, prepared clothes and supplies for hospitals, encouraged young women to try and do farm or munition work, and looked after them when there, prepared woollen articles for the Royal Navy or collected money for pipes, tobacco, candies, etc., in conjunction with the National Ladies' Guild for Sailors, joined Women's Rifle Associations, shared in the war-work of Church societies. Individual workers were too numerous to mention. Mrs. H. D. Warren of Toronto was made a Lady of Grace (St. John of Jerusalem) by the King, as was Mrs. Wm. Dennis of Halifax; Mrs. Agar Adamson, a self-sacrificing Canadian worker in Belgium, was given the Order of Elizabeth by the Queen of the Belgians; Mrs. Innes-Taylor of Toronto was honoured by the King of the Belgians for aid to his stricken people; Mrs. Arthur Van Koughnet, an unremitting Toronto worker for soldiers' comforts, was appointed Hon. Superintendent, locally, in that connection for the Hospitals

Commission. During 1917 the Toronto Committee of the Patriotic Fund raised $214,000 and that of Montreal $167,000.

During the year women took an ever-increasing interest in public affairs—apart from, as well as in, their national organizations. A large Delegation waited upon the Attorney-General of British Columbia on Jan. 25 and asked for various Provincial reforms in respect to women—protection of deserted wives, support of aged parents, a woman Factory inspector, a woman inspector of prisons, women officers of women's departments in prisons, custodial care for feeble-minded women, better care of women in prison and extension to them of the Parole system. The Saskatchewan Equal Franchise Association at Moose Jaw in March asked for the establishment of a Provincial Bureau of Social Research, total Prohibition, Dominion regulation of the sale of patent medicines and urged women to refrain from Party affiliations. As to this Mrs. Carrie C. Catt, President of the International Suffrage Association of the United States, told the Ontario Franchise body on May 9 that it was impossible. Her chief advice was: "To make a careful and far-reaching investigation of laws concerning women and children, and keep a non-partisan group for the present for the sake of getting what is wanted. Like a maelstrom, the political parties are bound to sweep you in sooner or later." The Ontario Women's Liberal Association met at Toronto on May 11 and discussed various economic and war problems as well as political—Mrs. J. M. Godfrey taking a strong party attitude. Mrs. J. A. Macdonald described the immense amount of Red Cross work, etc., being done by affiliated bodies and a motion was passed expressing lack of confidence in the Government's conduct of war affairs. The report of the Women's Conservative Club of Toronto, an organization which believed in eliminating politics during war-time, showed shipments (May 16) in the year of 1,147,748 articles to men at the Front, in France, Belgium, Salonika, Lemnos and Mesopotamia. The Women's Liberal Association of Regina took active part in local politics; in Winnipeg on Sept. 6 a Women's Non-Partisan League was formed to support candidates and not parties, personal worth and principles, the conscription of wealth, as well as men. Meantime, on Apr. 28, a meeting was held in Toronto of what Miss Laura Hughes termed "our Woman's Peace Party" and which she stated in a published letter had been holding meetings all winter.* Apparently this was a branch of Jane Addams' U.S. Pacifist organization. Mrs. Hector Prenter of Toronto was active along Pacifist lines as she had been in bringing Crystal MacMillan to Toronto in 1916.

Into this general situation was interjected the agitation for and final realization of Woman Suffrage. The subject was discussed in the Commons on May 16 with favourable speeches by D. Sutherland, Wm. Wright, Hon. W. Pugsley, Sir Robert Borden and others, but no vote or decision was come to; in Ontario the Legislature finally granted the demand for Provincial suffrage after efforts of Allan Studholme, Wm. McDonald, J. C. Elliott, J. W. Johnson and others dating back five years and the ever-present work of the

*Toronto *Telegram*, Aug. 25. 1917.

Ontario Women's Franchise Association; Manitoba, Alberta, Saskatchewan and British Columbia had already adopted the policy within a year or so of this time, while New Brunswick had a municipal franchise for women. There was no great demand or agitation in the West except by the W.C.T.U. in Alberta; but there was a general recognition that women's position required legal improvement and this, coupled with women's splendid war-work, carried it through in both East and West. The energetic work of some Ontario women and their organizations also had a reflex action elsewhere. Mrs. Emily Stowe, Mrs. E. S. Gullen, Mrs. Nellie McClung of Winnipeg, Mrs. Emily Murphy of Edmonton, Mrs. Ralph Smith of Vancouver, Dr. Margaret Gordon, President of the Canadian Franchise Association, Mrs. A. M. Huestis, Mrs. A. B. Ormsby, President of the Ontario Equal Franchise league, Mrs. L. A. Hamilton, President of National Equal Franchise Union, Prof. Carrie Derrick, President of the Montreal Suffrage Association, were amongst those to whom special credit was due. Then came the War-Times Act and partial Dominion voting rights. while a little later Sir Robert Borden put the seal to all this success by writing a letter which appeared in the Vancouver press of Sept. 17 as follows:

> In case I am returned to power, it is my purpose to place upon the statute books a measure granting the franchise to all women of British birth and conferring upon women of foreign birth the right to seek and obtain naturalization on their own behalf; that they may become endowed with the same privilege after suitable residence in this country and perhaps after suitable educational tests. The same measure should provide that a woman of British citizenship should not lose this citizenship upon her marriage except with her own consent. (Signed) R. L. Borden.

Meanwhile, on Mar. 7, the Ontario Equal Franchise Association decided "to turn its energies to the work of preparation, study and training for citizenship" and then changed its name to that of "Ontario Women's Citizen Association" with a series of Resolutions demanding the right of election to the Legislature, the establishment of Government food warehouses, the enforcement of Selective Conscription, prohibition of the sale of veal and young lamb, etc. Its official platform, announced on Sept. 6, included Federal Franchise, abolition of Patronage and a long series of Social and Moral reforms—including abolition of death sentence, age of consent to be 21 years, equal wage for equal work, abolition of special prison garb, sex hygiene for teachers and pupils, members of Legislatures and Parliament to be subject to recall, equal guardianship of children. A motion was passed thanking the Government for partial enfranchisement under the War-Times Act but re-affirming the claim to full rights when the War was over. On Sept. 4 the Saskatchewan Equal Franchise League urged the Federal franchise for women, organization of women for national war service, equalization of military pensions as between officer and private, furlough for soldiers who had been 2 years at the Front, the formation of a National Government.

Later in the year women began to come into their political heritage in a practical way. Mrs. Louise C. MacKinney and Miss R. C. MacAdams were elected to the Alberta Legislature; Mrs. Ralph

Smith was nominated as Liberal candidate in a Vancouver bye-election; Mrs. J. H. MacGill, B.A., was appointed Juvenile Court Judge in Vancouver and Miss Ethel MacLachlan to a similar position in Regina; Mrs. J. W. de B. Farris was made a member of the Senate of the University of British Columbia. Mrs. G. G. S. Lindsay of Toronto came to the front during the year as a public speaker on patriotic subjects; Mrs. Huntley Drummond of Montreal did much public work and Mrs. Nellie McClung of Winnipeg continued to lecture throughout Canada and the United States. Some legal cases during the year were of special interest to these and future women lawmakers. In Winnipeg (July 12) Chief Justice Mathers decided that, technically, a widow is not next of kin to her husband; Mr. Justice Riddell at Toronto decided (Oct. 12) that, legally, any money saved by a wife out of funds provided by her husband to defray household expenses was still the property of the husband. In connection with a printed will-form filled in by the late Mrs. E. Charlton of Brantford Mr. Justice Middleton stated at Toronto (Dec. 19) that: "The result of these wills is really a crime. I have dealt with at least 20 of them and the effect has been in each case to defeat the intention of the testator." At Montreal on Feb. 12 Mr. Justice Weir closed the Court to a slander suit issued by Mrs. Sabourin on the ground "that the husband has the administration of all the personal property of his wife, and he alone may exercise all the movable actions which belong to her." At London Miss M. Thompson who had been in jail there for five months for contempt of Court, was said to have lost her reason. She had promised her dying sister to look after her child and had kept this pledge for a number of years when the child's father decided he wanted possession and this the Courts allowed—though Miss Thompson refused to reveal its whereabouts. The Presidents of some important Women's organizations not mentioned in this Section were as follows:

B.C. Suffrage League	Miss H. Gutteridge	Vancouver.
B.C. Pioneer Political Equality League	Mrs. Wm. McConkey	Vancouver.
Central W.C.T.U. of Saskatchewan	Mrs. Robert Sinton	Regina.
Halifax Equal Suffrage League	Dr. Eliza Ritchie	Halifax.
Ontario Women's Citizen Association	Mrs. A. B. Ormsby	Toronto.
Ontario Women's Liberal Association	Mrs. J. A. Macdonald	Toronto.
Political Educational League	Mrs. Luther Holling	Winnipeg.
Saskatchewan Equal Franchise League	Mrs. Lawton	Moose Jaw.
Toronto Suffrage Association	Dr. Margaret Johnston	Toronto.
Toronto Women's Liberal Association	Mrs. George S. Deeks	Toronto.
Women's Art Association of Canada	Mrs. J. Home Cameron	Toronto.
Women's Liberal Association	Mrs. Henry Norman	Victoria.
do do	Mrs. Stanley Brown	Vancouver.
Women's Press Club	Mrs. Hugh Cochrane	Montreal.
do do	Miss Louise Mason	Toronto.
Women's War-Time Thrift Committee	Mrs. H. H. Loosemore	Toronto.

Aliens in Canada: Enemy Influence and Political Conditions.

Threads of alien enemy influence were woven into many War interests and products of Canada as well as the United States and other countries of this period. All alien forces were not necessarily enemy ones in origin or intent but they frequently netted the same results. The 1911 Census showed a Foreign-born population of 752,000 to whom Austria-Hungary and Germany

contributed 161,000; the most of them being in the West with 7,800 only in Ontario. The 1916 Census returns indicated that these countries were responsible for 20% of the population of Saskatchewan, 13% of Alberta and 12% in Manitoba. The Aliens naturalized in 1915 (Mar. 31) were 15,758 of whom 2,402 were of enemy origin;* the aliens, other than Canadians, emigrating to the United States (American returns) in the year of June 30, 1917, were 19,115. The official treatment of aliens by Canada was admirable; toward those who were citizens and acted as such no discrimination was shown. Latterly, however, a stiffer public attitude was adopted as war developed the German policy more fully and an increasing suspicion was felt regarding German employees. Teachers in schools usually had to go and many Government employees also, though in June, 1917, there still were 20 persons of German origin in the Ottawa Government service; Lutheran preachers remained at their posts though they were watched and from time to time had to leave for the States; German Clubs were discontinued and German songs stopped, while agitation against the language developed from time to time.

During the year much was heard of Kitchener, the centre of the old-time German population of the Waterloos, which had originally come from Germany *via* Pennsylvania. The name, in 1916, had been changed from Berlin and of its population 8,000 were British Canadians and 12,000 of German origin with a small proportion who had come direct from Germany. It was stated by Mayor D. Gross (*Globe*, Jan. 26) that 1,100 men enlisted from North Waterloo and that in the 118th Battalion 50% were of German extraction; that the City had, altogether, given $124,000 to War Funds and paid $31,000 in soldiers' insurance premiums; that 97% of the National Service cards had been at once filled up and signed. Yet there was undoubtedly a disloyal element in the city which was pro-German in its traditions, in its refusal to accept the changes of a century in German character and life, in its aversion to active war policy and action against Germany. A very few native Germans in such a centre could and did stir up trouble. The election of Mr. Gross as Mayor on Jan. 1, with the announced policy of changing the name back to Berlin, caused a riot; the continued use of the name Berlin on certain municipal documents caused anger; Ald. A. L. Bitzer was accused of defending the *Lusitania* sinking and open chee ing for the Kaiser after the elections was freely charged. Mayor Gross in his opening address (Jan. 8) declared that "it should be our aim to do our full share toward every need in the defence of the British Empire." As to the change of name question: "The agitation has raised feelings of bitterness and discord. It has led to acts of lawlessness and violence such as were never known before in our city. . . . I believe I may say for you that we will not entertain any proposal to re-change the name of the city during our term of office." As the year passed on stories of Kitchener ill-feeling crept into the press from time to time but were largely discounted until on Nov. 24 a few hundred people in

* Restrictions were afterwards imposed in this connection.

his audience refused to allow the Prime Minister to be heard at an Election mass-meeting. Much anger was aroused throughout Canada and though partisanship had as much to do with the matter as racial feeling, it naturally was not looked at in that way. W. D. Euler (Lib.) who was contesting the seat against W. G. Weichel (Cons.) expressed much regret but was elected by over 2,000 majority. It was stated that outside resentment at this treatment of Sir Robert Borden resulted in the cancellation of $300,000 worth of business orders: the Brantford City Council declared that the name of Kitchener should be taken away.

Mr. Euler in a letter to the press (Dec. 28) claimed that the whole trouble arose from natural suspicions by British residents and outsiders and natural resentment by loyal German-Canadians. He described the people as bitterly opposed to Conscription and stated that "many of them fled from Germany to escape militarism and looked with horror upon the prospect of compulsory military service in Canada." To this letter the Rev. Charles A. Sykes of Kitchener replied by stating that on election night soldiers in uniform were hissed and jeered; that at Heidelburg—a hamlet nearby—boys and men paraded singing German songs; that Mr. Euler and others in Kitchener were trying to be "Canadian without being British and loyal without being patriotic." There the issue rested. In the West the situation was more serious. It affected in a marked manner the legislation and elections in Alberta and Saskatchewan and the issue of Ottawa politics and legislation, Canadian Union Government, and Parliamentary elections. The taking away of the Federal Franchise from men of enemy origin was a drastic measure which aroused as strong antagonism in one section of these Provinces as did the restriction of the soldier votes to two or three constituencies in Alberta and Saskatchewan for the Provincial elections amongst another section of the people. There was published in May, 1917, a long circular issued during the preceding year by the German-Canadian Union of Saskatchewan which illustrates the situation. It was the result of a meeting at Regina on July 27, 1916, which had decided on a propaganda and fighting fund for the organization and the following clause may be quoted:

> Have you ever had the feeling that we German Canadians should stand close together and be firmly organized? Then support our work. Have you ever felt that it is a compelling necessity, a command of self-respect for us as men and citizens that our affairs and purposes be carried on in Parliament by men of our own race? Then support us in our work. Have you at heart your own future and the future of your children in this new land? Then support us in our work. Are you ready for the defence of our citizen rights, especially in the school and language questions, the question of the taking up of homesteads and of immigration, to make a small sacrifice? Then send in your contribution at once to the fighting fund.

The result of this was organization amongst the English-speaking Provincial electors and, with other reasons—political, national and war-time—was a cause of the War-time Elections Act. The latter was a Dominion-wide issue and a part of the ensuing Electoral struggle. The Bill in Parliament has been dealt with elsewhere; in the country it was variously received. The Toronto City

Council (Apr. 30) had approved the principle of excluding enemy aliens from the Federal franchise during war-time by 17 to 5; the *Catholic Register* of Toronto denounced the proposal as unworthy and a repudiation of solemn engagements; the Liberal press bitterly opposed it and the Toronto *Star* and Regina *Leader* and Edmonton *Bulletin* led in a determined fight against it; even after the Act was passed and the Union Government was formed the *Leader* demanded the repeal (Nov. 6) of "this infamous Act" and hoped that Messrs. Sifton and Calder would support such action in the new Parliament—after the Elections it took the same view (Dec. 6); the *Grain Growers' Guide*, Winnipeg, supposed to represent the important Grain Growers' organizations (Sept. 12) described the Act as disfranchising anti-conscriptionists, as "a violation of confidence and not in keeping with Allied principles," and as embodying the basis upon which President Diaz so long maintained power in Mexico; the Vancouver *Sun* (Lib.) called it a "Steal the Elections Act" and the end of responsible government.

During the year all kinds of incidents affecting Aliens in Canada developed. Germanized school-books in Saskatchewan were fiercely attacked—though politics had some share in this situation; the Vancouver *Province* declared (May 23) that of thousands of alien enemies—Austrians and Ruthenians chiefly—between Winnipeg and the Coast, only a few could be induced to work, while idleness easily bred sedition; R. A. M. Abich, a Sergeant in the Mounted Police, who left for Berlin in June, 1914, was reported killed as a German scout on the Western front and there was evidence which proved him a German agent while in Canada; the labour shortage everywhere resulted in the employ of Austrian and German aliens in work of all kinds—the Imperial Munitions Board, the Lindsay Arsenal and many munition and other industrial plants; seditious talk was punished from time to time but very lightly compared with American sentences after the United States came into the War—a Davenport, Iowa, case involving a 20-year sentence! A man named Belash of Hilliard, Alberta, was fined $100; Pastor Frederick Hedden of the Disciples' Church at Erin was arrested but allowed to return to the States; Magistrate G. T. Denison in Toronto gave Alex. Auer a two years' sentence in the Penitentiary for saying that if conscripted he would shoot down the first British officer he met—on appeal Mr. Justice Britton released him; Rev. H. A. Shorting of Kitchener was interned for alleged financial aid to the enemy; Isaac Bainbridge of *Canada Forward*, a Socialist journal, was given 9 months by Mr. Justice Hodgins for seditious libel.

Col. G. T. Denison wrote the Toronto press on June 18 denouncing the influences of the "hidden hand" in Canadian politics and business—as in England and the States and elsewhere. He pointed to many things in recent British history which could only be explained by impalpable and inscrutable German influence. It had bedevilled Russia, betrayed Roumania, intrigued against the United States, paralyzed Greece, for a time defeated Hughes in Australia and had in fact, been using its malign power all over the world: "Does anyone believe that the Germans have overlooked Canada? If so,

examine closely the situation at Ottawa now, and it will be seen how their evil work is helping to bedevil Canada also." In this respect the labour problem was a difficult one. J. Murray Clark, K.C., Toronto, in several press letters vigorously denounced the I.W.W. and declared that recent mining strikes were manipulated by them with the aid of alien enemy workers. At the same time the Kiwanis Club of Winnipeg (Oct. 12), and other organizations, demanded that aliens not employed be compelled by the Government to work at a fair wage; while public protests were many as to enemy aliens being employed in munition plants at $5.00 a day while Canadian soldiers received $1.10. The Government banned many German-American publications during the year including most of the German language papers, such books as *The Vampire of the Continent* by Count Ernest Zu Reventlow, and *America's Relations to the Great War* by Prof. L. W. Burgess of Columbia University. An Order-in-Council also prohibited alien enemies from controlling or operating any business in Canada. It may be added that on July 26 Col. J. A. Currie made this statement in the Commons: "Every German who went over with the First Contingent, and I believe every man of German birth who has yet gone over, has been detained in England or else has been sent back here. With very few exceptions, unless they had the special permission and authority of the Minister, they were not allowed to go to the Front."

High Prices and Cost of Living; Sir J. W. Flavelle's Position.

The high cost of living was a great War problem of 1917, but not wholly so. It already had reached a high level in 1913 before the War, it rose somewhat in 1914, it leaped upwards in 1916-17. It was a world-wide issue based, in its serious phenomena, upon inadequate production at the points of demand, insistent requirements of a continuous nature, costly and insufficient transportation by land and by sea. It was accompanied by conditions associated with these fundamental ones—increasing scarcity of coal from (1) lack of labour, and (2) increase of demand; exhaustion of many raw materials followed by ever-increasing military needs and transport difficulties. Government control took new and extraordinary forms, every effort was made, compatible with that stiff and unthinking independence which characterizes modern democracy, to organize men and interests, economize consumption, and facilitate distribution; but the best results were not as good as they should have been. Except in Australia and New Zealand, where crops could not be shipped, prices grew high and higher. Early in 1916 retail food prices in Germany and Austria were double those ruling before the War; in 1917 they fluctuated but with a net upward tendency most of the time. In these years prices in Canada, Great Britain and the United States ran, roughly, according to Index numbers, as follows:*

Wholesale Prices	Canada	Great Britain	United States	Retail Food Prices	Canada	Great Britain	United States
1913.....	135·5	85	81	1913.....	7·33	102	98
1916.....	182·0	137	100	1916.....	8·79	160	112
Dec., 1916..	207·4	154·3	118	Dec., 1916..	10·11	184	125
Aug., 1917..	245·0	175·7	150	Aug., 1917..	11·68	202	147

* *Wholesale Prices in Canada*, issued by Department of Labour, Ottawa.

All kinds of Government action developed—in the meat production of Argentina, the wheat crop of India and Australia, the wheat offer to Canada, the British purchase of Canadian cheese and the British control of wool in Australia and New Zealand, for instance. Upon the whole, Canada maintained a slightly lower level than other countries—an American report at the end of 1917 showing 14 commodities in which prices were higher in the United States—bread, flour, oatmeal, rice, potatoes, beans, fish, tea, pork-chops, round steak, lard, milk, butter, and cheese; with 7 commodities in which Canada ranked higher—canned tomatoes, corn, salmon and peas, sugar, coffee and eggs. In the U.S. Senate on May 2nd J. H. Gallinger presented a table, prepared by the Old Dutch Market Co., comparing prices in April, 1914, with those of April, 1917, and a few of the more important items were as follows: granulated sugar which increased 125% per pound; flour 93% to 107% per pound; milk 65% to 70% per can; corn-meal 100% per pound and oatmeal 70%; butter, 1st grade, 83% per pound and round steak 60%; eggs 80% per dozen and potatoes 291% per peck; lard 100% per pound. The average increase on 60 items was 85·32%. In Canada, according to statistics issued by the Department of Labour at Ottawa the average prices in 60 centres were as follows:

Commodities	1900	1910	1914	1915	1916	May 1914	May 1917
All Foods (30 items)...	$5.48	$6.95	$7.73	$7 87	$8.79	$7.42	$11.82
Starch, Laundry.....	2	3	3	3	3	3	3
Fuel and Lighting.....	1.50	1.76	1.90	1.83	1.92	1.87	2.30
Rent.....	2.37	4.05	4.65	4.12	4.04	4.88	4.34
Total.....	$9.37	$12.79	$14.31	$13.85	$14.78	$14.20	$18·49

Iron and steel prices grew from an index figure of 155 in July, 1914, to 279 in July, 1917, and other metals in the same period from 115 to 276. It was noticeable that the prices increased steadily and not only in the War years. By Provinces the chief increase was in Ontario, 116%, and in Quebec, 105%, running down to British Columbia with 67%. Meanwhile, the British increases had been almost entirely since the War—the general cost of living being 75% more on July 1, 1917, than in 1914. The price of some meats rose by 100% and 200%, bread and cheese and potatoes were over that figure. Several official enquiries were made during 1917 besides the continuous one into prices carried on by the Canadian Labour Department. W. F. O'Connor, K.C., who was appointed Acting Commissioner of the Cost of Living under Mr. Crothers of this Department, reported on May 18 as to Sugar. In his introduction Mr. O'Connor criticized the accounting systems and business methods of Canadian manufacturers and merchants, deprecated price investigations by municipalities unless they were given more power, and approved greater rights of combination in respect to export trade. The sugar refined in Canada during 1916 was 345,089 tons, worth $47,473,114 and all but one of six companies used imported raw cane sugar with the Cuban crop in control of the situation. In 1916 its total product was 2,607,000 long-tons; the world's sugar crop was 16,000,000 long-tons; the reduction in the former case was 400,000 and in the latter 592,000 tons. As to details the Com-

missioner stated that two Canadian refineries were working on a small margin of profit and one at a loss, with the others in different degrees of profit.

Difficulties faced were (1) the unstable condition of the labour market, (2) the erratic supply of raw sugar and accessory material such as coal, chemicals, packages, etc., (3) the general increase in the cost of raw sugar and accessory materials. Methods of manufacture, distribution and sales were analyzed, prices and profits reviewed, and an important conclusion of the Report was this: "I have reached the conclusion that the existing arrangement under which sugar is sold by the refiners within Canada is illegal. I have reached the conclusion that the equalized rate system under which sugar is distributed within Canada is illegal, but I have as strongly reached the conclusion that, notwithstanding, the system of sale and the system of distribution have been, and are, fair and indeed beneficial in their operations to the public. I am convinced that, because of these systems and of their operation, sugar is reaching the Canadian consumer at a cost below that at which the refiners can sell it to the retailers or consumers direct." In this connection —though a wider one than sugar—Hugh Blain, President of the Dominion Wholesale Grocers' Guild, addressed the members of the Dominion Government on Feb. 7, 1917, as to the fixing of prices, the place of the wholesaler or so-called middleman, and the proposed appointment of a Government Commission to regulate wholesale trade:

> The wholesaler does the manufacturer's business for him under exactly the same conditions that he would do it himself, and he does it at a lower cost to the manufacturer. Eliminate the wholesaler, and no one would be better off. The retailer would not, the consumer would not, and the manufacturer would, on the other hand, be worse off. The manufacturer is merely using a cheaper medium for the distribution of his goods, without cost to anyone, and with profit to himself, which is good business economy. The wholesaler merely takes over the distributing part of the manufacturer's business, and does it cheaper than the manufacturer could do it.

On May 29 Mr. O'Connor reported as to Anthracite Coal, of which Canada imported its entire consumption from the States—4,568,440 tons in 1916-17. He pointed out that 90% of the Pennsylvania product was in the hands of a few large concerns and indicated that he had found (1) "no evidence of undue accumulation at any time since the beginning of the War," though in 1916-17 there was a general scarcity; (2) "a very small profit derived by coal dealers, notwithstanding the undoubtedly high prices that the cost of coal to them has driven them to demand"; (3) ample evidence of local combines (illegal because in partial restraint of competition) and made up of all or mostly all of the local coal dealers, in practically every city in Canada—but not responsible for any enhancement of prices and with the object of avoiding price-cutting war. As to price he accepted the selling price at the American mines of, say, $4.00 per long-ton, added transportation costs on cars or boats of $3.00, also a cost for receiving, degradation, storing, handling, selling and general expenses totalling $1.60 per short-ton, or a net figure, after delivery, of $7.85 per short-ton, exclusive of the local coal-dealer's profit.

So far as prices in general were concerned Canada was fortunate in one way. As the Food Controller (Mr. Hanna) put it at the close of 1917: "Real wages, being the amount of food, clothing and other goods which money-wages will buy, determine the welfare of the wage-earning population and, judged on this basis, Canadians are absolutely the most fortunate people in the world to-day." This fact was no particular comfort to people who could not understand or obtain explanation of a constant rise in the cost of essential commodities. It might, for instance, be true that bread was cheaper in England than in Canada because bakers there were secured from losses by Government subventions but Canadians only knew that bread cost more than it did in England. They could not clearly see the larger causes and the lesser details which fitted into a world-condition. Money inflation and high prices are a part of all wars—especially of a world conflict where the output of gold and silver could not keep pace with the growth of expenditure; extravagant living and payment of exorbitant prices for luxuries took time for limitation; the waste of food by profiteers holding for better prices, by people striving to get only the better cuts of meat, by the ordering and destruction of individual helpings of food only partly used and running to enormous quantities over a continent; the waste of products in cold storage, of apples unpicked or wasted, of things lost through lack of labour, of the fact of inefficiency—all helped to create scarcity and raise prices. Then there was the shopping system by telephone, the expensive delivery system and demands of thoughtless customers, the high cost of labour-saving machinery to the farmer; high freight rates and losses from delayed or congested transportation, scarcity, also, of teams and carters and delivery or hauling equipment; the increase of wages and decrease of hours worked—in many cases—with, in others, decrease of efficiency and production; the waste in garbage, etc., estimated by the Food Controller at $56,000,000 or $7.00 per head of the population every year, and losses such as the 26,000 lbs. of immature veal destroyed in a Toronto fire during a few minutes.

Of the specific problems bread was ever-present. The increase had been steady from 5 cents, at one time in 1910, to 6 cents in 1912, 7 cents in 1914, 8 cents in 1916, and, in 1917, it rose from 9 to 10 cents. The price of flour during this latter year varied in different cities and with it the cost of materials, making a 1 lb. loaf of bread vary from 6·6 cents in Toronto to 6·4 in Ottawa, 7·6 in Montreal, 7·5 in Halifax, and 6·8 in Winnipeg. The fixing of the prices of wheat and flour in September eventually stabilized rates in bread. All through the year large quantities of perishable food products were held in cold storage, even while prices were rising higher and higher. According to Mr. O'Connor, on Nov. 1, butter, which had been rising in price, showed an increase of 34% in storage over a year before. During this year other increases were as follows: eggs 4%, beef 8%, pork 6%, fish 2%. There was a slight decrease in cheese, bacon, mutton. Potatoes were a curious problem. The supply of 1917 was plentiful, yet prices were high and the product often scarce; 130,000 bags were said to have frozen or rotted on rail-

way sidings at Montreal in February because the dealers wanted still higher prices; no price was fixed by the Food Controller because he found that the cost of producing a 90-pound bag in Ontario was $1.27; Quebec, $1.50; New Brunswick, $1.35 to $1.50; Nova Scotia, $1.05; P.E. Island, 90 cents, and the difficulty therefore obvious. The Food Conservation Committee, Victoria (Oct. 2), asked for a minimum price and also urged the Food Controller to regulate and control the handling, storage and distribution of food products.

The Milk problem was a pressing one for a time with the opposing interests of the consumer, the farmer and the urban dairymen. It appeared when 23 tickets sold for $1.00 in 1917 compared with 16 in the previous year and also in the actual cost of milk, as opposed to the retail price, varying in the different Provinces. To the Toronto *Globe* (Sept. 26) R. W. E. Burnaby stated the producer's case as including the increased value and cost of the cow, the increased cost and difficulty of obtaining labour, the higher prices of feed—a total value per cow of $153.83 per annum, less costs of $141.66, or net profits of $12.17. The Toronto Milk Producers' Association in September demanded an increase of 50 cents per can and of 16 cents per quart for cream; in reply to this and other similar proposals the Food Controller (Sept. 24) asked all to wait for the Report of the Milk Committee or until Oct. 31. This Committee was composed of Lieut.-Col. G. G. Nasmith, M.D., C.M.G., and E. H. Stonehouse, Toronto, Dr. T. Boucher, Montreal, R. W. Wigmore, St. John, Dr. N. E. MacKay, Halifax, P. B. Tustin, Ottawa, W. R. Hamilton, Vancouver, and J. Bingham, Ottawa, and its inquiry commenced on Sept. 27.

An initial development was a chart of the farmers' price to distributors of milk with figures stated as follows: Nova Scotia, 6·9 cents; New Brunswick, 7·5 cents; Quebec, Montreal district, 5·8 cents; Ontario, generally, a little over 6 cents; Manitoba, 5·7 cents; Alberta (doubtful), 8·1 cents; British Columbia, 7 cents. Early in November the Report was made public and included a scheme under which $1,500,000 could be saved to the consumers in 17 centres. It was stated that the price paid for milk to the producers was not excessive in view of present conditions. The average increase in the price of milk had been less than 30 per cent. in a stated period, while the average cost of cows, feed and labour had advanced 50%, 75%, and 75%, respectively. The farmers were receiving an average of from 6 to 8 cents per quart and the consumers paying from 10 to 13 cents; the difference lay with the distributors and the "spread" was declared excessive. Mr. Hanna at once took action and on Nov. 15 the "spread" was fixed to not exceed 5·25 cents per quart for the 4 Western Provinces and 5 cents per quart in the Eastern Provinces after Jan. 1, 1918.

In the Commons on May 3 absolute control of food prices and an embargo on the export of food products was urged. G. W. Kyte, W. F. Cockshutt, D. D. McKenzie, Sir Thomas White, and others, discussed different sides of the question. A. K. Maclean, K.C., was the most radical in his views: "If fixing minimum and maximum prices is the solution of the problem then let us have that. If we

must take over the flour mills of this country let it be done. If it means more direct control of transportation, let it be done. If if means closing the wheat exchanges of this country, I say again, let it be done, although that would be a doubtful procedure." W. D. Lighthall, K.C., of Montreal (*Municipal Journal*, June, 1917) urged a Dominion Board to deal with the whole question: "The principles to recognize are: (1) That the law of supply and demand, which formerly regulated prices, no longer applies because it depended on competition; (2) that competition tends more and more to disappear with the formation of powerful mergers, trusts and combines; (3) that the result is a series of virtual monopolies; (4) that uncontrolled monopolies fix their own prices arbitrarily; (5) that it is contrary to the public interest that any monopoly should have this arbitrary power, and, therefore, (6) there ought to be over every monopoly a controlling tribunal." Mr. O'Connor, the Commissioner, had a similar idea which he called a Trade and Industrial Board with jurisdiction over trade combines and methods; on Sept. 20 the Toronto Board of Control asked for "enquiry into bread, milk, fuel, ice, dairy and farm produce and other necessaries of life, with a view to preventing undue increase of prices."

The I.O.D.E. Executive went further and, as representing 40,000 women, on Oct. 4 requested the Government "to take such steps to regulate the price of foodstuffs, and their uses, that the people may be able to obtain the necessities of life at reasonable cost, and that such foodstuffs may be conserved for our men Overseas." The War-Time Thrift Committee of Toronto passed on Oct. 5 a long Resolution urging more education of the public in the need for economy and stating that in many homes "the present high price of foodstuffs is bearing heavily and especially upon the nourishment of children." The Food Controller was urged (1) to find means to effectively control, and if possible to reduce, the price of such vital foods as bread, butter and milk, and of all foods distributed through cold-storage plants; (2) to remove oleomargarine restrictions and to investigate curtailment of ice-cream and use of milk only as a food; (3) to consider regulations making the price of bread one day old and of brown bread cheaper than that of fresh white bread. It was known that Mr. Hanna did not believe in controlling prices and speaking at Toronto on Nov. 21 the Prime Minister indicated that this also was his view. Britain, he pointed out, was an importing country; Canada an exporting country where prices were partly regulated by Purchasing Commissions of the British and Allied Governments.

Meantime, Sir Joseph Flavelle and his interests had become the centre of wide discussion, of much and serious criticism, of popular hostility in some directions and alarm in others. An eminent business man of keen ability and great wealth, a prominent Methodist layman of high personal character and much earnestness of speech; a public-spirited personality in specific directions—such as the University of Toronto and the Toronto General Hospital; President and large shareholder in the Wm. Davies Co. Ltd., which did an immense business in retail and wholesale food supplies before the

War and had greatly increased its business during the War; he also, in 1916, accepted the post of Chairman of the new Imperial Munitions Board. This business reached from Halifax to Vancouver and involved the handling and expenditure of hundreds of millions of dollars; it carried great responsibility in the letting of contracts, erection of buildings, obtaining of vast supplies in raw materials—some scarce and most of them costly; it meant holding tens of thousands of men and women in faithful work for emergency conditions which were greater than most people realized. It was a period of severe and continuous personal strain, of considerable service to the Empire and the Allies. For those services the King and the Imperial Government made him a Baronet in June, 1917—an honour obviously merited by the particular work for which it was given and in harmony with the British principle of recognizing the War services of civilians who held representative positions at home or abroad.

At this stage came a climax to smouldering public resentment over the rising scale of prices and especially bacon, of which the Davies Company had exported 95,000,000 lbs. in 1916. Preliminary criticism had been free and widespread, rumours as to combination amongst pork packers and a deliberate increase in prices were rife, stories of masses of food in cold storage, held to force prices up and often kept until many tons had to be thrown away, were widely circulated, denunciation of certain interests or persons as profiteers was common. On May 24 E. C. Fox, General Manager of the Davies Company wrote to the press in reference to a statement presented to the Commons by A. B. McCoig that this Company was seeking $2,800,000 worth of insurance on meats in cold storage. He explained that all meats intended for current trade or shipment or preservation for a length of time required cold storage facilities and treatment; stated that they never had any such total amount as the above figure in cold storage at any one time—not more than 3 per cent. of the total of meats; stated that "the hoarding of food in cold storage for more than a limited period is prevented, not only by natural physical laws, but because to cold-store an important percentage of the packers' production of meats would be unprofitable"; described the periods when it was necessary to carry butter, eggs and cheese in storage to keep public supplies uniform and sufficient.

While this preliminary controversy—most of it was not in the public press—was going on it appears quite probable that Sir Joseph Flavelle, himself, as he afterwards asserted, was paying little attention to the Davies Company. He was accustomed to large interests and was handling in Munitions bigger matters than any other man in Canada except the Minister of Finance; he was, however, a shrewd business man and knew that his personal profits were going along all right. They were afterwards estimated for the three years, 1915-17, at $1,685,345 for himself out of $3,304,560 which the Company had made. This was large but in 1916 Armours of Chicago paid out $250,000,000 for cattle, sheep and hogs and divided $80,000,000 of many years' accumulated surplus amongst its stock-

holders in a 400% dividend; Swift & Co. reported a similar surplus of $60,000,000—much of it made before the War; the net earnings of the Armours and Swift in 1916 totalled $40,000,000. As developed in subsequent investigations the following figures show the Davies business—the first three columns being submitted from Clarkson, Gordon & Dilworth, Auditors, and the fourth one from Mr. Fox as excluding capital and rest-fund interest, dividends, insurance, profits and loss:

Year	Assets	Liabilities	Surplus	Surplus as stated by Mr. Fox
1913	$4,690,478	$2,182,359	$2,012,882	$ 340,905
1914	5,754,812	3,010,007	2,060,426	373,350
1915	6,466,533	2,933,151	2,601,434	906,428
1916	9,582,173	4,820,717	3,921,665	1,757,180
1917	13,384,948	7,330,357	5,008,101	1,723,600

On July 9 W. F. O'Connor, K.C., as Acting Commissioner *re* Cost of Living, submitted his Report on Cold Storage in Canada. Several points of attack were first cleared up. He (1) emphatically denied the existence of any Trust or combination to raise or keep up prices; (2) declared that there was no guilty destruction of food supplies improperly held and no over-accumulation of products; stated (3) as to the high-price problem that "extensive buying for export has contributed most to the advances in prices of cold storage commodities." He pointed out that a world shortage had induced high bidding in a world market; that the domestic price had followed the trend of export prices upwards; that "the figures which follow will disclose that the Canadian farmer has not been blind to his opportunities." On the whole, he alleged that the operations of the cold storage companies had stood the test of investigation well. "The profits per pound or per dozen of most of these companies have been small, and have not, to any great degree, contributed to produce the very high prices prevailing." On the other hand he stated that "a few of the cold storage companies have attained such dimensions, and have so centralized the business in certain lines as to exercise a practical monopoly, especially of export business." His figures in this connection and the evidence adduced of "big business" carried on by the Davies concern aroused the public and caused both just and unjust comment—some of the criticism in vigorous and unstinted terms. The Cold Storage warehouses were listed in detail as containing 34,000,000 cubic feet of space, 10,300,000 feet being subsidized or in public warehouses through which, in 1916, 169,000,000 lbs. of produce passed or remained.

The functions of a cold storage business in Canada were to purchase the food products from the producer, to prepare and preserve them, to distribute them in (a) the home, and (b) the foreign markets. Elaborate tables indicating the extent to which these objects were realized followed and Mr. O'Connor's comment was concise: "The food consumer has suffered as a result of war conditions. The food purveyor has not. He has seen to it that he has been well and sufficiently paid. Accordingly, while yielding well-deserved credit to the cold storage companies of Canada for the capable manner in which they have grappled with the problem of supplying the needs of the armies and people of Great Britain and the Allies, it will be

well to remember that the performance has been upon strictly business and not upon patriotic lines. The consumer, who alone has suffered for his country in the process, is the patriot." In the matter of profits and margins the Commissioner emphasized the fact that in his various tables the word "margin" represented "gross, not net, profit on the commodity from the time it is laid down, all costs and expenses paid, in the storage warehouse." In his detailed tables and statistics Mr. O'Connor dealt with the ten leading storage companies of Canada by numbers and did not specifically name them in his Report. In the press, however, in Parliament when the subject was discussed on July 30, and in the public statements of the Companies concerned, it was accepted that No. 5 was the Matthews-Blackwell Company and No. 9 the Davies Company. Around this latter concern the ensuing controversy centred and the chief figures given were as follows:

Product	Bought Lbs.	Bought Total Value	Bought Average Price c.	Sold Lbs.	Sold Average Price c.	Sold Margin of Profit c.
Butter	6,083,508	$1,890,380	31·07	5,547,768	31·51	0·44
Eggs	6,413,673	1,613,438	25·15	5,566,505	32·42	7·27
Cheese	2,632,618	461,455	17·52	2,489,351	18·67	1·15
Beef	22,232,988	2,373,421	10·67	16,514,231	11·64	0·97
Fresh Pork	8,602,511	1,295,069	15·05	3,732,606	16·27	1·22
Bacon	65,307,154	10,681,590	16·35	97,791,019	21·40	5·05
Ham	1,319,966	196,718	14·90	938,807	19·81	4·91
Mutton-Lamb	2,887,607	468,727	16·23	2,443,729	16·56	0·33

In his final conclusions the Commissioner declared (1) that the business of these Companies was fairly conducted without illegal combination or excessive accumulation; (2) that individual cases of profiteering had occurred in 1916 over which he had no jurisdiction but which, occurring in 1917, would have been reported to the Attorney-General; (3) that the tendency of margins upon beef and butter was to be excessive and warranted a declaration from the Food Controller; (4) that other margins might be lessened but that reductions along this line would not benefit the consumer greatly—the profits being chiefly on turn-over and volume of business. In the main, prices depended upon costs and, therefore, upon many factors and elements—farmers' charges, increased wages, delivery expenses, higher salaries, etc.

The effect of this document upon public opinion was instant. It collected and concentrated all the varying waves of feeling as to prices and costs upon one outstanding firm and brought its head under fire in a very real sense. It became personal largely because Sir Joseph had, upon several occasions, denounced undue profits in war-time with distinctive phrase and forcefulness. Incident to this, like all very successful men, he had many enemies and rivals. Some of these disliked his strong-handed guarding of munition contracts or their distribution; others resented his title and the public recognition of services of which the public were not and could not be fully informed in war time. Labour feelings were stirred up, bitter denunciation of capitalists and manufacturers as being profiteers were rife and explicit, politicians were alarmed, the consumer, as a class, was indignant. Sir Joseph Flavelle recognized the strength of this sentiment by wiring a statement to the

Prime Minister from Toronto on July 13, in which he described the press comments on the business of the Davies Company as "grotesquely untruthful in mass and in detail" with "a curious mixture of ignorance and malice."

He stated that he had offered the Imperial Government to operate for it during the War, on a cost and percentage basis, in bacon, canned meats and pork and beans, but that they preferred the open market. As to this: "All army purchases of bacon are made in London. All army purchases of canned meats and pork and beans are made in Canada. Both are made in open and untrammelled competition with the world. If it is wrong to secure a share of this and other business under these competitive conditions, the Company has been guilty of such a wrong and of no other." Following this the Davies Co. issued a full-page advertisement to the daily press of Canada, reviewing the Report and stating its own business condition for the first time in public. It was signed by the General Manager with an intimation, also, that "this terminates all public statements of the Company—except at an official investigation." Mr. Fox stated that on its dealings in Live-stock (1,043,000 head in year of Mar. 27, 1917) and of 160,000,000 lbs. of meats, 6,550,000 lbs. of butter, 5,650,000 dozens of eggs and 26,500,000 tins of canned goods, the net profits were two-thirds of a cent per pound in meats, 1·04 cents per pound on butter and cheese and per dozen on eggs, and one-half a cent per tin on canned goods; the turnover from all operations was $40,000,000 and the net percentage of profit before deducting war-tax was 3·45%.

Mr. O'Connor's margin, bacon especially, was denounced, as showing "dangerous inability to co-ordinate figures"; from this margin of 5·05 cents' profit there should be deducted operating charges for labour, curing materials, refrigerator, etc., or 1·02 cents per lb.—also 2·09 cents as the cost of transportation and of sale in England. The final profit would, he said, be much less than one cent per pound; the increase in the margin over 1915 was due to increased ocean freight rates and war insurance. In his Report Mr. O'Connor had intimated that certain figures were difficult to obtain and suggested an official Accounting inquiry. This the Government agreed to and on Sept. 18 the session of a Royal Commission, composed of G. F. Henderson, K.C., Ottawa (Chairman), Geoffrey Clarkson, Toronto, and A. B. Brodie, Montreal (the latter expert accountants), opened in Toronto with J. W. Bain, K.C., as counsel representing the Government, W. N. Tilley, K.C., for the Davies Company, and Gordon Waldron for *Saturday Night*, which had been fiercely attacking the Company and its President in a series of articles. Only a few of the main points of the inquiry can be mentioned. E. C. Fox, General Manager, testified as to the holders of 20,000 shares of which Sir J. W. Flavelle held 10,067, and stated that the President had little to do with the existing management of the business. The Company had an original capital of $250,000 and the existing stock was $4,000,000, largely created from profits. It was found to hold 40% of the shares of the Harris Abattoir—a big Toronto concern, 60% of the Sheede-Thompson Company

in London, which acted as its English agents, and $25,000 in the Ontario Fertilizer Company.

In his testimony (Sept. 19) Mr. Fox further stated that bacon was weighed for sale on reaching England, that a much-discussed process called post-curing "added to the weight of the article to the extent that it absorbed extra water but that the primary purpose was one of convenience in shipping." Mr. Fox dealt in his evidence with the rapid rise in pork products during 1915 and 1916. He stated in reply to Counsel that the returns of the contract with the British War Office, at this time, insured his firm receiving the cost of the product: "Whatever the market value of bacon was in London we would get, provided it was the same or higher than it was here." Mr. Fox also admitted that after the expiry of the British Government's contract in August, 1916, the price of pork went down about two cents and had not risen yet to the old price. He refused to give the reasons for this cancellation. He assented to Mr. Henderson's statement that "the more pork you could buy the more profits you stood to make in the event of the market continuing to rise"—subject to incidents which might occur from week to week. He declared that "the Davies Company in the years ending March, 1913 and 1914, stayed in the English market because they believed the hog industry in Canada could only be sustained through that market, and stayed at a loss to themselves." He claimed (Oct. 12) that profits came to his firm in recent years out of the war-export (British) business and not out of the local consumer. T. F. Matthews, of the Matthews-Blackwell Company, stated (Oct. 19) that his Company had no guarantee from the British Government and that the competitive buying of hogs by his firm and the Davies people, to supply British bacon requirements, ran prices up. He had never heard of post-curing until now and, of course, his firm did not use it.

Sir Joseph Flavelle testified on Oct. 20 as to the Company's relations with other concerns, its methods, business in England, nature of reports and basis of estimating profits, etc. Upon the moot question of curing—the post-cure system under which temporary weight (afterwards stated to average 2%, or a total of 1,600,000 lbs.) was added to the bacon by a pickling or second preservative process—the witness declared that his was the responsibility, that the method was worked out in a pre-war period in order to compete with Danish packers who first used it, that it facilitated shipping and the holding of consignments for specific export. During this prolonged examination some personal references of a public nature, and important in the final analysis, occurred. Sir Joseph agreed with Mr. Bain that without the War the demand for bacon would not have come which made the extra profits possible; he frankly admitted that he was in this and other Companies for business and not philanthropic reasons; stated that the great proportion of the profits were made from sales to the British War Office; claimed that the upward trend of prices was general and that the Davies Company only shared with the rest and that their success in getting business was due, largely, to their long connection in Eng-

land; stated as to the profits of 100% on capital, which Mr. Bain alleged to be the 1917 figures, that he had no "qualms of conscience." His explanation of a famous speech was as follows—after a reference to great need of munitions at the Front, and the chance of Canadian manufacturers failing in delivery and breaking their pledges because of increased costs: "I said that if it is profits in relation to what I have seen and what I have told you, then your profits ought to go to the Hell to which they belong. And, sir, I would say just the same to-day." In reply to a charge in the Commons on July 30 that his Company had preferential shipping privileges on munition ships, Sir Joseph wrote a letter, which was read in the House, that the bacon under Government contract was controlled by the British Minister of Shipping and that his firm's other consignments of bacon took chances with those of other shippers.

The Royal Commission reported on Nov. 19 as to their investigation of the O'Connor Report and found that "the percentage profit (Davies) during the four War-years on meat products sold to the Canadian public was 12·7 per cent.; on specialties and cooked meats 13·2%; on produce purchased in the United States and sold outside of Canada 1·6%; and on English exports 72·5%"; that "from August, 1916, to February, 1917, the Davies Company enjoyed the very distinct advantage over its competitors of having a fixed minimum price, which unquestionably gave it greater assurance in making its purchases of live hogs"; that "the Davies Company could not lose in a declining market, but in an advancing market every chance was in its favour"; that the post-cure was adopted in 1902, prevented deterioration and enabled products to be held longer. Sir Joseph Flavelle's statement that he did not in any way use his official influence to obtain their British contract was accepted. The figures on certain widely-discussed points were as follows:

Year of March 31st.	Company Sales	Company Profits	Per-centage	Investment	Profit with Interest p.c.	Profit without Interest p.c.
1914	$10,774,274	$ 15,521	·14	$1,314,243	20·41	6·89
1915	16,883,111	484,631	2·87	1,351,840	56·80	43·32
1916	25,135,468	1,335,454	5·32	1,744,251	93·76	80·02
1917	41,080,632	1,634,161	3·99		69·08	57·48

Following this publication came a violent renewal of the controversy and much criticism of Sir J .W. Flavelle. A few papers such as the Ottawa *Journal-Press*, the Winnipeg *Telegram* and the Manitoba *Grain Growers' Guide*, demanded his retirement from the Munitions Board,but the position was an Imperial one and Sir Joseph did not believe that he had done anything wrong in accepting the profits of his business. As to this the Toronto *Globe* of Oct. 24 declared that he had failed "to apply to his own firm the higher ethics of war contracts which he imposed upon munition manufacturers." Incidentally, the popular feeling in this matter was responsible for much misunderstanding and many mis-statements as to titles in general and the specific honour conferred upon the Chairman of the Munitions Board. Basing action upon the Henderson Report the Government took up the question of Packers' profits

and Hon. N. W. Rowell was appointed Chairman of a Cabinet Committee to deal with the question of limiting such profits in future. On Oct. 31 the Food Controller stated that the Government would establish effective control over all packing-houses and cold storage plants—the statistics for Dec. 1 showing 114,505,797 lbs. of butter, cheese, beef, pork, bacon and mutton in storage compared with 110,676,765 on Nov. 1, 1916.

The Canadian Patriotic Fund. This war organization of which H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught had been President in 1914-15-16, and H.E. the Duke of Devonshire President in 1917; of which Sir Thomas White was Hon. Treasurer since its inception, Sir Herbert Ames Hon. Secretary, and P. H. Morris Secretary, continued its splendid work. Up to Dec. 31, 1917, total Receipts from the voluntary contributions of the Canadian people were $34,596,290 and total disbursements to the dependants of Canadian soldiers $25,140,327—with a balance in hand of $9,455,969. The contributions and advances by Provinces were as follows:

Province	Receipts	Advances
Alberta	$ 1,834,245.70	$ 3,040,960.33
British Columbia	2,463,420.87	3,670,873.20
Manitoba	135,527.99	135,429.72
New Brunswick	1,097,107.19	959,139.68
Nova Scotia	1,343,728.95	1,046,620.48
Ontario	16,311,199.22	10,991,852.08
P. E. Island	126,521.00	64,308.60
Quebec	8,781,098.10	3,136,528.80
Saskatchewan	1,952,479.77	1,926,901.72
Yukon	45,631.20	
Total	$34,090,959.99	$24,972,614.61

Sundry totals such as $142,936 from the Public Service of Canada and special gifts from Great Britain, United States, etc., totalled $241,225.48 of receipts and $13,350.86 of Advances. Manitoba had an entirely separate Fund and the amount specified above had been sent to Ottawa in subscriptions which were afterwards remitted to the Provincial Fund. An analysis of these figures showed interesting results. In Ontario the cities gave the large single amounts—Toronto and York Counties $4,964,757, Hamilton and Wentworth County $1,315,270 and Ottawa with Carleton County $1,178,136—but without the counties they could not have met the situation at all. The County Councils, largely composed of farmers and very largely representing them, voted much greater sums than the public generally knew of—Bruce County Council $177,500; Carleton $36,000; Dufferin $32,050; Elgin $131,000; Essex $108,000; Frontenac $46,750; Grey $99,000; Haldimand $70,000; Halton $32,086 (and maintenance of soldier dependants within its borders); Hastings $56,000; Huron $183,000; Lincoln undertook charge of soldiers' dependants within its boundaries—except in St. Catharines; Kent $97,847; Lambton $110,400; Lanark $48,000; Leeds, $85,000; Lennox $39,600; Middlesex $132,000; Durham $186,500; Ontario $138,390; Peel $96,000; Perth $86,000; Peterborough $59,500; Prescott $1,900; Renfrew $82,842; Simcoe $128,000; Stormont $83,200; Waterloo $74,698 and Wellington $78,250. These subscriptions totalled $2,500,000 and there were other considerable sums from farmers not distinguished in the County branch reports of the Fund.

The smallest contributions were the $1,900 from Prescott and $1,974 from Haliburton; in Quebec, however, the Counties of Bagot, Berthier, L'Assomption, Laprairie, Lévis, Richelieu, Soulanges, Verchères and Two Mountains gave nothing, while Beauce, Chicoutimi, L'Islet, Matane, Portneuf, Terrebonne, Vandreuil and Wolfe gave under $1,000. Montreal City and Island totalled $6,457,595, Quebec City and District $601,866 and Sherbrooke City and County $155,424, so that the 46 counties containing the bulk of Quebec's agricultural population contributed about $500,000. Interesting or notable contributions during 1917 included $843,000 of Ontario Government grants, $110,000 from the Grand Trunk Railway, $5,700 from the Western Mennonites, $90,000 from the Quebec Government and $44,344 from C.P.R. employees. The collection of $15,000,000 in 1917 was not an easy task and the result was in excess of expectations; it commenced with an earnest appeal from the Duke of Connaught for estimated requirements of $12,500,000 and the statement that 55,000 families

or 150,000 individuals were then dependent upon the Fund. The campaign that followed in Toronto was very successful and was combined with a Canadian Red Cross appeal and the motto "Serve by Giving"; it was directed by Sir Wm. Mulock as President of the Toronto and York Patriotic Fund, E. R. Wood, Chairman and Treasurer, and W. S. Dinnick as Campaign Organizer; the Teams were under well-known men and leaders in such work with strong Rotary Club and Women's Committees; 2½ millions in four days was the goal set. A mass-meeting on Jan. 22 was addressed by the Duke of Devonshire, Sir John Hendrie, N. W. Rowell, K.C., Mayor Church, Sir W. Mulock and Sir H. B. Ames—the latter telling the people of Ontario that $6,000,000 was expected from them. York County Council gave $250,000, Toronto's Council $50,000, and on the first day five Banks gave $150,000. During the four days' campaign the totals ran as follows: 1st day $948,760; 2nd day $685,995; 3rd day $423,624; 4th day $1,200,418. Of individual subscriptions the Sheet Metal Products Co. gave $36,000, the Canadian Bank of Commerce $50,000, Wm. Davies Co. Ltd. $25,000, and Harris Abattoir Co. $20,000, Massey-Harris Co. $20,000, Sir E. B. Osler $20,000, Gutta Percha and Rubber Co. $18,000. Of the teams the Rotary Club came first and the Women's second and J. J. Gibbons third, with $800,000 amongst them. Civic employees gave $48,456 and the T. Eaton Co. employees $101,129. The total was $800,000 in excess of the objective of 2½ millions.

Montreal did splendidly in this campaign and made a total of $4,290,000 in promised subscriptions—including an expected $1,000,000 from the city—which compared with $2,508,000 in 1916, $1,613,000 in 1915 and $1,613,000 in 1914. Lord Shaughnessy and W. M. Birks were in charge and $2,500,000 was the amount asked for. J. W. McConnell headed a Committee of "one day's pay" pledges and obtained $850,000, J. Murray Gibbon was Publicity Manager and W. G. Ross and U. H. Dandurand other leaders. Amongst the larger donations were Huntley Drummond, Sir Herbert Holt, Lord Shaughnessy and Dominion Textile Co., $20,000 each, Sun Life $25,000, Bell Telephone Co. $24,000, C.P.R. $225,000, G.T.R. $10,000 per month continued. The Bank of Montreal gave $60,000 and the Merchants $30,000, while W. F. Angus obtained $112,000 from 13 munition manufacturers; the employees of the C.P.R., Canadian Explosives, Montreal Locomotives, Canada Car and Foundry, Grand Trunk and Dominion Bridge Co., contributed a total of $241,000. Lord Shaughnessy presided at the meeting on Feb. 16 when the great total was reached and Toronto for once beaten in a patriotic contest. Congratulations were received from the Governor-General and Admiral Jellicoe and many others. As to the cities generally, Hamilton gave $650,000; Ottawa, $400,000; London, $300,000; Brockville, $150,000; St. Catharines, $100,000; Halifax, $200,000; Vancouver, $400,000; Victoria, $200,000; Edmonton, $150,000; Calgary, $175,000; Quebec, $250,000. Sir H. B. Ames, Hon. Secretary of the Fund, speaking in the Commons on Aug. 17 deprecated criticism of rich men in this connection and said:

> Here are several men whose gifts, I know, have gone into six figures since the War began: Sir Edmund Osler, Sir Edward Kemp, Sir Herbert Holt, Mr. Huntley Drummond, the Birks of Montreal, and the Ross's of Quebec. These men have all given in the most generous possible manner. I have a list here of our subscribers in Montreal and I see that 240 men have given $508,000; I have a list here of 31 men in Toronto who gave $143,500; in London, 33 men gave $135,000; Hamilton, also, has been very generous.

Incidents of the year included the contribution by Welland, Ontario, to the Fund of $9.00 per capita, of St. Catharines $12 per head and in Camrose, Alberta, the giving of $22,000 or double the sum asked for; the request in September of the North Alberta Fund management that the Dominion Government take over the responsibility in view of the War-time Franchise Act; the general movement along a line of proposed Government assumption of the Fund at the close of 1917—especially in view of another $12,000,000 being required for 1918; the passage by the Executive Committee of a curious Resolution (June 14) stating that the wife of a Canadian soldier received $15 or $20 a month and the wife of a British reservist $5.00, and that in order to preserve "the same standard of comfort" the Patriotic Fund should allow the latter not more than $10.00 per month; the decision to raise the ages at which children became ineligible under the Fund to 16 for boys and 17 for girls.

The Canadian Red Cross, which had been founded in 1896, did great war service in these later years of 1914-17. At the beginning of the year 1917 it had 7 Provincial Branches—Ontario and British Columbia not being separately

organized except that the latter had District centres at Victoria and Vancouver; it had 772 chartered branches spread all over Canada compared with 484 a year before; it had established, constructed and equipped a number of Hospitals—the Duchess of Connaught institution at Cliveden, the King's Canadian Red Cross Hospital, Bushey Park, the C.R.S. Special at Buxton and the Convalescent Home for Nurses at Chelsea, the Princess Patricia Special at Ramsgate and the C.R.C. Hospital at Vincennes, France, a Hospital for Officers in London; the total moneys collected to the beginning of 1917 were $2,266,357 and the expenditures included $250,000 on the Vincennes and Princess Patricia Hospitals, $300,000 on Prisoners of War food allowance, $100,000 in Hospital maintenance, $335,000 on others of the Hospitals mentioned above, $300,000 on supplies such as blankets, towels and tobacco purchased in Canada, and $200,000 on supplies such as drugs, hospital furnishings, etc., purchased in England, $280,000 to the British and French Red Cross and various British or Allied institutions; a total of supplies for soldiers, hospitals, etc., valued at $8,000,000 had been packed, shipped and distributed Overseas. During 1917 the Canadian Red Cross had charge of all parcels addressed to or intended for Canadian prisoners in enemy hands and this added greatly to the volume of work. The annual meeting was held in Toronto on Feb. 21 with the Duke and Duchess of Devonshire present, their Excellencies becoming also Patrons of the Society. Addresses were given or reports read and the following officers elected for the year:

President	H.R.H. The Duchess of Connaught.
Chairman of Central Council	Colonel G. A. Sweny.
Hon. President	The Hon. Sir Edward Kemp.
Chairman of Executive Committee	Lieut.-Col. Noel G. L. Marshall.
Hon. Treasurer	Brig.-Gen. The Hon. James Mason.
Hon. Corresponding Secretary	Mrs. H. P. Plumptre.
Hon. Recording Secretary	Beverley S. MacInnes.
Hon. Solicitor	John T. Small, K.C.

Vice-Patrons were the Lieut.-Governors of the Provinces, the Vice-Presidents representative men from each Province of Canada. In May H.E. the Duchess of Devonshire accepted the Presidency in succession to the late Duchess of Connaught. Incidents of the year included the formation of a Winnipeg branch of the Canadian Red Cross with Mrs. E. M. Wood as Chairman (Mar. 12) and affiliation with 67 other branches in the work of the Manitoba Red Cross Society; a great Ball given in New York on May 2 at the Biltmore in aid of the Canadian Red Cross and Canadian Patriotic Fund with an address from Colonel Marshall of Toronto and readings by Julia Marlowe and E. H. Sothern—Sir Herbert B. Tree and M. Paderewski also taking part; a series of addresses beginning in May and given by Mrs. H. P. Plumptre of Toronto to Red Cross meetings in the West and where she stated that in money and supplies Canadians had contributed more than $12,000,000 to the Red Cross; a report of the Victoria, B.C., Branch that up to June 30 its shipments to headquarters had included 30,502 shirts, 46,574 pairs of socks, 19,554 suits of pyjamas; the collection by the Vancouver Branch, under the Presidency of Sir Hibbert Tupper, during these war-years of $275,000 in cash and $675,000 worth of gifts and supplies—according to its statement of Oct. 5; the total raised by the Manitoba Province Red Cross under G. F. Galt, President, was $125,295 in 1917 with a total during the War, in cash and supplies, of $670,000. The following were the official figures of donations received in Canada during 1917:

Yukon Territory	$ 8,209.82	New Brunswick	$ 16,530.00
United States of America	76,142.61	Nova Scotia	11,939.30
British Columbia	84,882.78	Prince Edward Island	6,080.00
Alberta	107,724.65	Ontario	555,299.46
Saskatchewan	332,978.01		
Manitoba	230,196.77		
Quebec	167,854.15	Total	$1,597,837.55

During the year a London War Committee composed of G. C. Cassels, C. Cambie and F. W: Ashe, managers of Canadian Banks in London, was appointed to co-operate with the Commissioner, Col. C. A. Hodgetts—who in June received a C.M.G. from the King. As a matter of fact their duties were supervision of the Commissioner's work and office and consideration of recommendations for submission to the Canadian Executive. Upon the death of the Duchess of Connaught, who had acted as Chairman, H.R.H. the Princess Patricia consented to be Hon. Chairman of the Committee. The Asst.-Commissioners—H. Blaylock in France and Claude Bryan in England—were promoted to Lieut.-Colonel rank; Lady Drummond continued her most valuable

services as head of the C.R.C. Information Bureau in London and Mrs. Rivers-Bulkeley of the Prisoners-of-War Department. As a result of the Air-raids it was necessary to evacuate the East Coast Hospitals and this decision affected those of the C.R.C. at Ramsgate and Margate. The Society was given the furnished home of Colonel Gulton, M.P., in London for use as a Nurses' Rest Home and a Rest Home for Officers was also established at Moor Court, Sidmouth. During 1917 the maintenance of all the C.R.C. Hospitals, with the exception of the I.O.D.E. institution in London, was assumed by the C.A.M.S.; the cash Contributions of the year in Canada totalled $1,521,694, making $3,768,823 since the beginning of the war, and the value of the supplies received was $3,725,000 and a war-years' total of $10,757,000; 158 new Local branches in Canada were formed, making at the end of this year 961 branches, of which Alberta had 141, British Columbia 30, Manitoba 74, New Brunswick 79, Nova Scotia 39, Ontario 176, P.E. Island 1, Quebec 35 and Saskatchewan 386.

British Red Cross in Canada. This British Fund was generously supported. Particulars of its splendid War-work were issued and widely published and included an actual cash expenditure outside the United Kingdom—in France, Belgium, East Africa, Italy, Serbia and Montenegro, Russia and Roumania—upon Hospitals, buildings, motors and their upkeep, ambulances, trains, rest stations, surgical dressings, etc., of $21,800,000; the sending abroad of 6,000,000 articles of clothing, etc., 416,000 parcels of food and clothing to British prisoners of war in enemy countries; the supply of 6,500 surgeons and nurses and stretcher-bearers. In Great Britain 57,000 hospital beds were founded and maintained and 30,000 provided with nursing staff; 7,500 V.A.D. nurses helped in Army hospitals, 40,000 books and magazines were supplied weekly for the wounded and sick with 460 motor ambulances maintained and 28 command depôts and convalescent camps visited regularly and supplied with comforts and games. It cost $300,000 a week at this time to carry on the work, or $16,000,000 a year. "Our Day" for the Empire was appointed as Oct. 18 and on that day H.M. the King issued a special appeal which reviewed the great work done by this Society and the Order of St. John—much of which the King had seen in operation: "In every theatre of the War, regardless of distance, discomfort or danger, the task of alleviating pain and suffering and of ministering to those in need is performed with unparalleled devotion by the men and women who have taken service under the Red Cross." His Majesty headed the List with a personal contribution of £10,000 in addition to the £5,000 which he also gave yearly; Queen Mary gave £1,000 and the Prince of Wales £3,000.

The launching of the various campaigns in Canada was aided by an appeal from H.E. the Governor-General and the Lieut.-Governors of the Provinces; by the announcement of a $1,000,000 gift from the U.S. Red Cross, by a visit from Lord Northcliffe and a meeting in Toronto on Oct. 14 presided over by Sir Edmund Walker and addressed by Major W. A. Bishop, V.C., D.S.O., M.C., the hero-aviator, as well as Lord Northcliffe. The latter stated that: "In the British Red Cross not two per cent of the funds are spent upon expenses. The cost of the Red Cross service is $30 a minute. It has risen lately, and one of the reasons why we make this appeal is because it is very obvious that it will not decrease. . . . Our Red Cross is an auxiliary of the Royal Medical Corps. It is an emergency corps. There is no red tape in connection with it. On one occasion $250,000 worth of material was called for in the morning and before night the whole was sent off." Major Bishop spoke briefly —as did Noel Marshall and Mayor Church. Ontario and Toronto endeavoured to keep the lead in Canada which they won in previous years and under which the Province had contributed in 1916 one-fourth of the total for the whole British Empire. The Campaign Chairman for the City was Sir Edmund Walker and the organizer once more was Lieut.-Col. W. S. Dinnick; there were 19 Captains of teams, a Women's Committee with Mrs. Henry Strathy as President, School and Church, Rotary Club and Salvation Army Committees, and $500,000 was the amount aimed at; the total actually achieved was $830,191—with the team headed by J. Allan Ross collecting the highest amount, or $100,487. The City Council gave $125,000 and the workers in the City factories, through the Rotary Club collectors, gave 20,000 subscriptions or $94,261. Hamilton Fyfe, the British journalist, was in Toronto at the time and expressed great interest in this business work of the business men. Elsewhere the City of Hamilton raised $100,000 with G. C. Coppley as Chairman of its Committee; in Montreal the work was pressed by the Quebec Province branch of the Red Cross, of which W. R.

Miller was President and Sir F. Williams-Taylor and Huntley Drummond active members. Mr. Miller at a meeting on Oct. 29 mentioned that "in the last three years Ontario had given $5,100,000 for the British Red Cross while Quebec had subscribed only $250,000." The City of Winnipeg granted $10,000.

The Young Men's Christian Association. This organization appealed to many interests and humanitarian instincts. It was essentially social, it was, in part, religious, it had enough business management and principle and practice to make and keep the Association a financial success, it provided centres for the amusement, instruction and physical development of young men which were wholesome, and it attracted, therefore, the support of parents and guardians and all who were interested in the welfare of young men. In the War it was pacific but helpful and its many workers throughout Canada enthusiastic in raising money for organization abroad and in sending supplies to Britain and the Front which were sold for a moderate sum to the soldiers and usually given away—as with tea and coffee—to the wounded; in politics it was a Prohibition organization, a moral reform agency, and did not, as a rule, interfere with propaganda of any other kind—war causes or controversies, for instance, or what is usually termed patriotism—though its leaders took up such issues as War Loans, Red Cross and Patriotic Fund subscriptions; in religion it was a constant exponent of what its organ *Canadian Manhood* described, in October, as sending forth the men in khaki "not as Canada's Army but as representatives of Christ." Originally a British organization founded by the late Sir George Williams in London on June 6, 1844 (Montreal, Nov. 25, 1851; Boston Dec. 29, 1851)it had spread all over the world and become, before the World-War, a great international factor in social and religious work.

There was much interchange of officials in earlier years between Canada and the United States. Canadian Associations numbered (1917) 43 in Ontario, 9 in Quebec, 3 in Alberta, 6 in British Columbia, 3 in Manitoba, 3 in Saskatchewan, 2 in New Brunswick, 5 in Nova Scotia and 1 in Prince Edward Island. Those at Toronto, Montreal, Hamilton, Ottawa, Winnipeg and the other larger cities led in the work, while the National Council, representing these 75 independent Y.M.C.A. units, had as Chairman in this year G. Herbert Wood, Toronto, and General Secretary, Charles W. Bishop, assisted by 16 other Secretaries. The 2nd National Convention of Canadian Associations was held at Ottawa on Nov. 2-5, 1917, with a registered attendance of 177 and J. A. Machado, Ottawa, as Chairman. A report from Mr. Wood dealt with (1) the "challenge of the War and its demands upon the religious and moral forces of the nation"; (2) the courage and success of the National Council in grappling with the opportunity; (3) the extension of support to all war-work and "to the local Associations, as evidenced by the success of some in liquidating their debts and by others, especially the larger ones, in greatly increasing their membership"; (4) the unfavourable effect of the War, however, upon some Associations which had failed to grow or rise to their opportunities. There was a notable attendance of business men and special addresses by Dr. H. M. Tory, President of Saskatchewan University, Dr. John R. Mott, head of the American Y.M.C.A., G. H. Wood, Toronto, R. P. Wilder, New York. Reports of Red Triangle work in British training camps, in France, Mesopotamia, Egypt, East Africa, etc., were given and various railway men spoke of the value of the work done in railway camps. The closing Session was addressed by H.E. the Governor-General and Hon. N. W. Rowell, War-work had, meanwhile, caused a great re-organization in the functions of the Y.M.C.A., and its Military Service Department in 1917 had a headquarters staff in Toronto of 13 men, headed by Dr. John Brown as General Supervisor, with 51 Military Secretaries spread over Canada; in England there were 70 of these officials and in France 44. Those in service Overseas had the military rank of Hon. Lieutenant or Hon. Captain; the Headquarters in London had Lieut.-Col. Gerald W. Birks of Montreal as General Supervisor. Work done at the Front was described in one detail by J. H. Lang, National Secretary, Australian Y.M.C.A., in a letter to Mr. Bishop:

> During the last great offensive, the Association was honoured by being consulted in reference to the general plans for the care of the sick and wounded and given the definite responsibility of taking care of the walking wounded in association with the Medical Service. The Medical Service was concerned primarily with the stretcher cases and the Y.M.C.A. with the walking wounded. Wherever there was a casualty or clearing station the Y.M.C.A. dug-out was placed alongside of it, and as the streams of walking wounded came in, they were met, cared for and given free drinks of hot tea, etc., by the Y.M.C.A. Secretaries.

Money was needed for keeping up such an organization and it was freely asked for and given. During 1917 the Canadian people were asked for $750,000; they contributed $1,131,391 including gifts from Governments, municipalities, special war-campaigns and receipts from sales, etc. The financial statement for the year showed $634,506 expended on work amongst Canadian soldiers in England and France, "including free distribution of drinks, stationery, reading material and athletic supplies; building huts and providing motion pictures, concerts, canteen supplies, and recreational, educational and religious programmes, and administration"; $71,595 for work of the British Y.M.C.A. amongst Canadian soldiers and $5,400 for work in Mesopotamia; $244,113 for work in Canada in Summer Camps, Winter Barracks, Hospitals, Red Triangle Clubs, Discharge Depôts, Boys on Farm Service, Munition workers, Troop Train work, Internment Camps, Cost of Financial Campaigns, Supplies of free stationery, games and athletic equipment; $64,155 for general purposes of administration and a balance of $118,351. Compared with this expenditure of $950,000 for military service in 1917 was that of $389,126 in 1916, $33,000 in 1915 and $7,000 in 1914. An official statement at the end of the year showed that, in 1917, 55% of Y.M.C.A. canteens at the Front were in advanced positions where civilian stores did not exist; that 38 were behind the lines at Vimy and 40 at Passchendaele; that 8 Canadian Y.M.C.A. dug-outs were destroyed by the Germans during the year. In England the Y.M.C.A. operated in every Canadian camp, as the British did in every other, and in 15 Hospitals and with 20 Forestry units. In Canada 12 hospitals with various internment and military camps, were looked after, while 900 women gave voluntary assistance.

During the year a system of educational occupation was introduced into the Canadian field forces under the guidance of Dr. H. M. Tory and the authority of the Army chiefs and the Y.M.C.A. Dr. Tory spent three months in England and France and his proposals, as finally put into practice at the end of the year, included the formation of Classes amongst the reserves, or the troops at the Front resting temporarily, of educational effort by (1) an organized system of popular lectures on the nations at war—the campaigns, the British Empire, Canada as a country, Agriculture, etc.; (2) the promotion of small study-groups of soldiers to take up specific subjects such as the Bible, biography, politics, education and science; (3) the promotion of reading groups in billets and tents; (4) the development of a definite library system. To the Y.M.C.A. Council Dr. Tory proposed the more ambitious scheme of an Agricultural College to instruct soldiers who wished to take up land after the War; so with a business course, engineering, medical and legal courses, etc., in preliminary stages. In a series of Canadian addresses in the Autumn he amplified this scheme with a University in Khaki as the ideal. A beginning was made in December by the Canadian Command which authorized the establishment of a University of Vimy Ridge with General Sir Arthur Currie as Chancellor and General L. J. Lipsett as President. Technical and vocational training were the initial subjects tried and in the first five days lectures were given to 11 Infantry battalions with a total attendance of 5,000 and the enrolment of 1,000 students. Meantime the approximate membership of the Y.M.C.A. in Canada was (1917) 40,000, of which the Toronto Central represented 3,960, the Montreal Central 3,180, the Toronto West End 2,691, the Winnipeg (Vaughan St.) 1,597, Ottawa 1,483, Vancouver 1,414, and Halifax 983. Of these or other Associations the Presidents were as follows:—

Toronto	S. Henderson.	Victoria	Geo. Bell.
Hamilton	B. E. Johnston.	Vancouver	T. J. Trapp.
Ottawa	J. A. Machado.	Winnipeg	Geo. N. Jackson.
Peterborough	G. A. Gillespie.	Regina	V. F. McLean.
Montreal	James W. Knox.	St. John	F. A. Dykeman.
Quebec	W. H. Wiggs.	Halifax	J. F. Fraser.
Calgary	R. C. Marshall.	New Glasgow	Hon. R. M. McGregor.
Edmonton	J. E. Brown.	Charlottetown	J. A. Clark.

At a Y.M.C.A. Convention in Winnipeg on Feb. 1 it was decided to divide the Western Provinces—hitherto composing one division—into two sections. The headquarters for the West had been located at Calgary but in future there were to be headquarters at Winnipeg and Vancouver respectively. The Hon. Edward Brown was elected President of the Western body with W. T. Hart as Vice-President for Manitoba, James Balfour for Saskatchewan, Dr. H. R. Smith for Alberta and I. Delamater of Fort William for Western Ontario. E. W. Keenleyside looked after British Columbia. In Toronto early in the year an hotel for returned soldiers was opened by the National Council and called the Red Triangle Club; with Government

aid Y.M.C.A. Institutes were planned near the war munition works of Trenton, Sault St. Marie and Lachine; the Council also co-operated with the Military Hospitals Commission in social entertainment for the soldiers and as vocational advisers; a campaign in April and May to raise $750,000 for the year's work was more than successful with Major G. W. Birks and Capt. the Rev. W. A. Cameron as the chief speakers—coming direct from the Front and addressing meetings at Halifax, St. John, Toronto, Winnipeg, Regina, and many other places. Much was said in the speeches about the usefulness of the Huts or tents and the description of A. K. Yapp, a leading British worker, in dealing with the British side of Y.M.C.A war-life covered the ground as to Canadian conditions:

> Begin, for example, with the huts set up in England at the various camps and in the big towns. Then cross the Channel. Directly you arrive you find our huts at the base camps—large and splendid huts. Travel along the lines of communication, and you find our huts all the way—getting a little smaller, or becoming tents, as you approach the war zone. Then you leave these smaller huts behind, and, within sound of the guns, find the Y.M.C.A. installed in ruined houses. Go further still and enter the trenches. You find us there, hard at work in a dug-out. It is a moving thing to see our workers in these dug-outs, ministering to the mud-stained soldiers as they trudge back from the front trenches. So our service extends from the training camps and garrisons in England to the very dug-outs on the field of battle.

As a local appeal the splendid work of the Y.M.C.A. at Vimy Ridge and a letter from Brig.-Gen. V. W. Odlum saying that he had recommended one of its officers for a Military Cross, were most effective; so was Lord Curzon's statement in England that the Y.M.C.A. in this war had fashioned "a girdle of mercy and loving-kindness around the world." The response was generous and in excess of the sum asked. Toronto aimed at $200,000 and obtained $215,000 with $15,000 from a Woman's Committee led by Mrs. H. P. Plumptre and $5,000 each from E. R. Wood, Massey-Harris Co., Chester D. Massey and Sir John Eaton. Winnipeg exceeded the $50,000 mark set by a Committee of which J. H. Ashdown was Chairman; Halifax gave $5,000 more than the $20,000 asked for and St. John went over its $15,000 allotment to $22,000; Montreal was asked for $150,000 and under a Committee headed by J. W. Ross, J. W. McConnell and Sir F. Williams-Taylor obtained $269,000; Ottawa contributed $30,000, Hamilton $31,000, London $20,000. At the meetings held in this connection audiences were told of the 120 centres maintained by the Y.M.C.A., of the Huts where the men were addressed by Chaplains, Hebrew and Christian, Protestant and Catholic; of the 30,000 letters written in the Huts every day by Canadian soldier lads, of the 65,000 cups of coffee handed the men in the trenches daily, of 100 pianos, 300 gramophones and 27 motion-picture machines used to entertain the men, of the baseball equipment in gloves, bats, balls and masks. Of the Montreal contributions the Birks family headed the list with $25,000, Lord Shaughnessy for the C.P.R. gave $10,000, the Grand Trunk and the Bank of Montreal $5,000 each. The total for Canada was over $1,000,000.

Incidents of the year included the successful effort of Regina to obtain $15,000 for the work of its local Y.M.C.A.; the drive of Toronto to obtain 4,000 new members and the response of 8,263 applicants; the building at Halifax of a Y.M.C.A. Hut at a cost of $15,000 for the seamen of the Royal Navy; the transfer of the Y.M.C.A. building in Halifax into a hospital with 120 patients; the success of Winnipeg's membership appeal in December with over 1,000 new members; the services—besides those mentioned elsewhere—of Rev. John MacNeill at the Front and Major J. H. Wallace, Senior Y.M.C.A. officer in France, of D. A. Budge in England and of T. D. Patton in the Canadian West, G. A. Warburton and Harry Ryrie in Toronto, Taylor Statten and W. R. Cook amongst boys, H. R. Hadcock, Capt. H. A. Pearson and others in addresses throughout Canada as to the War-work of the organization. At the close of the year Y.M.C.A. membership in Canada totalled 36,000, its Associations numbered 121 and its buildings were valued at $6,800,000, while it had 114 military Secretaries Overseas with over 1,700 assistants and 146 military centres of which 45 were in Canada, 50 in England and 51 in France. There were criticisms of the institution. Some Church interests declared that it took from their strength and instead of being non-denominational should be inter-denominational; in partnership rather than independent. There was an under-current of talk as to young men in Y.M.C.A. work evading military duty. A few of the facts were that Major the Rev. C. W. Gordon stated the soldiers from the Winnipeg Y.M.C.A. at 400 early in 1917; that, according to H. Ballantyne, Western Secretary (Feb. 7), out of 8,000 young men who were members when the War began over 70% had enlisted; that the West End Y.M.C.A.

(Toronto) had contributed 825 men to the C.E.F. by May, 1917, and all the Toronto branches 2,500, of whom, in October, 160 were stated to have been wounded, 100 to have been killed and 20 decorated; that the Regina Y.M.C.A. was in actual financial need from 660 of its members having enlisted, while the total in Vancouver was over 400. Others thought that Y.M.C.A. buildings should be given up for Hospitals and similar purposes—especially in Toronto, where it was urged as to the Central building that it be thrown open to the soldiers instead of sending wounded men away out of town.

Early in 1917 the War Office asked the Canadian National Council for Canadian Secretaries to help in the work amongst Imperial troops; in April the National Council issued a statement to its officials in Canada that "the Y.M.C.A., which is highly patriotic in thought and purpose, should take action in regard to the selection of its employed force for enlistment and National Service and recommend that every facility be given to the unmarried and eligible men on their staffs who feel that they should enlist"; from New York on June 5 Mr. Balfour wrote to the International Y.M.C.A. Secretary that its work had been admirably done and that "its spiritual and material value to the men is beyond reckoning, and the services of its *personnel* deeply appreciated by the soldiers."

The Navy League of Canada. The British Navy League at the beginning of 1917 had 262,000 members and aimed to reach a million; its objects were the education of public opinion as to the essential import of sea-control, prevention of a premature peace, tightening of the Blockade, compulsory compensation by Germany for shipping destroyed by Submarines, teaching of Naval History in Empire schools, organization of National sea-training for boys, support to an Imperial Air policy; it had held 14,000 meetings since 1914 and issued 6,000,000 naval and war leaflets, etc. Navy Leagues existed in South Africa and Australia and in June, 1917, one was organized for Canada as the Canadian Branch of the Navy League of the British Empire with Their Excellencies The Duke and Duchess of Devonshire as Patrons, W. G. Ross of Montreal as President, M. P. Fennell, Jr., as Treasurer and Lieut.-Col. C. G. Williams as Hon. Secretary, and the following platform:

1. A thoroughly organized educational campaign in matters pertaining to the Navy and Mercantile Marine: (*a*) by lectures; (*b*) by the circulation of literature; (*c*) by placing readers in public schools.
2. To raise funds for the relief of British and Canadian sailors and their dependants, for Sailors' Homes, Institutes and Hospitals in Canada and throughout the Empire.
3. To encourage volunteer Naval Brigades for boys and young men in which they can receive practical and theoretical instruction in seamanship to prepare them for service in our Mercantile Marine.

There was already a Winnipeg Branch of the British Navy League founded in 1903 with 500 members at the close of 1917; the Hon. President was Brig.-Gen. H. N. Ruttan, the President W. R. Allan, the Hon. Secretary Capt. T. H. Hooper, and the Executive Committee included Sir A. M. Nanton, Dean Coombes and J. H. Munson, K.C. A Women's Division was formed at Winnipeg on May 26 with Mrs. W. R. Allan as President and with similar principles of diffusing literature and information; in the autumn $9,360 was raised by a Carnival for the Lady Beatty Fund and an Auxiliary was formed to obtain comforts for the North Sea Fleet. Mr. Allan, at a meeting on Oct. 19, described the League's policy as follows: "To bring home to all citizens of this country the fact that they are absolutely dependent in their daily lives upon the British fleet; to impress upon them the fact that they can assist the Navy by taking an intelligent interest in its activities and helping to create a healthy public opinion regarding its upkeep." On Oct. 2 an Ontario Branch of the Navy League of Canada was formed at Toronto with the Governor-General and Duchess of Devonshire and the Lieut.-Governor of Ontario, Sir John Hendrie, as Patrons; Sir John C. Eaton as Hon. President, Commodore Æmilius Jarvis, S.S.D., as President, Sir John Aird, as Vice-President, and Lieut.-Col. Cecil G. Williams as Sec.-Treas. The following Executive was appointed:

F. E. Brentnell.
W. E. Burke.
Hartley H. Dewart, K.C.
George E. Evans.
J. Castell Hopkins.
Rev. Dr. A. Hall.
Com. F. C. Law, R.N.
Rev. J. Russell McLean.
Com. C. G. Marlatt, S.S.D.
H. H. Macrae.
Chris. W. Thompson.
Lieut. H. J. Wickham, R.N.

On Oct. 13 another Branch was established at St. John, N.B., with Mayor Hayes as Hon. President, Col. E. T. Sturdee, President, J. A. Likely, Vice-President, and C. B. Allan, Secretary-Treasurer. In October a Quebec Province Branch was formed at Montreal with James Carruthers as President, M. P. Fennell and Hon. D. O. L'Esperance, Vice-Presidents, and C. W. Trenholme, Secretary. A Women's Branch was organized at Montreal on Dec. 20 with Lady Atholstan as Patroness, Lady Meredith as President and the following as representative Vice-Presidents: Mrs. D. Forbes Angus, Mrs. F. N. Beardmore, Mrs. G. L. Cains, Mrs. Arthur Drummond, Mrs. W. G. Ross, Lady Williams-Taylor, Mrs. W C. Hodgsou and Mrs. C. W. Trenholme. A Saskatchewan Branch was formed at Regina on Dec. 11 with a Committee consisting of His Honour R. S. Lake, Commander A. B. Perry, C.M.G., of the R.N.W.M.P., Hon. W. M. Martin, Hon. C. A. Dunning and Peter McAra. The Rev. Dr. Hall, in an address, suggested the institution of travelling lectureship in Imperial history for the purpose of instilling in the youth at school the inspiration to be drawn from deeds of bravery in the annals of the British Navy.

A Branch of the British Navy League had existed for years at Victoria, B. C., under the active leadership of Sir C. Phillipps-Wolley. In 1917 its President was Arthur Cole and the Vice-Presidents, A. S. Barton and C. E. Redfern, and its chief current object was described as helping the British and Foreign Sailors' Society and their dependants, for which over $10,000 had been raised. This Branch was closely allied to the British Seamen's Institute and had 5 houses or clubs for sailors arriving on the Coast. During the year Com. C. G. Marlatt, Toronto, and Lieut. J. K. L. Ross, Montreal, were awarded the Special Service Decoration already held in Canada by Sir John Eaton and Commodore Jarvis. On Oct. 25 the Ontario Branch issued an appeal through its Patron, the Governor-General, for the formation of local branches and a call, also, for an educational campaign to help the work of the Navy and the Mercantile Marine—stating, in the latter connection, that there was no Patriotic Fund or Pension system covering the Marine sailors who lost their lives in the War.

The League helped greatly in the Government's efforts at recruiting for the Royal Navy. Lieut.-Col. C. G. Williams spoke at many places, east and west, as did the Rev. Dr. Alfred Hall. Commodore Jarvis of the R.C.Y.C was Chief Naval Recruiting Officer in Ontario as W. G. Ross was in Quebec. In 1916 the Admiralty had asked for seamen and petty officers and motor-boatmen, and got a number, though not all that was hoped for; on Mar. 1, 1917, the Minister of Naval Service at Ottawa appealed, also, for men to train as officers of the Royal Navy. Their special course would extend over 1½ years after which successful candidates would be entered in the fleet as midshipmen. The period of service as midshipmen would be arranged so that on reaching the rank of Lieutenant special-entry Cadets would be approximately the same age as those entered in the regular way. A little later Vice-Admiral Sir Charles Coke (with a staff of officers) arrived at Ottawa to take command of the Naval Patrol service which the Canadian Government was also establishing on the Atlantic and Pacific Coasts, and for which recruits had been called. At the same time Sir Charles was to superintend the construction of drifters, trawlers and other auxiliary craft being built for the British Government. This Patrol service was termed the Royal Canadian Naval Volunteer Reserve and it included seamen, stokers, firemen, engine room artificers, cooks, stewards and boy stewards. Naval recruiting was slow, Canada very inland in feeling, and the military arm more attractive; but according to the *Canada Military Gazette* of June 12 6,000 Canadians had by that date joined the Royal Navy since 1914; in Montreal Mr. Ross arranged in April a Grand Naval Week and had a series of educative and recruiting meetings.

The British and Foreign Sailors' Society undertook to mark its Centenary of service (1918) by establishing a Fund which it was hoped would reach $1,250,000 and for which Lady Jellicoe earnestly appealed to Canadians. "I have," she wrote on Sept. 9, "seen evidence of the splendid relief work of this Society in providing clothes and food for sailors interned in Germany; in dispensing immediate practical assistance to disabled sailors and dependants of seamen who have fallen on war service; in providing an education for sailors' orphans; and especially in feeding, sheltering, clothing and forwarding to their various homes many thousands of merchant seamen whose vessels have been sunk by enemy action." Early in the year the Canadian National Branch lead by W. G. Ross of Montreal and greatly aided by contributions from Toronto and other parts of Canada, collected $500,000 for the support of this organization and in appreciation of the work of the Royal Navy and

Mercantile Marine. Sir Edward Carson, 1st Lord of the Admiralty, wrote Mr. Ross on Mar. 10 expressing public thanks for the service thus rendered. This Canadian Branch had been formed in 1909 with the following objects:

To aid the associated Institutes and Agencies, and to co-operate with local Committees.
To foster a National interest in the welfare of Men of the Sea, by Conventions, lectures and the circulation of suitable literature.
To provide a cheerful, homelike, healthful place of resort for seamen in all our ports.
To afford recreation for the sailors, by means of games, concerts, lectures, etc.
To supply wholesome literature to out-going vessels.
To inculcate the principles of temperance and thrift.
To furnish religious services of a simple character and to promote the social, moral and spiritual redemption of the men.

The Rev. Dr. Alfred Hall was chief Canadian Chaplain and organizer of the B.& F.S. Society: Æmilius Jarvis of Toronto succeeded Lord Strathcona in 1917 as President of the Canadian National Branch. Besides the Centenary contributions above mentioned recruiting was aided and a $100,000 collection undertaken to equip Royal Navy Institutes at Halifax and Esquimalt. Associated with this organization was the Canadian National Ladies' Guild for Sailors, of which Lady Willison, Toronto, was President. It furnished and equipped a Naval Institute at Toronto for the R.N.C.V.R., and from year to year aided various Naval funds and collections. It may be added that the Boys' Naval Brigade, Toronto, was increased to about 500 members during the year.

The Overseas Club. This was one of the most important Empire organizations of a voluntary character in these years of war. Founded on Aug. 27, 1910, with H.M. The King as Patron, Lord Northcliffe as President, and J. Evelyn Wrench, C.M.G., as Hon. Secretary and Organizer, supported warmly by Lord Northcliffe and his influential press, and backed by a powerful Committee; it touched certain human elements of loyalty and Imperial interest and met with great success. In 1917 it boasted a membership of 152,000, with $2,600,000 subscribed for war purposes—including $1,200,000 for the Overseas Tobacco Fund, $800,000 for the Aircraft Fund, $380,000 for the Soldiers' and Sailors' Fund, and the balance for Red Cross, Belgian Soldiers, Hospitals, etc. Its Imperial Aircraft Flotilla totalled 108 units with 100 machines subscribed for by members up to May 23, 1917. Week by week large quantities of tobacco, cigarettes and hampers were despatched to British soldiers serving in France, Salonika, Egypt, Mesopotamia, and British East Africa.

During this year an important element in the Club's work was the establishment of local Committees throughout the world for the distribution of literature in neutral countries which presented the British and Allied standpoint and helped to counteract German propaganda. Books, leaflets, pamphlets, maps, illustrated diagrams, etc., were distributed in large quantities—about 2,000,000 in the year. It was estimated that 14,000 members had joined the colours; an Overseas Trade Bureau was formed to develop trade and the sale of British manufactures abroad; during 1915-16, 2,848,000 children in British elementary schools through the Club contributed a penny each for soldiers' comforts; its monthly journal, called *Overseas*, had a wide and useful circulation. The objects of the Club were formally stated as follows: (1) To help one another; (2) to render individual service to our Empire; (3) to maintain our Empire's supremacy upon the seas and in the air; (4) to draw together in the bond of comradeship British people the world over.

In Canada the Over-Seas Club had a membership of over 2,000 with strong Branch organizations at Toronto, Halifax, Peterborough, London and Vancouver. The Toronto Branch, under the energetic efforts of its President, Fane Sewell, did effective work along Empire lines and in 1917 had over 200 members. It looked after returned soldiers in many helpful ways; it collected tobacco and comforts for soldiers at the Front; its Ladies' Auxiliary visited the Hospitals and helped to cheer the convalescent soldiers; its Prisoners of War Bread Fund in 1916-17 raised over $50,000 for the sustenance of Canadians in Germany. The Halifax Branch had Mr. Justice Russell as President, a representative list of Vice-Presidents, and a strong Executive with Major J. Plimsoll Edwards as Hon. Secretary. Its work covered propaganda, care of soldiers, Hospital Cot and Ambulance Funds, Patriotic and Tobacco Funds, help to training ships, Sea-Scouts and Seamen's Homes, with $16,000 collected in the past four years. The membership at the close of 1917 was 225. Associated with the Over-Seas Club was an efficient Tobacco Fund organization, of which F. R. Jones was Secretary in Canada, and which had collected $230,000 by the end of 1917.

Belgian Relief and Other Funds.

The Canadian Committee for Belgian Relief, of which Maurice Goor, Consul-General for Belgium at Ottawa, was President, continued its work during 1917 with A. De Jardin of Montreal as Hon. Secretary-Treasurer in place of H. Prud'homme who had become a Vice-President. In a Report covering the war period to June 15 of this year it was stated that the 250,000 Belgian refugees in England still were giving about $300,000 a month for relief in Belgium; that the Belgian Government, out of British and French and United States loans, were paying the American Commission for Relief $7,500,000 a month; that the British Empire had continued to give freely with a large proportion of wheat and flour supplies bought in Canada by the Commission. Canadian contributions as a total had been, at the date specified, $2,827,191 with, also, $234,355 forwarded direct. The Dutch and Spanish Governments took over the work of the American Commission in April—following the retirement of the U.S. Commission on Mar. 24 because of "the German Government's disregard for its written undertakings"—and Hugh Gibson, Secretary of the late American Legation in Brussels, described the new Commission officials as competent and efficient.

For a time the appeal to Canadians had been discontinued and M. De Jardin wrote to the press early in June that the shortage of shipping and the United States-Belgian Loan of $45,000,000 made it advisable to let matters stand for the moment. Then, in July, came the publication of the above Report in which Canada was appealed to for special aid to the Children's Health Fund, Belgian Soldiers' Comforts, Belgian Red Cross and Prisoners' Fund; King Albert in July expressed thanks to a British society—the National Committee for Belgian Relief—which had collected $12,000,000 within the British Empire in two years; the Ontario Committee, under J. W. Woods, Chairman of the Board, urged special help—especially for Mrs. Agar Adamson's Fund for Belgian refugees behind the Lines which was caring for 500 Belgian families. It may be added that up to June, 1917, the American Belgian Relief Commission had received from the British Government $89,500,000, from the French Government $66,000,000, cash, food and clothing worth $17,000,000 from British Empire Committees and $11,500,000 from those in the United States; the French Government had also advanced $108,000,000 for relief in German-occupied North France.

The Empire Club of Canada.

This organization, which was formed in 1903, had done good work along the lines of its motto, "Canada and a United Empire," by arranging a series of valuable speeches on Imperial topics which were yearly published in book form. During the War it took its part in much of Toronto's patriotic work and in 1916 issued a platform of principles and objects which included (1) the advancement of the interests of Canada, and a united Empire, (2) organization of the Empire with a share by the Dominion in questions of peace and war, (3) contribution to Imperial Defence, (4) grants of land to soldier-settlers, (5) Preferential tariff for all Empire products and manufactures, (6) physical and military training in all educational institutions. On May 17 a Resolution was passed unanimously urging the Dominion Government to adopt Conscription by enforcement of the Militia Act and an Order-in-Council making the Selective Draft feature operative. Norman Sommerville, B.A., was elected President, F. J. Coombs, J. Murray Clark, K.C., and Sir Fred. Stupart, Vice-Presidents. The following Addresses were delivered during the year:

Date	Speaker	Subject
Jan. 11	Peter McArthur	Canadian Empire Builders.
Jan. 18	N. W. Rowell, K.C., M.L.A.	Britain's War Effort.
Feb. 1	W. A. Willison	War Mobilization of Great Britain.
Feb. 8	J. L. Englehart	Greater Ontario.
Feb. 15	Prof. Alfred Baker	The Spanish Nations.
Feb. 22	Benjamin Apthorp Gould	Win the War—The Next Step!
Mar. 1	Rev. Charles Aubrey Eaton	Canada in World Politics.
Mar. 8	Prof. A. B. Macallum, F.R.S.	The Research Council and Its Work.
Mar. 15	Hon. W. R. Riddell	The Prussian Mind.
Mar. 22	E. F. B. Johnston, K.C.	A Study of the Kaiser.
Mar. 29	Zebulon Aiton Lash, K.C.	Canada's Foreign Affairs.
April 5	Prof. James Mavor, PH.D.	Russia—Past and Present.
April 12	Sir Douglas Cameron, K.C.M.G.	War Conditions.
April 19	James Donald Allan	Commercial Russia.
April 26	Mrs. Arthur Van Koughnet	War-Work of Canadian Women.
May 10	Rev. Dr. G. C. Pidgeon	Western and Eastern Canada.
June 15	John R. Rathom	Germany's War and the United States.
Nov. 1	Alexander Graham Bell	Substance of My Latest Research.

Date	Name	Subject
Nov. 8	Dr. Henry Marshall Tory	A New Overseas Problem.
Nov. 15	Stewart Lyon	My Experiences at the Front.
Nov. 29	Harry Pratt Judson	The States in the Great War.
Dec. 12	Lord Montagu of Beaulieu	Empire and Aviation.
Dec. 20	Rev. Canon Gould, D.D.	The Imperial Significance of Jerusalem.

The League of the Empire. This organization was primarily an Imperial and Educational society with the support or approval of most of the educational authorities and ruling interests throughout the Empire. In 1907 it promoted a Conference between the British Educational authorities and those overseas, which led to other similar meetings. The League in Canada worked in close co-operation with the Head Office in London. The exchange of Teachers between countries of the Empire, the arrangement and maintenance of correspondence between schools with 37,000 children thus affiliated throughout the Empire in 1917—of whom 5,000 were Canadians—and Empire Conferences on Education, were parts of its work. The Canadian League was in affiliation with the Ontario Educational Association and held a Conference in Toronto at the annual Meetings of that body.

"News From Home" budgets were started by the League in 1914 for Canadian soldiers at the Front and increased by hundreds weekly up to and through 1917 when the total was about 12,000. Money was raised for Soldiers' Comforts. Many young soldiers who, as boys, were members of schools affiliated with the League in Canada were looked after at the League of Empire Club-house in London and much hospitality and kindness shown. The officers in Canada were Principal Maurice Hutton, President, Col. George T. Denison and J. L. Hughes, LL.D., Vice-Presidents, Mrs. H. S. Strathy, Hon. Secretary, with head-quarters at Toronto. During the year H.M. Queen Alexandra became Patroness of the League and H.R.H. The Duke of Connaught Hon. President. Sir Phillip P. Hutchins was Chairman of the Council in Great Britain and Mrs. E. M. Ord Marshall, Hon. Secretary. A chief element of the British League's work was the Annual Conference of the Imperial Union of Teachers, which, in 1917, met at London on July 20-22 and heard addresses from Hon. W. A. Holman of Australia, Prof. A. V. Salmon, M. V. Mouravieff-Apostal and Sir M. Bhownagree; another was encouragement of the celebration of Empire Day, while the *Federal Magazine*, published by the League, listed in August 50 Hospitals, 33 Army and Navy Funds and 25 public institutions aided by the League; since the War it had acted as a Depôt and clearing-house for over a million gifts for soldiers from all parts of the Empire.

The Rotary Clubs. This international organization was of United States origin and became a great success there following upon its foundation at Chicago by Paul P. Harris in 1905. The first Rotary Club in Canada was formed at Winnipeg on Nov. 3, 1910. At the beginning of 1917 there were 300 of these Clubs in the United States, Hawaii, Cuba, Canada, Great Britain and Ireland, with 30,000 members. Though there was an International Federation of the Clubs each one was independent and self-supporting—the International Board of Directors approving new Clubs for membership from time to time. A. C. Klumph, Cleveland, was President, but at the Altanta Convention of June 17-22 was succeeded by the Rev. E. Leslie Pidgeon of Winnipeg, who had defined the objects of the Society as follows in the Winnipeg *Free Press* of Feb. 24, 1917: "Rotary is an organization composed of one representative from each calling, for the purpose of developing altruism in service. It would scarcely be correct to say that each member is a representative of his class, because his fellow-workers had no part in his selection. But it is nearer to the fact to say that each member represents Rotary to his class. He has been chosen by Rotarians, because they have had reason to believe that he will be a good student and missionary of the idea of altruistic service. He joins with his fellow-members in studying the doctrine of service, and is placed under a moral obligation to give a living example of it in his own work." As approved at the 1915 San Francisco Convention the following is a condensation of the Ethical code of Rotary and of the pledges taken by a member:

1. To consider my vocation worthy, and as affording me distinct opportunity to serve society.
2. To improve myself, increase my efficiency, and enlarge my service, and by so doing attest my faith in the fundamental principle of Rotary, that he profits most who serves best.

3. To realize that I am a business man and ambitious to succeed; but that I am first, an ethical man, and wish no success that is not founded on the highest justice and morality.
4. To use my best endeavours to elevate the standards of the vocation in which I am engaged.
5. To consider no personal success legitimate or ethical, which is secured by taking unfair advantage of certain opportunities in the social order.
6. To be not more obligated to a brother Rotarian than I am to every other man in human society; because the genius of Rotary is not in its competition, but in its co-operation.
7. Finally, believing in the universality of the Golden Rule, we contend that Society best holds together when equal opportunity is accorded to all men in the natural resources of this planet.

The benefits claimed from these principles and this Association were those of knowing men that one ought to know, goodfellowship, development of true friendship, information as to other men's work, problems and successes, education in efficient methods of business, stimulation of the service ideal, promotion of the mutual confidence which means good business. The very nature of the organization induced close fraternal relations with United States Clubs and a large attendance at international Conventions. Vancouver had one on Feb. 24-5, 1917, with 500 delegates present from the 15th District, or States of Oregon and Washington and the 18th, or Provinces of British Columbia, Alberta and Manitoba. The addresses dealt with Service—to fellow members, to the local Club, to the community through beautifying and city planning, to employees, to children, to country. A District Conference of Ontario and Quebec was held at London on Feb. 26 with President Klumph in attendance from Cleveland. As the movement spread through Canada local interests were distinctly benefited with more or less energetic advocacy of good roads, the paving of streets, securing of fire protection for neglected districts, the building, care and administration of charitable institutions, the starting of movements for public libraries, the promotion of anti-tuberculosis campaigns, conducting beautiful-garden contests, raising money for Y.M.C.A. buildings, maintaining day nurseries, building tuberculosis hospitals, promoting plans for introducing thoroughbred cattle. The following were in 1917 the most active Clubs:

Club	President	Club	President.
St. John	F. A. Dykeman.	Calgary	R. J. Lydiatt.
Victoria	Frank Higgins.	Hamilton	W. H. Cooper.
Vancouver	A. R. McFarlane.	Winnipeg	Duncan Cameron.
Montreal	Walter J. Francis.	Regina	J. J. Galloway.
Toronto	J. S. M. Ridley.	Brantford	J. M. Young.

A feature of the Clubs was a weekly luncheon, usually addressed upon some social or business topic by a man known to have authority in that special connection—latterly and frequently upon War topics. A few of the typical ones in 1917 were A. M. Fraser, Victoria, on Fire Insurance; Rev. R. Whiting, Winnipeg, on Public Ownership of Utilities; Mrs. Ralph Smith, Vancouver, on the Foreigner in Canada; W. J. Phelan, Vancouver, on the success of the National Cash Register business; Rev. Hugh Dobson, Regina, on Social Service; Prof A. S. MacKenzie, Halifax, on Science and After-War problems; V. C. Martin, Victoria, on Accountancy in Business. Resolutions were occasionally passed such as that of the Montreal Club (Oct. 23) in favour of the City's government by a Commission; that of the Toronto Club (Dec. 7) in favour of the Union Government and Conscription; but they were not numerous. The Clubs preferred such activities as the Vancouver erection of a Clinic and school for tuberculosis children, the Halifax Club's work after the explosion there, the Toronto effort for better Hotel accommodation in Ontario, the Calgary adoption and bringing up of a waif.

As to the War the work in 1916 was occasional; the work and interest in 1917 was continuous. The coming of the United States into the War stirred up members in Canada also and much Rotary work was turned in the direction of war support along effective social lines. In Toronto the Rotary Club had already done much in organizing the 50,000 Club with its weekly contribution to the Patriotic Fund; in the January appeal for this Fund it joined earnestly and collected a total of $384,000; in Montreal, under W. G. M. Shepherd, and in Halifax it did a similar work; in Victoria the Club registered boy pupils for work on Island farms during the summer, distributed pledge cards for Food Conservation and helped in various minor matters; in Toronto it cultivated a root farm and raised there and in city lots during 1917 $50,000 worth of vegetables. The latter Club had collected a considerable sum for the British Red Cross in 1916 and in 1917 did still better; Victoria aided the Victory

Loan campaign in November, as did that of Halifax, which Sir R. L. Borden addressed on Nov. 13; those of Winnipeg and Regina passed Resolutions in favour of a substantial increase in the rates of pensions for soldiers and their dependants. The International Officers—President Pidgeon, Vice-Presidents Robinson McDowell, Louisville, and H. J. Brunniere, San Francisco, with C. R. Perry, Chicago, Secretary, and Rufus Chapin, Chicago, Treasurer—visited Winnipeg on Sept. 20.

Canadian Clubs and the War. These organizations, like the Women's Canadian Clubs—which are referred to under the Woman's War Section—did considerable war-work, but it was outside of their original scope and objects. Weekly, or occasional, luncheon addresses still remained their chief function, with Ottawa, Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Winnipeg, St. John, Victoria, Vancouver, Halifax and Regina as the most active in this latter connection. The chief topic in nearly all the 150 addresses, of which particulars are available, was the War—in every phase of local and practical application, historical and theoretical treatment, patriotic and material, financial or commercial aspect. Conspicuous speakers of the year were H.E. the Duke of Devonshire, Lord Reading, Sir Edmund Walker, Sir Herbert Ames, Hon. James M. Beck and G. Haven Putnam of New York, Lord Northcliffe, Dr. J. R. Mott, Rt. Hon. A. J. Balfour, Lord Montagu of Beaulieu, Sir Clifford Sifton, Dr. Andrew MacPhail, Rt. Hon. W. F. Massey and Sir J. G. Ward of New Zealand, Major the Rev. Dr. C. W. Gordon, James W. Gerard, Hon. W. A. Holman, Hon. H. C. Hoyle and Hon. J. D. Connolly of Australia, Dr. G. R. Parkin, C.M.G., N. W. Rowell, K.C., Hon. Arthur Meighen, M.P. The heads of the more active Clubs in 1917 were as follows:

Club	President	Secretary
Ottawa	Hon. L. P. Duff	J. E. Macpherson.
Montreal	W. M. Birks	T. Kelly Dickinson.
Winnipeg	John Galt	R. H. Smith.
Vancouver	Rev. W. H. Vance	J. R. V. Dunlop.
Regina	W. J. M. Wright	J. G. McCall.
Hamilton	W. H. Lovering	J. B. Hanna.
Westmount	F. B. Common	J. B. Brodie.
Halifax	Hon. E. H. Armstrong	W. A. Major.
Toronto	E. C. Fox	Shirley Denison, K.C.
Regina	J. F. Bryant, K.C.	Norman Ruse.
Victoria	John Cochrane	F. J. Sehl.
Kitchener	J. C. Haight	D. S. Bowlby.
St. John	James H. Frink	——
Dartmouth	H. A. Russell	C. L. Baker.
Goderich	Rev. J. B. Fotheringham	J. L. Killoran.
Kingston	Lieut.-Col. C. N. Perreau	R. Meek.

The Toronto Club had 1,329 members and maintained in 1917 its consistent stand of no propaganda and no participation in public affairs. The Montreal Club with 1,800 members did not take the same view and continued to be the medium for launching important patriotic movements and helping in various public matters. The Ottawa Club (1,348 members) was prominent for its meetings. These three clubs did not, however, do actual war-work in the sense of Executive action, contribution or collection of moneys, etc. On the other hand, the Canadian Clubs of Hamilton and Winnipeg were active in many directions and the former, through a Patriotic Fête and by special subscriptions, collected $109,000 for Overseas hospital supplies and, besides this, had contributed since 1914 $59,000 to other Funds. It also placed in the vestibule of the City Hall a Memorial Tablet bearing the names of Hamilton men who had given their lives in the World-War, with space for further names; initiated a movement for a Memorial Hall to commemorate Hamilton men killed in action; collected 50,000 magazines to send to local fighting men abroad; contributed to the C.E.F. a Canadian Club platoon in the 173rd Battalion and another platoon in the 91st Highlanders; shipped 50,000 quart jars of canned fruit and a large quantity of dried fruit to Canadian soldiers in the hospitals of England and France. The Winnipeg Club passed a unanimous Resolution in favour of National Government and that of Brandon refused to do so; the Winnipeg organization also celebrated the 50th anniversary of Confederation by presenting to every school-child a copy of the picture of The Fathers of Confederation and expended $1,000 in Canadian history scholarships; the Vancouver Club took part in the Montreal Win-the-War Convention of May, founded a Returned Soldiers' Club and gave it $1,376, and boasted an Honour Roll of 75 members. The membership of Winnipeg was 1,832, the largest in Canada, that of Halifax 400, that of Vancouver 942. It may be added that on

Dec. 6 Lieut.-Col. C. R. McCullough, Hamilton, W. Sanford Evans, Ottawa, James Ferres, Montreal, Henry Carpenter and George D. Fearman, Hamilton, met in Hamilton to mark the 25th anniversary of their initiation of the Canadian Club idea.

The Canadian Clubs in the United States were active in all kinds of War-work. That of New York, in addition to dinners and addresses, took charge of the interests of Canadians in the city and state of New York and looked after their dependants; the office of T. D. Neelands, President, was a sort of clearing-house for relief cases; large Red Cross collections and donations were made; it contributed $8,500 and a relief-boat to the Halifax sufferers; amongst its Canadian speakers in 1917 were Sir R. L. Borden, Hon. J. D. Hazen, Sir Sam Hughes, Sir W. H. Hearst, and Major C. W. Gordon. The Seattle Club heard Sir C. H. Tupper on "Canada's Share in the War" (Feb. 17); that of Spokane endorsed President Wilson and United States war action; while the Boston Club doubled its membership and proposed to organize a Canadian National Bank in that City—though it found the difficulties considerable. The first Canadian Club in England was organized at Folkestone on Sept. 24 with Col. C. A. Smart as President and the Earl of Derby as the chief guest.

Miscellaneous Patriotic and Military Societies.

The total voluntary war contribution through recognized Canadian agencies early in 1917 approximated $60,000,000; by the close of the year it was, probably, $75,000,000. By March the Canadian Patriotic Fund represented $26,277,000 of this amount and the Dominion Government to Imperial authorities $2,800,000; the Provincial Governments to special war objects and the Imperial Government $7,775,000; the Canadian Red Cross $2,561,000, British Red Cross $3,600,000, British Sailors' Relief $655,000, Machine guns, etc., $2,500,000, Belgian Relief $2,709,000; with smaller sums for Military Hospitals, Jewish work, Seamen's Hospital, Secours National (France), Government relief purposes, etc. Of other organizations the South of France Relief Association (Montreal) had in February sent abroad 360 cases containing 35,000 articles; the 50,000 Club (Toronto) in nine months of 1917 collected $325,398 for the Patriotic Fund; the Secours National reported $204,000 sent to France up to Feb. 11 of this year and an active Toronto Association with Sir Glenholme Falconbridge as President; July 14 was France Day in various centres and considerable sums were realized by the tag method for French Red Cross purposes—for instance $8,000 in Regina and $16,000 in Winnipeg; in September the French Wounded Emergency Fund was organized for a Western Province campaign with Hon. T. G. Mathers, Winnipeg, as Chairman and $162,000 collected; Palestine Tag Day (July 31) in Toronto brought in $13,000 for war sufferers in that distressful land; a Blue Cross Association was organized in Winnipeg at this time with Mrs. G. F. Coombes, President, and in affiliation with the British Association for help to wounded horses—for whom it maintained 4 hospitals in France. Of Societies doing war-work of a special nature the St. John Ambulance Association was conspicuous. Its annual meeting at Ottawa on Feb. 26 was addressed by the Duke of Devonshire as Patron and J. M. Courtney, C.M.G., I.S.O., was re-elected President. Lieut.-Col. R. J. Birdwhistle, General Secretary, toured the West in October and stated at Winnipeg on the 8th that its work had been greatly developed by the war needs of the time. During the war years every class of the community had received the benefits of first-aid and home-nursing training; in every city in Canada a large percentage of the Police had been instructed in how to render assistance in case of accident, and the study had also been taken up by Railway employees, men and women employed in factories and industrial establishments generally; during 1916-17 every soldier leaving Canada for Overseas received a course of instruction in First Aid, and thousands of cases were on record of the splendid results accruing; in 1916 over 150,000 soldiers were given instruction in the proper method of caring for the minor casualties to which they were subjected

The Boy Scout movement progressed steadily. The Duke of Connaught, who had been Chief Scout while in Canada and an earnest patron of the idea, stated in London, at the British Scouts annual meeting, that; "The foundations of character and self-discipline are essential as first steps towards preparing a lad for being a soldier, and these attributes are markedly promoted through Boy Scout training. The authorities in Canada have now recognized this and the two movements are running harmoniously in co-operation." H. G. Hammond, Ontario Secretary, told the press on Feb. 1 that there were probably 5,000 Canadians on active service who had been Boy Scouts: "In England they are doing a wonderful work in the Government offices

and departments and as guards on the East Coast. The keenness of the little fellows is remarkable" and one of them (16 years old) won a V.C. and died at his post in the Battle of Jutland. At Ottawa on Apr. 22 the Duke of Devonshire presided over a General Council meeting and Col. Sir Percy Sherwood was re-elected Dominion Commissioner with Gerald H. Brown as Hon. Dominion Secretary and Lieut.-Col. The Hon. H. Henderson, Hon. Treasurer; 644 Troops in Canada were reported. The following statistics of this organization for instruction of boys in the principles of discipline, loyalty and good citizenship were as follows, up to June 30, 1917:

	Troops			Officers			Scouts		
	1915	1916	1917	1915	1916	1917	1915	1916	1917
Ontario	237	230	247	446	344	374	7,213	7,146	7,101
Alberta	82	99	86	138	111	99	2,141	2,345	1,739
Manitoba	60	78	70	85	135	135	1,371	1,961	2,035
Quebec	69	69	60	138	113	108	1,872	1,891	1,658
Saskatchewan	46	74	98	65	137	193	909	1,453	1,764
British Columbia	45	40	32	87	73	52	1,039	1,004	839
New Brunswick	36	30	21	86	75	39	858	893	664
Nova Scotia	20	26	37	34	41	53	831	747	1,104
P. E. Island	2	2	4	5	3	10	109	102	120
Total	597	648	655	1,084	1,032	1,063	16,343	17,542	17,024

The Jubilee of Confederation and the War. If it had not been for the World-War Canada's celebration of the 50th Anniversary of its Federation as a Dominion—July 1, 1867-1917—would have been elaborate in detail and national in character. As it was, the event had permanent interest and more so because its official celebration was associated with a structural stage of the new Parliament Buildings at Ottawa. A Committee of the House of Commons had been appointed on Feb. 7, composed of Sir George Foster (Chairman), Hon. G. P. Graham, Sir Sam Hughes, C. Jameson, Hon. R. Lemieux, E. M. Macdonald, Hon. C. Murphy, Hon. A. Sévigny and Lieut.-Col. J. D. Taylor, and they reported on May 31 that an historical pamphlet should be published dealing with Canada's growth, a Proclamation be issued inviting commemorative meetings and church services, Provincial co-operation in an official celebration be invoked and a Federal postage stamp and post-card be issued in commemoration of the event. Associated with this Committee was one from the Senate including Sir Mackenzie Bowell, Hon. R. Dandurand, Hon. W. C. Edwards, Hon. J. S. McLennan, Hon. W. H. Sharpe and Hon. R. Watson. The joint Committee of Parliament on Parliament Buildings reconstruction was also concerned in the celebration—Hon. R. Rogers (Chairman), Hon. P. E. Blondin, Hon. J. D. Hazen, Sir J. A. Lougheed, Hon. W. Pugsley, Hon. J. D. Reid, Hon. R. Watson and J. B. Hunter (Secretary).

The general feeling throughout the country was one of interest, but also that the War prevented any functions of a joyous character such as ordinarily would have developed. In many places—notably Winnipeg—Empire Day was marked by special consideration of this event; at the Royal Society meeting in Ottawa (May 23) Prof. A. B. Macallum, F.R.S., dealt with the subject at length in his Presidential address; the Vancouver Canadian Club and Toronto University arranged for a series of lectures on the subject and R. E. Gosnell of Victoria wrote a number of local articles of an historical character; Rev. Dr. S. D. Chown, General Superintendent, issued a letter urging all Methodist churches to hold special services on July 1. On June 30 the press of Canada published many studies of Canadian progress during the 50 years and on July 2 there were a number of quiet demonstrations of national patriotism as there had been on the preceding day an immense number of special church services and sermons. At Ottawa Sir George Foster presided and H.E. the Duke of Devonshire addressed an assemblage in front of the Parliament Buildings—the latter unveiling a Memorial Tablet in the following terms:

1867 ——— July ——— 1917

ON THE FIFTIETH
ANNIVERSARY OF THE CONFEDERATION
OF BRITISH COLONIES IN NORTH
AMERICA
AS
THE DOMINION OF CANADA
THE CANADIAN PARLIAMENT AND
PEOPLE
DEDICATED THIS BUILDING
THEN IN PROCESS OF CONSTRUCTION

AFTER DAMAGE BY FIRE
AS A MEMORIAL OF
THE DEEDS OF THEIR FOREFATHERS
AND OF THE VALOUR OF THOSE
CANADIANS
WHO IN THE GREAT WAR FOUGHT FOR
THE
LIBERTIES OF CANADA
OF THE EMPIRE
AND OF HUMANITY

Sir Robert Borden spoke briefly in eulogy of the men who made Confederation and of the men who in 1917, upon the fields of France, were guarding it; Sir Wilfrid Laurier declared that the work of the Fathers had more than justified expectations and had founded a great country, now standing with the other Colonies "in the intangible bonds of British unity"; messages of congratulation were read from Rt. Hon. D. Lloyd George, Rt. Hon. W. H. Long, Colonial Secreatry, Sir E. P. Morris, Premier of Newfoundland, the Earl of Liverpool, Governor-General of New Zealand, the Government of Australia, President Wilson of the United States, Lords Lansdowne, Aberdeen and Grey, and H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught. Provincial celebrations were held officially at Toronto—with a Parade of 8,000 troops and addresses by Sir W. H. Hearst, N. W. Rowell, K.C., and others; at Winnipeg, with a notable address by Sir James Aikins; at Regina with the publication, also, of a handsome pamphlet of historical and patriotic character; at all the capitals with more or less of ceremony and public interest. Published statistics of progress were many; perhaps the percentages of growth were most interesting and of these a few may be given:

Particulars	Increase	Particulars	Increase
Area	590%	Iron and Steel Industry	1,643%
Population	111%	Railway Mileage	1,462%
Wheat Crop	1,194%	External Trade	1,653%
Dairy Production	462%	Bank Assets	2,192%
Fisheries	375%	Bank Deposits	4,120%
Minerals	1,270	School Expenditures	2,140%

Celebrations were also held in London and a most impressive service and address by Bishop Ryle at Westminster Abbey were marked by the presence of the King and Queen and Queen Alexandra. Other functions included a Reception at the Royal Colonial Institute and H.M. the King cabled the Governor-General as follows: "I rejoice with the Dominion in celebrating the Jubilee of its strong, ever-growing prosperous life, and I join in honouring those, the living and the dead, who by their deeds have added a glorious chapter to the Empire's history—George R. & I." Sir Robert Borden issued an Address to the people, reviewing Canadian progress in brief words and concluding as follows: "All this is impressive; but still more inspiring is the thought that during the half century which now draws to a close Canada has come to a fuller knowledge of her heritage and of the responsibilities which it entails; to a clearer consciousness of National purpose, to a firmer confidence in her destiny."

The Halifax Disaster and the War.

Whether the explosion of Dec. 6 on board the munition ship *Mont Blanc* in Halifax harbour, which wrecked a considerable portion of the city, was a direct result of some German plot or an indirect and accidental result of the War was not settled in 1917, but there was no doubt as to the disastrous nature of the event. Halifax had up to this time held an important place in war operations; it was the base from which a large portion of Canadian troops had gone to the Front; it was the port from which many British activities in the Atlantic, including the protection of Canadian transports and supply ships were directed and the scene of search or examination for suspicious ships on the North American station, etc. Its new ocean terminals were nearing completion at great cost and had proved very useful in facilitating Allied shipping operations; the City had in 1917 been favoured with much prosperity, a great increase in exports, shipping tonnage and Bank clearings.

On the morning of Dec. 6 the population of Halifax—numbering 47,000 in normal times, but at this time much greater—was, about 9 o'clock, going to business or at work, while in Bedford Basin two ships were approaching each other—one from without, the other from within. The former was a French Munitions ship from New York under Capt. Lamedoc, named *Mont Blanc*, and loaded with 4,000 tons of tri-nitro-toluol—a very powerful explosive—and a supply of picric acid; the latter was the *Imo*, a Norwegian freighter loaded with Belgian relief supplies and commanded by Capt. Fram. Both had pilots on board and the story of the *Mont Blanc* Captain, with evidence afterwards adduced, seemed to show that the *Imo*, for some inexplicable reason, deliberately kept a wrong course. When the two ships actually collided the *Mont Blanc* was so held as to cause the blow to strike its forward hold where the picric acid was, rather than where the more explosive T.N.T. was stored. Fire followed, however, and the explosion after the men had fled from the ships—the *Mont Blanc* being near the Halifax shore of the Narrows and the *Imo* drifting to that of Dartmouth.

The effect of the explosion was instant, horrible and disastrous in the extreme. Every building in the City was damaged, the north end, or Richmond section, was almost demolished and part of Dartmouth seriously injured, buildings collapsed and fires started everywhere, thousands were killed or wounded, maimed or blinded, the water-front was in ruins and the dockyard sidings destroyed, 20,000 men, women and children rendered homeless and destitute with property losses placed at $25,000,000. Later estimates stated that 2,000 were killed and 8,000 wounded; many more suffered severely, perhaps permanently, in the terrible blizzard and cold which followed the explosions and fire and found thousands living in improvised tents or windowless, freezing houses. This storm of snow and wind was, in turn, succeeded by almost torrential rains and the combination proved a climax of misery. 'Many men on ships in the harbour were killed or injured—especially on the *Pictou*, a steamer loaded also with munitions. Its Captain, a former British sailor named J. W. Harrison, when the balance of his crew fled, remained on the burning ship. Knowing that if the fire once reached its explosives their proximity to the City would cause an infinitely greater disaster—perhaps wipe the place out entirely—he, single-handed, cut the hawsers of the ship so that it might drift away, fitted up a hose and eventually succeeded in putting out the fires. Many a V.C. has been won for less. Another act of heroism was that of Vincent P. Coleman, telegraph operator at Richmond Station, who lost his life sending a message of warning as to "munition ship on fire making for Pier 8" and saved the lives of many on board trains which were nearing Halifax and were stopped in time.

Every kind of help was given to the sufferers or rushed into the unfortunate city from outside. The devoted nurses in the hospitals, and the doctors, worked day and night, soldiers from the Garrison, and sailors, aided them, and every available building was packed with dead and wounded, while panic-stricken crowds in the streets were, in the earlier stages, kept in order and guided by marines and sailors from the ships; the shops and druggists threw open their supplies to the public. St. John sent immediate relief in carloads of clothing and food and Red Cross supplies with a Committee to help the sufferers personally; corps of doctors and nurses were rushed from Sackville and Moncton, as well as St. John, and Amherst, Windsor, Truro, Sydney, responded with all available help; telegrams offering aid or promising money came from all over Canada and Sir John Eaton went down from Toronto in a private car with help and supplies of all kinds; the Dominion Government appropriated $1,000,000 at once and later made it $5,000,000; Sir Robert Borden contributed $1,000, personally, to the local Relief Fund and, with Hon. F. B. Carvell and A. K. Maclean abandoned the Election campaign to help in the city; the British Government granted £1,000,000 and the U.S. Congress talked of voting $5,000,000 which, however, was not done; Boston sent a fully-equipped 500-bed Red Cross unit with nurses and medical staff and N.Y. Central trains speeded from New York (Dec. 7) with $200,000 worth of supplies, 600 men, tools, lumber, portable houses and motor trucks; Montreal placed $100,000 at command of the city and the Militia authorities at Ottawa sent a car-load of supplies. Messages came from H.M. the King, President Wilson, the Governor-General of Australia and many others. Mr. Justice R. E. Harris issued a statement on Dec. 7 for a local Committee that: "While every building in Halifax and Dartmouth was more or less damaged, the devastated area is found near the scene of the explosion, and embraced chiefly districts occupied by workers and the poorer classes. Between 3 and 4 thousand of such dwellings have been completely destroyed by the explosion or by fire. The number of those affected is estimated at 25,000, the destitute poor in the area will number upwards of 20,000, and their actual loss and the estimated cost of their temporary maintenance will reach between 25 and 30 million dollars." This was followed by an appeal from Mayor P. T. Martin of Halifax and Mayor E. F. Williams of Dartmouth (Dec. 10), addressed to the people of Canada, which stated that the damage to shipping and Port equipment was very serious and the devastation in the city appalling, estimated the dead at 2,000 and asked for $25,000,000 to re-organize and rebuild. Later semi-official figures put the material damage and financial losses at $15,000,000. This did not include Government losses or destruction of docks and cargoes and public buildings, which were estimated at another $15,000,000. Insurance particulars were not published at this time, but one estimate—*Monetary Times*—was $21,000,000.

Relief continued to pour in. The Ontario Government gave $200,000, Toronto voted $100,000 and Hamilton forwarded $2,500 and voted another $5,000; Lord Shaughnessy and the C.P.R. sent a $50,000 carload of supplies and a Manitoba *Free Press* Fund contributed $70,000; the City of Winnipeg voted $25,000, the Govern-

ment of Saskatchewan $25,000, the City of Kingston $7,500, the I.O.D.E. established a home in Halifax for unclaimed children, the British Columbia Government gave $50,000, the Ottawa *Journal-Press* collected $13,000, Calgary raised a Fund of $45,000. Outside of Canada contributions were generously given. A Lord Mayor's Fund in London received £5,000 from H.M. the King, Newfoundland granted $50,000 and the City of St. John's $10,000, the Furness-Withey Steamship Co. gave $25,000 and Lord Northcliffe $5,000, Jamaica voted $5,000, the British Red Cross Fund, Toronto, granted $125,000, the Government of Bermuda $4,320, and the U.S. Cities of Hartford and Syracuse $5,000 and $10,000 respectively. By the end of December the total in hand was $2,735,000. In Halifax, meanwhile, medical organization was in charge of Lieut.-Col. F. McKelvey Bell as Chief of Committee, the Citizen's Relief Committee was headed by R. T. McIlreith, K.C., and a special Committee was chosen on Dec. 21 to report on the rehabilitation of Halifax composed of H. R. Silver, W. R. Powell, G. Fred. Pearson, G. W. Hensley, Hon. R. G. Beazley, F. H. Bell, K.C., and F. B. McCurdy, M.P.

The year closed with an investigation under way into the causes of the tragedy, headed by Mr. Justice Drysdale with Capt. L. A. Demers, Government Wreck Commissioner, and Capt. W. Hose, R.C.N., assisting. W. A. Henry of Halifax was Counsel. As the investigation proceeded public opinion changed somewhat from its first belief in German plots and spies to one of fear that carelessness had been displayed by Port or Harbour authorities. Under the first impression 14 Germans in the City were arrested but afterwards released and a special officer was sent from Ottawa by Sir Percy Sherwood to investigate. It became clear that signals had not been obeyed by the *Imo;* also that the *Mont Blanc* had not displayed the red flag of a munition ship on entering the harbour. The pertinent query was at once made by the Halifax *Chronicle* (Lib.) and *The Herald* (Cons.) as to why this was permitted. The former declared the Dominion Government responsible as having exclusive control of the Harbour and demanded reparation for damage; the latter (Dec. 28) described the catastrophe as "the result of carelessness and lack of foresight," stated that there had been conflict of authority between the Naval authorities and Harbour-master, F. G. Rudolph, and urged re-organization and clear definition of duties in both connections. There the matter rested at the close of the year.

Industrial Research and the War.

This problem in Canada as in other countries, covered many vital problems of War action and after-war policy; it concerned Governments, industries and institutions alike. The production of food, the application of science to industrial work of almost every nature, but especially war-work, the preparation for future competition with the experts of friend and enemy alike in the markets of the world, the question of prices, the use of fish for food, the briquetting of peat, the conservation of heat, substitutes for coal and gasoline, the extraction of metals from refractory ores and creation of explosives, the evolution of anæsthetics, the varied and wider applications of chemistry, the creation of cheap concentrated fertilizers, electric-power problems and the extraction of nitrogen from air, were some of the matters involved. The United States was already doing much along these lines with National institutions spending (1915) $25,000,000 a year and 2,000 persons engaged in scientific investigations, while its National Research Council, as developed by war conditions, was greatly strengthened in scope with many important Committees; Australia had a strong and active Advisory Council of Science and Industry with Committees in each State and, in 1917, a Permanent Institute was in process of organization; in Great Britain there was a Privy Council Committee on Scientific and Industrial Research with, also, an Advisory Council and in 1917 a Government grant of £1,000,000 for its work.

In Canada an Advisory Council for Scientific and Industrial Research had been established by the Government in 1916. This body issued a series of questions to men and institutions concerned in technical or industrial problems and had advised the Dominion Government to (1) establish 20 studentships, each having a value of $600 to $750 per annum, and several scholarships, each having an annual value of $1,500, at the universities or technical colleges of the Dominion and (2) "to render assistance to the Provincial Governments, local industries, or other recognized bodies, should they desire to establish local institutes or bureaux for industrial research at important industrial centres in Canada." In 1917 it studied the question of producing a coal or fuel in the West which could be used in the East and other similar problems. In October representative Mining and Chemical Committees were

appointed to aid the Council. F. D. Adams, F.R.S., and Dr. R. F. Ruttan of McGill University in several addresses, Dr. George Bryce of Winnipeg in a series of able articles, Dr. A. B. Macullum, F.R.S., Chairman of the Research Council, Prof. J. C. McLennan of Toronto University—appointed a member of the British Board of Inventions during the year—Prof. F. H. Sexton of Halifax, were active workers of this period, as were institutions such as the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, the organization which agreed to compile an Inventory of Canadian research facilities; the Canadian Society of Civil Engineers, the Canadian Mining Institute, the Society of Chemical Industry; and a Joint Committee of Technical Organizations in Toronto specially appointed, in the exclusive and secret service of Canada, to help in mobilizing its research and industries. The Canadian Manufacturers' Association organized a special Committee with Thos. Roden as Chairman, a local organization was formed in Regina and help given in British Columbia and New Brunswick.

The Royal Canadian Institute of Toronto was greatly interested in this work under the leadership of Prof. J. C. McLennan and J. Murray Clark, K.C. The latter was elected President in 1917 and in his address of Nov. 3 referred to the War side of this work: "It is gratifying that the work of Dr. McLennan and other Canadian scientists is increasingly contributing to the success of the Allies. The details of much of this work cannot yet be published but we can safely say that the scientific achievements of Canadians have saved the lives of many thousands of our soldiers and sailors." The Bureau of Industrial and Scientific Research established by the Institute was dealt with as having given an impetus to Dominion Government action and general effort. An able review of International law followed with incidental but effective references to the work of German plotters in holding up the production of Canadian mines. In Parliament, on May 9, Hon. R. Lemieux urged the Government by Resolution to give effect to the recommendation of the Royal Commission on Technical Education which had been appointed and had reported some years before with great elaboration. The Government should, he thought, undertake that the spread of technical skill and knowledge be subsidized by the Dominion in co-operation with the Provinces. After some debate an amendment by Sir George Foster was accepted which stated that "reasonable assistance should be given at the earliest practicable opportunity."

CANADA AND THE WAR—QUEBEC

The French Canadians and the War —Causes and Effects.

The people of Quebec in 1917 had travelled a long way from the days when their ancestors fought the British in open war for the possession of a continent, or the new American Republic for the retention of their separate existence under British rule, or the British rulers of Quebec in 1837 for greater political power. Since those days much had been given them or confirmed to them—rights of political action, absolute freedom of self-government, privileges in language and religion and laws, the protection of a great Empire, the co-operation for common purposes of a vigorous Dominion. They, also, had done much in helping to create Confederation, in adjusting the ready-made difficulties of racial and religious strife in a wide and language-separated community, in governing fairly a Protestant and English minority, in taking a large share in the development of the Dominion. When the War came they were expected to have the same feelings as other Canadians, to share the enthusiasms of their English-speaking fellow citizens, to take the same patriotic action in enlistment and in support of Britain and France. It was too much to expect without preliminary education along lines of Empire responsibility and European issues or conditions. This they had never had except in the negative and hostile form—fear of British Imperialism, antagonism to closer British relations or larger spheres of duty, aversion to the anti-Church institutions and policy of France. The people had their own political leaders who told them what they liked as to other Provinces or the Empire and, in many cases, were not over-scrupulous in their facts or cautious in expression of their fancies. The Church, in recent years, had held aloof from politics and the masses, therefore, while carefully guided in Provincial affairs by leaders like Marchand or Gouin, were, in issues such as the South African struggle or the World-War, more or less at the mercy of men such as Henri Bourassa or P. E. Blondin—in the days before the latter changed his views.

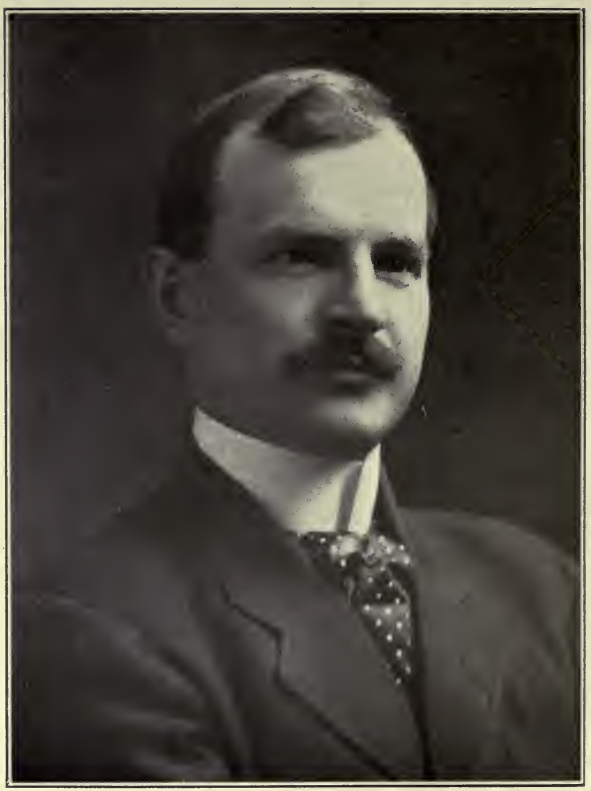
Yet, with all these conditions admitted—which the average Canadian outside of Quebec did not clearly understand—the French-Canadians at the beginning of the War cheered Great Britain and France almost as heartily as did English-Canadians and started out to enlist in considerable numbers while even Mr. Bourassa had to hold his journalistic guns in leash. Then certain factors showed their force and will be dealt with separately—politics as developed in the Bi-lingual question and the leadership of his race by Sir Wilfrid Laurier; the dignified, correct, but somewhat aloof attitude of the Church and a steadily-growing antipathy or suspicion in the people as to France and its religious policy; the persistent, insidious propaganda and cultivation of historic antagonisms by Mr. Bourassa, his journal *Le Devoir* and his Nationalist following. Back of these fundamental conditions in the formation of public opinion were a

multitude of other matters which were local to Quebec and unthought of in the other Provinces except, perhaps, as vague impressions. There was the absence of real military organization in Quebec and the lack of Militia enthusiasm with 12 French-Canadian regiments as against 52 in Ontario; there was a confirmed pacificism of thought which was the natural result of isolated racialism; there, also, was the periodical presence of a Nationalism which, under many forms and names, had existed through the days of Papineau, the storms of the Sixties, the spectacular successes of Mercier, the Laurier fight against an Imperial naval contribution, the Blondin-Monk-Bourassa struggle against either Canadian or Empire naval action, the almost single-handed battle of Mr. Bourassa in favour of Canadian Independence; there was the serious lack of acquaintance between the newspapers, the journalists and writers, the average politician of Quebec or Ontario with similar elements of public opinion in the other Provinces; there was the smaller proportion of eligible single men in Quebec as compared with Ontario—ages 20 to 34 showing 123,831 in Quebec (1911) compared with 201,400 in Ontario.

As a matter of fact, also, French-Canadian ignorance of war issues and causes was no greater than that of the American people on Aug. 4, 1914; the difference was that this condition remained wrapped up in a robe of racial isolation while the United States gradually caught the spirit of English-speaking thought as it shared in the atmosphere of language similarity and racial intercourse. It must be remembered that Canada as a whole in this War went through a continuous educative process and it was greatly to Sir Robert Borden's credit that he understood the necessity of this process. The country had to pass from a condition of extreme Pacificism to one of continuous war-thought and an organized action which should replace the early enthusiams caught and concentrated at Valcartier; it had to move slowly toward the stage of personal, political and general recognition of the fact that its liberties and very existence were bound up with those of the Empire and Great Britain; it had to abandon cherished ideals of individual freedom for Government control of personal services; finally it had to throw the strongest of these ideals to the winds and accept a compulsory military service which had never been dreamed of and was considered quite impossible even after two years of war. All these processes Quebec was expected to go through at the same time and at the same rate of speed as other Provinces. Yet its people were without the brilliant light of a language and press which trained the thought of a continent and voiced the feelings of Great Britain; without the ties of relationship which brought so many English-Canadians close to their Motherland personally and also politically, socially, financially, commercially; without the pressure of knowledge and conviction and political action which came so naturally to the English-speaking masses of Canada; without special instruction, special Government appeal, or special and really necessary patriotic propaganda—above all, without any serious check upon unpatriotic Nationalist teachings. Too little may have been given by Quebec; altogether too much was expected.



The Hon. J. P. Arthur Sevigny, m.p.,
Minister of Inland Revenue.



Lieut.-Colonel The Hon. P. E. Blondin, m.p.,
Postmaster-General.

The Union Government of 1917.

Too much, also, was expected from French-Canadian love for France. It was not really there; it had been largely an eloquent figure of speech, or peroration to some verbal defiance of Ontario *Orangeistes*. The traditions of the French-Canadian were those of Quebec during 300 years of North American struggle and Indian conflict and Canadian development, of a vague affection, perhaps, in cultured circles for a France of the days of Louis XIV. With the modern country of republican infidelity there was little association and that little had come in for severe criticism at the hands of English-Canadian extremists before the *Entente* became a useful fact. It was hard for English-speaking Canadians to understand this lack of regard for France in view of an oft-expressed devotion to the French language, or to appreciate the earnest belief that a language could conserve the faith of a race and preserve its isolated and cherished nationality. As the year 1917 opened the situation was one of almost complete misunderstanding in Quebec as to the real position of the Provinces and the Empire in the War; an equally pronounced misconception in Ontario and elsewhere as to the French-Canadian. Quebec was not a Province of slackers nor was Ontario one of slanderers; the people were so temperamentally different that a Bourassa and *Le Devoir* could lead an overwhelming public sentiment in one while a Hocken and an *Orange Sentinel* would only lead a class or section in the other; the Montreal Labour Council opposing National Service cards was really no worse than that of Winnipeg or Vancouver taking similar action; the tendency of rural regions in Quebec Province to avoid recruiting should have been more easy to condone than the vigorous fight of farmers in Ontario against Conscription when applied to their sons; the activity of some Catholic Curés against Conscription, however it might be regretted, was no more church interference in politics than was the energetic Prohibition propaganda of the Methodists in Ontario; the exodus of young men from Quebec to the States in order to avoid vague tales of possible compulsion stood with reports of a similar movement in 1916-17 along the Ontario and New Brunswick frontiers. On the other hand the policy of Ontario in regulating the teaching of English and French in Separate Schools, attended by Irish as well as French Catholics and admittedly under Government jurisdiction, was no more dictated by hostility to Quebec than by hatred of the Catholic Church.

As to War action here is one side. French-Canadians did nearly as well in the First Contingent as native-born English-Canadians; the bravery of those who constituted the 22nd Battalion was illustrated at Courcelette and in the 125 decorations won by it up to the close of 1917; the very names of enlistment showed that the best type of Quebec family had known its duty—Taschereau, Langelier, Garneau, Lemieux, Casgrain, Papineau, Gouin, Archambault, De Lotbiniére, Pelletier, Fiset, Duchesnay, Le Blanc, Beaudry, Lacoste, Panet, Brodeur, Dansereau, Beique; contributions to Patriotic Funds were fair in view of the small average of wealth amongst French-Canadians and the large average of a rural population living comfortably but with small cash margins. Amongst

the larger gifts of 1917 were $5,000 from Hon. F. L. Beique, $1,000 each from *La Patrie* and *La Presse*, $12,500 from La Banque d'Hochelaga, $6,000 from La Banque Provinciale, $2,000 from Alphonse Racine, Ltd., $2,000 from La Commission Scolaire Catholique, $1,500 from E. Lafleur, K.C., $1,000 from L. G. Beaubien et Cie, $10,000 from Credit Foncier Franco-Canadien, $15,000 from La Seminaire de St. Sulpice, $5,000 from Hudon-Hébert et Cie, Ltd., $1,000 each from Le Club St. Denis and Hon. C. P. Beaubien. The same comment applies to the subscriptions to Victory Bonds in this year which included such sums as $200,000 from L. A. Gosselin, Montreal, $70,000 from the estate of Hon. L. Tourville, $50,000 from Societé des Artisans Canadien Français, $80,000 from the town of La Tuque, $25,000 from Caron et Frères, $10,000 from E. H. Lemay, $25,000 each from A. N. Drolet, J. P. Coté and J. B. Renaud et Cie., Quebec, with $200,000 from Hon. G. E. Amyot, Quebec, and $100,000 from Mme. L. J. Forget, Montreal, $70,000 from Hon. F. L. Beique and $10,000 each from La Cie d'Association Mount Royal and La Seminaire de St. Sulpice. French-Canadians active in the movement to collect these moneys or subscriptions were A. P. Frigon, Napoleon Lavoie, U. H. Dandurand, Maj.-Gen. A. E. Labelle, Paul Lacoste, K.C., J. A. Beaudry, while the Ladies' Committees in the Patriotic Fund and Victory Loan efforts had French-Canadian branches of great usefulness and support. The fact that fully half of Canada's total enlistment were born outside of Canada and chiefly in the United Kingdom showed that elements of indifference were not confined to one Province; Laval Hospital Unit, No. 6, in its work at St. Cloud, proved that the great Montreal University had done more than produce a few disorderly students of whom Canada heard much; the Quebec Government gave generously to War Funds and objects and up to the time when Conscription became a party issue its attitude was absolutely non-partisan in support of the War; no men of any race could take higher British ground than Sir P. E. LeBlanc, Talbot Papineau, Sir J. G. Garneau, Napoleon Garceau, A. H. de Trémaudan (Winnipeg), Prof. Ferdinand Roy, K.C., F. J. Robidoux, M.P. (Kent, N.B.); no man could die more gallantly for his country and Empire than Major Talbot Papineau, M.C., and Major Lambert Dumont-Laviolette, M.C., or fight more skillfully than, for instance, Lieut.-Col. T. L. Tremblay or Major L. J. Daly-Gingras.

The other side of the shield showed that Ontario and other parts of the country had taken offence at some parts of the Quebec situation and if the French-Canadian people were not altogether to blame for their recruiting apathy and succeeding activity against Conscription their leaders were to blame for the same indifference to English-Canadian susceptibilities, traditions and ideals as the latter often showed to the French. Just as *The Sentinel* and the strong views of the Toronto *News*, or *Telegram*, or Winnipeg *Free Press* on certain points of race and religion were frequently quoted in Quebec, so Quebec papers and speakers were translated into English whenever anything sensational or unpleasant was said and these quotations were scattered broad-cast—without the clearing-

house of argument which a common language provides. Hence the responsibility of leaders on either side. In this analysis Ontario can be taken as representing English Canada so far as English language, ideals and religious feelings were concerned. To the French-Canadian it took the place held by Nova Scotia in early days of school sectarianism or by Manitoba in the controversies of 1895-6 or of Alberta and Saskatchewan in those of 1905. Ontario claimed to be liberal in its welcome to and its treatment of French settlers in the North or in Essex and other counties touching the Quebec border; it alleged that the Bi-lingual regulations about which Quebec leaders and press said so much and as to which the Church really feared interference with its influence in the Separate Schools were aimed at efficient instruction in both languages and not destruction of one language—though there was no official desire to encourage the extension of French language-teaching in schools where French attendance was negligible; it was contended that this question was not a religious one at all and that the attitude of Bishop Fallon and the position of Ontario and Canadian Bishops in general, outside of Quebec, went to prove this assertion.

Ontario and the other Provinces found it impossible to understand the feelings of French speakers and the press as to this question —especially in time of war and when enhanced by the French Parliamentary speeches of the Conscription debates. Its people read reports of utterances in *Le Devoir* and violent speeches against Ontario or Great Britain, with wonder and some anger. It was asserted that Catholic power over the Separate Schools of Protestant Ontario had been greatly increased since Confederation—so much so as at one time to menace the popularity of the strong Mowat Government; it was pointed out that in the heart of the so-called Orange Toronto was a little French-Canadian School of the Sacred Heart where the children said their prayers in French and the Catechism lesson was given in French and French was mostly spoken at recreation time, and that from the church near to the school 112 French-Canadians had gone Overseas; it was stated that about 1,300 French or bi-lingual signs were scattered throughout the Post Offices of Ontario under a simple system of toleration; as to Orangemen it was contended by Sir Sam Hughes on one occasion (Stratford, Mar. 14) that the world had never witnessed such a spectacle as 80,000 Orangemen from Canada fighting or dying for the Belgian Catholic people! These were details but they illustrated the matters which stirred Ontario feeling and found expression during the Elections of 1917. So with the University question and the fact that while Toronto and McGill and Manitoba and Saskatchewan and Alberta Universities sent their thousands of recruits with other thousands preparing, they only heard of Laval students as disturbing meetings and opposing recruiting or Conscription. Thinking people knew of the splendid Laval Hospital but the masses knew little and heard much more of the opposition given to Conscription by Prof. Edouard Montpetit than of the patriotic opinions of Prof. Ferdinand Roy. Meanwhile the indifferent recruiting in Quebec found immediate echoes elsewhere with, also, sensational reports of disturbed

or broken-up meetings followed by greatly increased evidences of opposition and sometimes violence during the period just prior to Conscription. As if to accentuate this divergence of thought came the attempt to blow up Lord Atholstan's house near Montreal, the threats made against Sir Robert Borden's life and that of other Ministers and the later Conscription riots in Montreal and Quebec; as if to afford ironic comment upon the situation Marshal Joffre, representing England and France as they struggled for their very lives and homes upon the battle-fields of the Western front, passed on May 14 between lines of thousands of young French-Canadians in Montreal who would not enlist and who opposed Conscription.

Efforts were made to bring the two peoples together and to eliminate politics and cultivate understanding. One of these was the *Bonne Entente* promoted in 1916 by John M. Godfrey in Toronto and Sir J. G. Garneau in Quebec. A large delegation of Ontario men then visited Montreal, Sherbrooke, Quebec and Three Rivers. In return Sir George Garneau, Sir Lomer Gouin, Lieut.-Col. F. W. Hibbard, O. S. Perreault of Montreal, Hon. C. P. Beaubien, Hon. L. P. Pelletier, and a considerable Deputation, visited Toronto and Hamilton in January, 1917. Sir George Garneau in receiving an Hon. LL.D. from Toronto University (Jan. 8) showed his keen perception of the war situation: "We do not lose sight of the fact that if our cities are free from the horrors of war, if the glorious St. Lawrence has not been sullied by enemy ships and our coast towns have not been bombarded, we owe it to the battles fought in France and Flanders, and above all, to the magnificent self-sacrificing work of the British Navy." Sir Lomer Gouin in his speech at a banquet on this date put the war-issue for Quebec and Canada, as it should be, very clearly; "Each is giving of its dearest and costliest for the freedom and the defence of the liberties of the other. Englishmen and Frenchmen are fighting for the sacred things which are common to both. They are mingling their blood on the battle-fields of right and justice and for the aid of the defenceless of the community. This is the time, therefore, to preach and practice unity in Canada." A little later the movement developed a National Unity Convention, which was held in Montreal on May 21-25, attended by a number of earnest Canadians from different Provinces who wanted Ontario and Quebec, in particular, to come together. The delegates visited Berthier and Three Rivers and were entertained at a banquet in Montreal on the 23rd, which was notable for an address by Bishop Gauthier of the frankest kind; an exposition, in fact, of the Quebec side of the questions at issue. H. J. Gagne presided, and a Resolution was unanimously passed declaring that "Canadians of French and British descent should exhibit to one another in the interests of national unity a high example of mutual respect for each other's legitimate ideals and languages (both common to our Parliament), and of mutual trust in each other's desire to co-operate heartily for the welfare of Canada"; and that they should work together for the material development of Canada and the education, in a common patriotism, of newcomers in the country.

All these facts and points of view have to be borne in mind by the man who wishes to understand a position in which the Winnipeg *Free Press* (Liberal) declared on Jan. 12 that the "failure of the Province of Quebec to measure up to its duty of participation in the War is the greatest tragedy in Canadian history"; or little Nova Scotia could claim that its 450,000 people gave 20,000 soldiers to the War while 1,600,000 French-Canadians in Quebec had given about 7,000; or many journals could take a political view expressed by the demand of the Toronto *Mail* of Aug. 2 that there should be no Quebec domination in Canada; or Mr. Bourassa and the Nationalists make press and platform ring with denunciation of Ontario persecution. When Conscription came Ontario could not understand why registered French-Canadians in thousands should seek exemption when only hundreds of English-Canadians did so. It was, of course, logical enough for men who were ignorant of the War issues, who were untrained in any sense of obligation to the Empire, who had already refused to recruit, who opposed compulsory service as an electoral issue. What else could be expected! But this whole matter and all its collateral or minor issues, as lightly sketched here, show that if Quebec had excuses for its attitude so also did Ontario and other parts of Canada for resenting the position taken.

Nationalism in Quebec: The Bourassa-Lavergne Attitude.

The position and influence of Mr. Bourassa in Quebec could be, and was, sometimes over-estimated; it also was frequently under-estimated. Its importance in these war-years did not lie in Parliamentary representation, though a number of Conservative members of the Commons had been elected as Nationalists in 1911; nor in Provincial Legislative representation, because it had none. It lay in the persistent and clever advocacy of a cause —the non-participation of Canada in Imperial wars or Empire government or Imperial responsibility; in steady and consistent presentment of French-Canadians as the only true Canadians and as the continuous victims of either British rapacity, or Ontario persecution, or Manitoba injustice, or Orange wickedness; in bitter and unscrupulous denunciation of Great Britain and the British people and soldiers in the War with the reiteration of every possible misconception as to Allied policy and action.

The mouthpiece of Mr. Bourassa in this connection—*Le Devoir* —was not a great or even brilliant journal, but it was a clever one, it was influential in voicing opinions which some local politicians held but dared not, or could not, put so clearly, it reached an audience not so much large as it was select and influential—political leaders or would-be politicians, rising young lawyers and speakers, priests in the cities and curés in the parishes, students of Laval and professors in the colleges. Nationalism in its later form had aimed at the destruction of Sir Wilfrid Laurier and his Navy plans of 1910; it equally worked for the overthrow of Sir Robert Borden and his Imperial contribution policy of 1912 and War plans of 1916-17. After the War commenced and Mr. Bourassa had time to get home

from Europe under British protection, he was for a few months very moderate and reserved—in his own utterances and those of *Le Devoir*. Upon this situation the Government apparently based a policy of conciliation which did not change when the Nationalist attitude reverted to that of pre-war days and proceeded to weaken the sympathies, prejudice the opinions and influence the action of the people along anti-British and anti-Empire lines. The position taken as to the War was that of Sinn Fein in later days; toward France it was akin to that of the Spanish and Portuguese peoples of South America toward Spain or Portugal. As a party Nationalism had been broken up by the successive inclusions of Monk, Pelletier, Nantel, Coderre, Blondin, Patenaude and Sévigny in the Cabinet at Ottawa, but as an element in moulding public opinion it was neither weak nor contemptible.

Mr. Bourassa, with his temperamental restlessness, his fertility of mind and variety of knowledge—perhaps more superficial than deep—his fundamental dislike and suspicion of Great Britain, his respect for the Church and antagonism to republican ideas, was a man of obvious influence. Politically, so long as he was opposed to Laurier and a very possible element in splitting the Liberalism of Quebec, it may have been "good politics" for the Conservatives to tolerate him and his followers as a sort of party attachment; whether this condition continued throughout the War-years with a view to holding Quebec upon an even keel and without any violent disruption of feeling, was a matter of much and continuous controversy. If there was any toleration it obviously came to an end with the appearance of Armand Lavergne—Mr. Bourassa's chief lieutenant—upon the Cannon platform in the Dorchester bye-election, and his denunciation of England for its treatment of Ireland, Russia for having tortured Poland, Italy for having spoliated the Holy See, and the Allies for violating Greek neutrality! As the year 1917 grew in length the Bourassa utterances in *Le Devoir* became very bold—with a fundamental explanation, probably, in his statement to the Manchester *Guardian* of Mar. 20th: "As to us, Nationalists, our choice has been made many years ago. The choice being put to us, we vote for Independence. It is, to our mind, the simplest solution of the national problem, the most consonant with British and Canadian traditions, the necessary goal of self-government." The Toronto *Telegram* of May 4 had the following quotation from a recent statement: "France is wiping herself out to make England greater, stronger, more rich. And to complete the spectacle they try to persuade the France of America, the only survivor of the great colonies of old France—all the others have been stricken down or conquered by Anglo-Saxondom—they try to make the France of America believe that 'filial duty' requires her also to open her veins."

Conscription was vehemently opposed by *Le Devoir*, beginning with May 29, when Henri Bourassa signed a long editorial from which a brief extract follows: "For the last 18 years I have led the fight against British Imperialism. We have never ceased to say that a tax-of-blood is the logical and inevitable consequence of the

principles and acts imposed by the two parties who have in turn ruled this country. The germ of Conscription was contained in the volunteer expedition to South Africa." In a Montreal speech on May 30, Mr. Bourassa urged the union of French-Canadians in Manitoba, Ontario, Acadia (New Brunswick), and New England: "Let us guard our blood and labour at a price, if necessary." A series of personal editorials followed and in the 4th one (May 31) he said: "Canada has furnished all the man-power she can for this war without grave danger to her own existence and that of her Allies. . . . What England needs is not soldiers, but bread, meat and potatoes." On June 1 he declared that there was in Canada "a line of deep cleavage" between the races; that Imperial ideas had caused this through abandonment of an alleged original plan for Canada to stand alone without Empire responsibilities. On June 5 he commented upon Conscription in Canada as following action in the United States and as intended, chiefly, to catch escaping slackers for the benefit of that country: "So it is not to save democracy and a superior civilization that Canada is threatened by the most hateful and bloodiest of tolls, it is not to help France and England, it is not even to support its own army, it is simply to do police work for the United States Government"! Disguised threats followed, on the 6th, with sundry references which were malignant in the extreme:

> It remains, therefore, for the Government to be prudent and not push matters so far as to provoke the most violent reaction. . . . If the leaders of the nation do not know how to read the signs of the times, incidents will take place, bringing to national unity the most profound and painful wounds, while the Allied cause will suffer more than any good that could be accomplished by the raising of 100,000 soldiers. Whatever discretion is used in the application of a forced military service, it will only tend to irritate the French-Canadians and those Canadians who are Canadians before all. What will be done with the thousands of young Englishmen who have come to Canada to escape Conscription, and when the young French-Canadians, with the sack on their backs, are forced to go and 'save' the Empire and British Democracy, while hundreds and thousands of British are permitted to remain here and earn the salaries of our own people and eat their bread, is it to be supposed that British loyalty will be very sensibly increased?

In a Montreal speech on June 7th, Mr. Bourassa was emphatic: "We will resist Conscription and we will not have Conscription, not because we are cowards, but because we have received from God and the King the mission of making of this country a prosperous land and not one of exile and misery." Following this he had a new series of articles on the Military Service Act—asking, on June 11, if Canada's 100,000 men were to replace the 5,000,000 of Russia, or hold the lines till the United States was ready, or take the place of 150,000 British residents "hiding" in the United States! Addressing a Montreal meeting on June 20, he told his audience that "because you do not want to fight it is not because you are cowards, but because you have a national duty, a duty as fathers of families, and as citizens, to save the country from ruin and bankruptcy and suicide." At another gathering (June 21) Mr. Bourassa touched another point: "French-Canadian representatives in Parliament lie when they tell the English-Canadians that the French

population are in sympathy with the War and are willing to die for France and England. This is not true." Before a great gathering on June 27 he declared that : "If within the next five or ten years we become American citizens—quite a possibility—we will owe it to the mock patriots who are trying to impose Conscription on us to-day." He also announced his support of Sir Wilfrid Laurier and declared that Canadians were in this War as "the servile slaves of England" In *Le Devoir* on July 3 he declared that "to celebrate the 50th anniver ary of Confederation the leaders of the nation find nothing better to do than to glorify its suicide and to exalt ts devotion to a foreign cause. . . . It is the part of maniacs and murderers to glorify a horrible butchery in which people slaughter each other without knowing why." Meanwhile, both *Le Devoir* and its owner occasionally referred to the folly of violence—only agitation and work and anti-war effort were advisable. When violence did occur it was gravely deplored! Of President Wilson's reply to the Pope's peace proposals Mr. Bourassa wrote on Aug. 30 that "truth and untruths, openness and duplicity, logic and sophistry, disport themselves together, with easy grace." On Oct. 31st he explained why peace did not come. It was because England was saving her man-power and money to dominate the world after the War had exhausted her allies and enemies! A eulogy of the Kaiser followed for having "brought German industry up to such a point of efficiency that it threatened English supremacy and American ambitions."

Meanwhile, Lieut.-Col. Armand Lavergne—he was C.O. of the 61st Regiment de Montmagny—had been maintaining his conspicuous but not very influential position in public affairs. As Henri Bourassa's chief assistant, however, and as a speaker of some eloquence, his place in the Nationalist propaganda was obvious. He was a Militia officer with no use for war in any form—except of speech; he declared in 1915 and 1916* that if Conscription ever came then he would be amongst the first to fight—but when that policy was announced his opposition was fierce and active; during those years he stated that Home defence was his ideal and under that policy he would at once enlist—but when the Government organized the Canadian Defence Force he was nowhere visible. He was always and everywhere anti-British and anti-War. In the Montreal *Star* on Apr. 9 appeared the curious statement that Col. Lavergne would support the Blondin-Lessard effort at voluntary recruiting and though it seemed incredible there were indications of its truth. He admitted an invitation from Gen. Lessard to take charge of Home recruiting, but not for Overseas; later (June 25) it was stated by the Minister of Militia in Parliament that no official invitation had been given and the matter dropped. Then followed a series of fiery speeches against Conscription. In a Montreal *Star* † interview (May 21) he said: "Canada is already practically bankrupt through this war, and now she is taking another

* For the attitude of these and other Nationalists in the past, see *The Canadian Annual Review* from year to year.

† The reports of these speeches appeared in the English press of Quebec and all over the Dominion and were never denied.

step toward ruin and Annexation." To a great crowd in Quebec, which immediately afterwards went and smashed the windows of *The Chronicle* and *L'Evenement*, he said on May 25 that he would not accept Conscription whether passed by Parliament or not: "I will go to jail or be hanged or shot before I will accept it. The Conscription of 1917 had its origin in 1898, when Canada sent men to assist in crushing a small nation in the Transvaal, which only wanted the right to live." . . . It is not for Canada to defend England, but for England to defend Canada."

At Loretteville (May 27) Col. Lavergne added: "If the Government passes this damned law, if you have a heart, if you are still descendants of those who ascended the scaffold crying 'Vive la liberté,' 'Vive l'Independence,' you should take a pledge to disobey it." He declared that "it was England who wished the War of today to crush Germany. She may have had good reasons for this from her point of view, but we have nothing against the Germans. . . . I love my own enough to tell them that they should not give one drop of blood to defend England. If we have to spill it, let us begin as our fathers did, by doing so for the defence of liberty at home." To 15,000 people in Quebec on July 15, he said: "If the Conscription law is enforced Canadians have only one choice—to die in Europe or die in Canada. As far as I am concerned, if my body is to fall in any land, I want it to be on Canadian soil." Among the means suggested to prevent the enforcement of the law was that the labour men should withdraw their money from the Banks and support only the "unpurchased" newspapers. As before, the crowd adjourned and smashed the windows of journals supporting the Government. A personal echo of the preceding year and of the Quebec Garrison Club's effort to expel Lavergne from its membership was the decision of Mr. Justice Roy (Jan. 13) nullifying the expulsion and giving Lavergne damages in his suit. The decision was appealed, but, meanwhile, on Nov. 1, the much desired resignation was offered.

Another follower of Henri Bourassa was Tancrède Marsil, who had been a Conservative-Nationalist candidate for Bagot in 1911. He issued for a short time a not very important paper called *Le Reveil*, in Montreal, but it made up for circulation by strength of language. In it he campaigned against National Service, against War-action and policy, and urged the establishment of a Canadian republic. It was discontinued on Mar. 20 after a sharp warning from Ottawa and Mr. Marsil then issued *La Liberté*, an equally violent publication. To this journal Sir Robert Borden was the man "who leads us to the slaughter," and "better revolution a hundred times than slavery." "Why," it asked on June 28, "conscript Canada and force it to destroy itself since it has nothing to do with the affair?" The refusal to exempt divinity students was thus heralded: "Seminarians in barracks; the coup of Borden, the Orangeman. Sévigny, like another Judas, supports his task-master. The press is to be muzzled like a mad-dog." On July 24 this paper also was suspended after urging a general strike, withdrawal of money from the Banks, revolution, if necessary. *Le Bulletin*, a Montreal

weekly, and *Le Progrés du Saguenay* of Chicoutimi, also urged the Nationalist propaganda.

Quebec Politics and the War: In Dorchester and in Parliament.

Politics constituted a vital element of the war problem in Quebec—more so than was generally supposed elsewhere. The *habitant*, or small farmer, or the average artisan, did not suspect that because he possessed the excitable French nature and was susceptible to racial interests and appeals, naturally jealous of his traditions and cherished privileges, obviously suspicious of pressure, or supposed pressure, from the overwhelming mass of English-Canadians, British Empire peoples or Anglo-Saxon populations—therefore, he was an object of special consideration to politicians. He did not inherit his politics as did so many people in Ontario and elsewhere; but he did inherit the strong desire for a French Quebec and a most natural liking for the extension of French-Canadian ideals and language through the medium of speech, of school, and of migration. Of these aspirations his Church had come to be a part and, in late years, Sir Wilfrid Laurier had become a central figure in his political affections. It was no longer party politics in this latter connection, as in the days of Laurier and Chapleau or Dorion and Cartier; it was devotion to a Chief who embodied the essence of Quebec thought. At heart Quebec was and is moderate, though it could be swept by a storm of resentment or prejudice a little more easily than the other Provinces because of its racial isolation; to defeat the leader who retained support because of moderation it was inevitable that extremes such as Nationalism should, from time to time, come upon the scene and be used by the politicians. Hence the use of Mercier and his followers by Laurier in his younger days against Sir John Macdonald; hence the use by Conservatives of Bourassa and his Nationalists against Sir Wilfrid Laurier in the latter's day of power; hence, once more, the evolution of Nationalism as a factor against War-action, Conscription, the Borden Government of 1911 and the Union Government of 1917. For these extremes of thought in Quebec there were always excuses to be found in English Canada from the days of Riel's execution to those of Ontario opposition to Jesuit's Estates legislation in Quebec, the Naval policy of Laurier or Borden, the Bi-lingual policy of Ontario, the Orange propaganda and the War action of later years.

The Orange Order was an external part of Quebec's politics and afforded a basis for not unnatural bitterness though, as a matter of fact, it was not a powerful element in Ontario politics except when, as in 1896, some racial or religious issue divided the Conservative party and its Orange adherents went over to the Liberals. Early in 1917 its Provincial Grand Lodges took a strong position regarding Quebec—and the results lost nothing when transmitted to the French-Canadian public. The B.C. Grand Lodge at Vancouver on Feb. 24 declared in favour of national service and Conscription, if necessary, and then passed upon a point vital to the religious interests of Quebec: "We again place ourselves on record as being opposed to the exemption from taxation of the whole or any part of the property owned by religious denominations." To the Bi-lingual

agitators in Quebec and elsewhere H. C. Hocken, Grand Master, Ontario West, gave vehement warning on Mar. 14: "It seems necessary to warn them that the continuance of their unlawful and outrageous propaganda will produce a counter-agitation for the abolition of all Separate Schools." He denounced the alleged disloyalty of French-Canadians to the Empire at this critical period and, in speaking of a Quebec journal's sensational proposal for a Canadian Republic, declared that "if occasion should arise 250,000 Orangemen, too old for Overseas service, could be enlisted in a month to put down any attempt that might be launched in the Province of Quebec to set up a Republic." Mr. Hocken had the courage of his convictions and in a letter to the Toronto *Star* on Mar. 19 declared that the Roman Catholic Church had really started the War through a Concordat under which the Church received recognition in Serbia and as a result of which, he claimed, the Austrian Archduke had been murdered at Serajevo! Back of the Orange Order in Ontario was the Canadian Protestant Publicity League with T. W. Self as Chairman and the issue in 1917 of 50,000 pamphlets of a propagandist character. To the Grand Lodge of Ontario East E. H. McLean, the Grand Master, (Belleville, Mar. 21) made a statement upon which the Nationalists of Quebec could easily have based a campaign: "Now that the law with regard to Bi-lingual schools has been settled, we are looking forward to the gradual banishment of the French language as a language of instruction and communication in our primary schools." Such extremist views in one Province made an admirable excuse for extremist opinions in Quebec itself.

Meantime, Quebec in its Dorchester bye-election had been having a trial of forces in respect to the War and its policies or possibilities. The vacancy had occurred through the appointment of the Hon. Albert Sévigny, the sitting member, as Minister of Inland Revenue and the election was set for Jan. 27. The campaign began with the year and Government supporters believed, at this time, that if the Liberals won they would force a General Election in the hope of sweeping Quebec as a part of the contest. On Jan. 16 the Liberals met at Ste. Henedine in Convention, declared that Mr. Sévigny had been disloyal and unpatriotic in the 1911 campaign, criticized his appointment to office and offered the nomination to Lucien Cannon, M.L.A. for the county. At St. Prosper on Jan. 18, Mr. Sévigny met his opponent in joint debate and this meeting, as well as many subsequent ones, threshed out again the Naval issues of 1910-11-12 with, also, war conditions and the possibility of Conscription. Mr. Sévigny was quite frank as to the past: "I was against a Canadian Navy in 1911. I admit saying that I was against all participation in the wars of the Empire and when I made that declaration I was sincere. But when the Prime Minister returned from England in 1912, declared that a great danger menaced our country, and asked for a contribution of $35,000,000, I felt that it was right." He appealed earnestly for support in the Government war policy, for the National Service proposals and for the putting aside of politics. Mr. Cannon roundly

accused the Minister of betraying his Nationalist colleagues of 1910-11 and breaking his promise to this constituency; charged him with betrayal of his race and a Government dishonesty which involved extra postage and stamps upon medicine bottles to pay for squandered millions; declared that "National Service is preliminary to Conscription, and, with the chief of my party, I am against Conscription." As to the rest he, also, was frank:*

> Do not forget one thing. There are men in the Borden Cabinet who want to cut the head off the French-Canadian race; if Mr. Sévigny is elected the Government will believe that the Province of Quebec is in favour of Conscription. I am not against participation in the War. I consider England is fighting a fair and just war, and her ally, France, has roused herself and is fighting for what is best in life. There are, however, considerations, national and Canadian. Are we to ruin our country from the point of view of men and wealth and everything else for England? I say no without hesitation. If you elect Sévigny there will be no limit to the sacrifices that Canada will have to make.

The Conservatives followed this meeting with the issue of an Election pamphlet explaining Mr. Sévigny's vote for the British Navy contribution and how greatly conditions had changed since his expressed opinions of 1911: "To-day our country, Canada, is threatened just as much as France and England, and everyone must do his utmost to prevent the Germans from attaining their cursed ambition." It defended the Shell Committee and the Government as to graft charges and declared that the National Service cards were not Conscription but "a prudent measure of stock-taking." At St. Zacharie (Jan. 19) Mr. Cannon repeated his statement that Sir W. Laurier was behind him in this contest and added the name of Sir Lomer Gouin; he reiterated here and elsewhere quotations from alleged anti-British speeches of Mr. Sévigny; he dealt with Dr. Sproule as "the master of the Orange Lodges and an enemy of the French-Canadian race," and accused Mr. Sévigny of serving under him; he told his opponent that he "would rather be a half-breed than a pure French-Canadian who had betrayed his people." Referring at Ste. Rose on Jan. 21 to the Government Mr. Cannon declared that: "All that keeps back these men who are ready to deliver us hand and foot to England is the fear in the country of Conscription. It is not only in Quebec that there is this fear, but in all parts of Canada." The Minister met the argument as to Ontario persecution of French-Canadians as follows: "Unfortunately, it is true that we do not always get justice in Ontario, but there is no persecution like that of the Liberal Government of Manitoba, the Government which Mr. Cannon loves, and which broke the settlement of 1897 in regard to the French-Canadians." On the 21st Mr. Cannon denied the reports of his speeches as to one of which Mr. Sévigny, after hearing it, offered (St. Prosper) "to give $1,000 to charity if the speech were printed in the Liberal papers of Quebec and Montreal." In his denial, issued to the outside press, Mr. Cannon said he was proud of being a British subject and believed Canada should give all possible help in the War, but he objected to being robbed by the Government, or the country "drained of her manhood and resources"—as he quoted from Lord Shaughnessy.

* Toronto *Globe* report, Jan. 20th, 1917.

Meanwhile, at Ste. Henedine (Jan. 21) and other places, the Liberal candidate read a letter from Sir W. Laurier as follows: "You have done a good act in renouncing your Provincial mandate to revindicate and reaffirm in Dorchester the rights of outraged conscience. I trust the electors will respond to your noble appeal. I wish you all success. Your devoted friend, Wilfrid Laurier." It was here that Hon. P. E. Blondin, Postmaster General, spoke for his colleague in vigorous terms and declared that "if it is a revolution that Mr. Cannon wants to start, if he wants to raise the Province of Quebec in arms against the other Provinces, I have come here to tell him that the army he would be able to raise would be only an army of renegades and wretches." At the same time *Le Nationaliste*, the weekly edition of *Le Devoir*, came out in strong support of Mr. Cannon. At Ste. Marguerite on the 22nd Mr. Cannon said that voting would be on the record of the Government and Mr. Sévigny and as to whether the people were in favour of National Service in Canada, when, in England, Conscription came six months after National Service. He also charged Mr. Sévigny with taking a military course at Kingston and asked him at this and other joint meetings, why he did not enlist? Meantime, on the 20th, Sir R. L. Borden had telegraphed Mr. Sévigny congratulations on his speeches, regret at Mr. Cannon's views, and belief that "the electors of Dorchester will sound a note of truer Canadianism and will administer fitting rebuke to one who seeks political support by calling for relaxation of our war effort."

The bye-election was discussed in the Commons on Jan. 23, and in the press generally, but nothing was added to the facts of the above record. The meetings were numerous and grew stormier as the day of decision approached. Mr. Cannon pressed his appeal as one personal to their leader, Laurier, denounced Sévigny and his one-time Nationalist colleagues in the Government as having wronged and betrayed their race, and alleged that Mr. Blondin at Ste. Rose on Jan. 24, had declared that "even if Conscription were put in force it would mean little to the people because they had only to get across the frontier." Mr. Blondin wired denial to the Premier on the 26th as follows: "This news comes to me just a few minutes after my declaration in a speech delivered at St. Prosper, that it would be an act of cowardice on the part of the Government to promise that there would never be Conscription in this country and more especially so in this war time." Mr. Sévigny pointed to the great material services he had rendered his constituency by Government patronage and frequently defied his opponent to get a Laurier endorsation of his Jan. 18th speech; Liberal speakers asked the Minister what he had ever done for Army and Navy recruiting, or for the Patriotic Fund and Red Cross, and claimed that liquor was being freely circulated; Government supporters alleged that in the house-to-house campaign all kinds of seditious things were said, with Bilingualism a distinct issue; party workers, organizers and speakers flooded the constituency, with Messrs. Patenaude, Blondin and Sévigny representing the Government, but a marked absence of Liberal leaders for Mr. Cannon. The result was announced on

on the 28th as 297 majority for the Minister compared with 332 in 1911 and a Liberal one of 163 in 1908. In a formal statement, Mr. Sévigny declared that he put the War before the electors as the only issue and the duty of all to make any sacrifice for victory. He especially deprecated the use of the Bi-lingual question against him. Mr. Cannon in a similar statement denying that he had ever mentioned the Bi-lingual question in a speech, declared that: "I adhered strictly to the Liberal policy of my Leader as regards war questions . . . and my speeches were directed solely against the Nationalist principles of my opponent and the bad Administration at Ottawa." A final echo of this contest was the defeat of Mr Sévigny in the General Elections by Mr. Cannon; his refusal to sign a pledge to repeal the Conscription measure and release the conscripts; its signature by the Liberal candidate and the latter's support by Armand Lavergne.

Following this incident, which was only significant as it showed the play of politics in a Quebec constituency, came the Conscription debate at Ottawa in June and July—preceded by the retirement of Hon. E. L. Patenaude from the Government, of J. H. Rainville from the Deputy-Speakership of the Commons, of Eugene Paquet (Cons.) from the post of Government Whip for Quebec. The quotations which follow from French-Canadian speeches in the House are of importance for several reasons. They were, and remained, largely unknown to English-speaking Canada because in the unrevised *Hansard* issued to the press from day to day they were usually in French with the translations only appearing in the revised Edition of some months later; they were a text for much French-Canadian speech and opinion in the succeeding general elections; they were elements in the violent feeling shown in following months against recruiting and especially Conscription; they indicated certain obstacles to closer national unity which have always developed in French-English conflicts of opinion. Politics were obliterated upon the surface and Quebec Liberals, Nationalists and Conservative-Nationalists combined in denouncing the Government, Conscription, alleged British cowardice at the Front, excessive war-obligations, war-Imperialism, etc. L. J. Gauthier (Lib.) gave a keynote to much that followed* on June 21: "If you press this measure through, my people, declaring that this Government has no mandate, will use the very Bill itself to fight the matter out. We acknowledge that in this fight there will be pain and suffering. We may have to go to the direst consequences. My people are willing to go to the limit if you impose upon them such a piece of legislation; I believe they are right, and I will do as they intend to do." Other comments were as follows:

Joseph Demers, K.C. (Lib.) June 21.

The sending over of 200,000 men would have been more in conformity with our needs, with the needs of the Allies, with our resources and our interest. 200,000 men at the Front would have been considered as evidence of a boundless generosity and devotion. . . . The only way in which we can at present really assist in bringing about the final victory of the Allies is by developing agriculture, it is by doing

* All these quotations are from the revised *Hansard*.

intensive culture, it is by setting ourselves to the building of ships, it is by turning out more munitions.

Hon. Jacques Bureau (Lib.) June 26.

If I were to endeavour to make a distinction between the races which compose Canada I would speak of us as the senior Canadians, as we are, and who, I claim, are the only true, genuine Canadians, and of the junior Canadians, who are in the majority at the present time. . . . We are being slandered and slurred. Is that an encouragement or an inspiration to us? . . . We do not want to fight for liberty in Europe and create a condition of slavery in Canada. . . . If I were a young man, eligible to enlist, I would consider that the condition I have exposed would justify me in not enlisting.

Hermenegilde Boulay (Cons.) June 27.

We are opposing Conscription for different reasons, which deserve consideration:

(1) Because our traditions, our constitution, our status as a colony are opposed to it.

(2) Because we have already sent Overseas to help the Allies a sufficient number of men considering our population and our financial needs.

(3) Because the mandate which we received from the people in 1911 does not enable us to enact such a measure, especially without beforehand consulting the people.

(4) Because we are not as fairly dealt with as we should be by the English-speaking majority in this country, and because a feeling has been created by the Liberal party in 1896, and by ourselves in 1911, in opposition to the levying of troops of any kind.

Paul A. Seguin (Lib.) June 27.

I am against Conscription. I demand Elections. The spirit of Imperialistic autocracy that introduced this measure is the same that dictated the coercion laws of England against Ireland, and of Russia against Poland. . . . The fault for all lack of recruiting in Ontario, in Quebec, and elsewhere in Canada, has been sufficiently and amply laid at the door of the Government.

Alphonse Verville (Lib.-Lab.) June 28.

Organized labour has notified the Government and the country in that respect. When they say that they will use all the means at their disposal to oppose compulsion I want this Parliament and the country to know that means a general strike. And what would a strike mean under present conditions? It would mean a calamity. Would anyone assume responsibility for that? If responsibility there be it rests upon those who prevent the masses from pronouncing.

George H. Boivin (Lib.) June 29.

They (French-Canadians) are opposed to Conscription because they consider that Canada's contribution of 420,000 men should be proportionately equalled by the other Allied nations and sister dominions before Canada is asked to do more. . . . They are opposed to Conscription because they consider this war to be a war of attrition and their own country in no immediate danger of attack.

J. A. C. Ethier (Lib.) June 29.

Neither am I of those who claim that we owe nothing to England or that we have done too much, but I do believe that we have done enough and that Conscription destroys our autonomy, removes our liberty and leads us to ruin.

Honoré Achim (Cons.) June 29.

Should ever a disruption occur in this country, Mr. Speaker, I say that it will not take place between the Province of Quebec and the remainder of Canada, but between the Province of Ontario and the rest of the Dominion. Yes! Ontario, where the capitalists are attempting to crush the freedom of labour; Ontario, whose manufacturers are attempting to restrain the freedom of trade; Ontario, whose jingoes are trying to strangle freedom of conscience.

Roch Lanctot (Lib.) July 4.

I maintain that we have no trenches to defend in Europe and that the countries who have and who must defend their trenches are France, England and Italy, but not Canada. That is why I oppose, as forcibly as I can, the sending of men to the other side. . . . Mr. Speaker, it is not only in Germany that Boches are to be found; there are some in Ontario and in Manitoba; they are to be found in both political parties. It is here that we, the French-Canadians, must stand up and tell them: which foe have we got to face? . . . In this war England has at stake the supremacy of the sea, and the supremacy of trade, whilst for us, for Canada, it would be no more, no less, only a change of master, because England is not used to be under a master's lash, while, as far as we are concerned, we already have had two in the past and it would not be so hard on us to have a third one.

L. J. Papineau, K.C. (Lib.) July 4.

Are our soldiers sent more often than in their turn to the most exposed points? One might believe it. If such were the case we must expect not only a levy of 50,000 or 100,000 men, but that many others will have to follow, and sooner than is generally expected.

D. A. Lafortune, K.C. (Lib.) July 5.

But do they say it is Canada's war that is now being waged in Europe? I say, no; it is not Canada's war. Canada has not made any declaration of war to anybody whatever; Canada has not been attacked and it is Canada's war only in the Government's mind and in that of their friends. . . . They may say that we should give our last cent to save the Empire; as for me, I shall say I have no more to give.

J. E. Marcile (Lib.) July 5.

If it (the British Army) is as formidable as it is represented, it is high time that the fact be demonstrated. It is up to it to show its mettle and relieve the Colonial forces which since the inception of the War have constantly been under fire and very often have been left alone to fight and win the battle. Are we to think that our soldiers and those of the other Colonies are the only ones brave enough to face the danger of a battle in close formation? For, since war began, whether in Flanders, France or elsewhere, all the victories reported have been won by the Colonial troops.

Médéric Martin (Lib.) June 28.

It is the end of Confederation that is coming, nothing else, if we continue to insult one another. . . . I say that if such abuse is continued, if this law is passed, you will have, unfortunately, civil war in this country. . . . We, of the Province of Quebec, we believe we can better serve the interests of the Empire and of the Allies by supplying them with ammunition and foodstuffs.

There were some exceptions to speeches of this kind. Mr. Sévigny supported the Bill and Mr. Blondin was absent raising his battalion for the Front; Dr. J. L. Chabot, of Ottawa (Cons.), endorsed the Bill in the strongest possible way and declared (June 28) that, unfortunately, French-Canadians had "allowed themselves to be misguided and ill-advised by a certain few in Quebec whose teachings, actions and writings since the beginning of the War have proved them to be false to their Canadian citizenship and to their standing as British subjects"; Dr. Eugene Paquet (Cons.), while supporting a Referendum, denounced the Liberal party as having, prior to 1909, advocated in Quebec the doctrines of Nationalism and non-participation in the wars of the Empire; Major Gustave Boyer (Lib.) gave his reasons for opposition on July 3 as (1) lack of confidence in the Borden Government, (2) because Parliament had no mandate from the Electors, (3) because compulsory service was an economic error, and (4) because a large number of quoted authorities

declared more men essential for home production; A. A. Mondou (Cons.), though opposing Conscription declared (July 4) that the destinies of the British Empire were at stake and that England was fighting for "the most rightful and noblest of causes" and, incidentally, stated that in future he would support Sir W. Laurier.

Mixed in with these declarations of practically an entire Provincial racial representation were inevitably hostile expressions from English-speaking members, but they were so few as to be quite negligible in real importance. Lieut.-Col. James Arthurs claimed (June 26) that Quebec had only furnished one complete Battalion at the Front and that large numbers had deserted of those originally enlisting; J. A. M. Armstrong declared flatly (June 21) that Conscription was necessary because Quebec had not done its duty; J. W. Edwards laid the blame for everything upon Sir W. Laurier and charged him with preaching Independence, separation and British connection as a yoke of bondage. Such were the main points of view expressed and it may be added that French members supposed to be favourable to the Bill were bombarded with letters—many of them threatening; that F. J. Robidoux of N.B. Acadian birth and representation supported Conscription as did Hon. Pascal Poirier of Shediac, N.B., and Hon. T. J. Bourque of that Province in the Senate; that Senator C. P. Beaubien spoke eloquently for Conscription but did not vote for it, while Senator D. O. L'Esperance did both. The Hon. Philippe Landry did not speak at length in the Senate, but on June 28 told a meeting at Verner, Ont., that: "The fact is they want your sons, the flower of your youth, to fight in foreign lands. I am a supporter of the Militia Act; its intention is to provide for the defence of the country, but in the country and not across the seas."

Meanwhile, what of the press of Quebec? As a whole it was more concerned in Quebec matters, in the issue with Ontario over Bi-lingualism, in the "menace" of Conscription or Imperialism, in the political supremacy of Sir W. Laurier, than in the War, its conduct, its Canadian support or its final issue. *Le Canada* of Montreal and *Le Soliel* of Quebec led the Liberal political life of the Province; *La Presse* of Montreal, also Liberal in politics and much more influential in circulation and opinion, led in the fight against Ontario's educational policy and the claim that Quebec had done its duty in recruiting—it was devoted to French-Canadian and Catholic interests; *La Patrie* of Montreal was usually Conservative in tone and a supporter of recruiting and Conscription but ultimately in favour of a Referendum; *L'Evenement* of Quebec was the only French journal in the Province which steadily supported the Borden Government, recruiting, Conscription and union; *L'Action Catholique* of Quebec, and *La Croix* of Montreal, were much-quoted Church journals—the latter small in circulation and influence; *Le Devoir* was the Nationalist organ with a considerable and persistent power. The position of *La Presse* was stated by Oswald Mayrand in a speech before the Canadian Press Association, Toronto, (June 14) which the Toronto *Star* thus summarized:

He believes that had Conscription been put in force at the outset of war Quebec would, along with the other Provinces, have accepted it; even now it will be found that the people of Quebec will accept such laws as are adopted; too much importance is attached by the English press of Canada to the sayings of Bourassa and his associates; the people of Quebec are an isolated people, cut off from Europe, separated by language from close intimacy with the rest of Canada, disliking war, and offended by the harsh judgments of those who condemn them without comprehension of their general attitude.

On May 16th *La Presse* declared that: "Had the Government applied full Conscription at the outbreak of the War it would be working finely to-day. If it is found necessary at the last moment it will be religiously accepted by the Province of Quebec." It was bitterly opposed to "the Imperialistic dream" and, according to an editorial quoted in the Toronto *News* on Feb. 26, believed an Imperial policy would be the death of Canadian national feeling, in its association with "the political and social institutions of Europe which are the feudal product of ten centuries," and a repudiation of the destiny which bound Canada to the continent of America. When the issue of Conscription was raised it was not unfavourable, subject to a Referendum or general election; it continued (Aug. 23) to urge Ontario to give up its race prejudices and malicious campaigns, its Orange platforms erected on the ruins of national brotherhood; it denounced the *Orange Sentinel* with its "fire of discord" and urged the cessation of educational persecution in Ontario.

Le Canada, as the accepted Liberal organ at Montreal of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, was an important journal in its influence upon public opinion. It was opposed to any closer constructive unity of the Empire and on Feb. 14 reviewed the Round Table deliverance of Sir Edmund Walker and others and declared that Liberals could not accept "the participation of Canada in all the wars of the Empire and the creation of an Imperial organization which will decide the Foreign policy of Great Britain." On May 26 it strongly opposed Conscription and had this reference to Bi-lingual issues in Ontario: "Why is it that in districts where the majority is Anglo-Canadian the French-Canadians are considered only as intruders who, if they are to be regarded as fellow-citizens, must renounce their customs, their traditions, and their language?" It took the passing of Conscription very seriously and on July 25 had half a page devoted to head-lines on that event, of which a selection follows: "Despite the Solemn Warning of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the Government last evening passed the Death Ordinance of 100,000 Young Canadians; Before the vote on the Third Reading, the Leader of the Liberal Party warned the Government that the Adoption of this Bill would endanger Harmony and Good Understanding in the country and bring about the Gravest Consequences; Complete account of the most Tragic Sitting of Parliament." Sir Robert Borden was described as "the author of the hateful blood-tax law."

As the year passed on production was urged in place of the enlistment of men; the Military Service Act was said to be passed by "a servile majority led by the military caste"; Conscription was opposed with vigour and persistence. A reasonable contention was the request for a French-Canadian military commander in Quebec

—preferably Brig.-Gen. A. O. Fages or Gen. F. L. Lessard—and criticism of an English-Canadian clergyman as Chief Recruiting Officer in Montreal. Meantime *L'Evenement* in Quebec, and *La Patrie* in Montreal, had a rather hard time of it for favouring Conscription. They were objects of much denunciation and some hostility; the offices of both journals were mobbed and it was said on June 9 that L. J. Tarte, the proprietor of *La Patrie*, had been shot at. These journals dealt strongly with the indebtedness of Canadians to England and the British Navy; in this they were joined by *Le Soleil* (Lib.) of Quebec, which declared that "England has acquired at the price of awful sacrifices the right to be loved and respected by all of her subjects." The Church papers, with the exception of *La Croix*, counselled moderation; *Le Pays*, the anti-clerical sheet, denounced M. Bourassa and his views and described him as a coward and a traitor. And so the discussion went on. In the main it was one-sided and these various quotations are given an historic setting here because they illustrated the political influences which, from time to time, have moulded Quebec and against which there was no opposing current of thought and explanation, to clear the air, as in English-speaking Canada. They constituted at once an excuse and an explanation for the War attitude of the French-Canadians.

Recruiting Action in Quebec: Attitude Toward Conscription.

It was inevitable that such a continuous education against war action and Empire sentiment as preceding pages have indicated should have some definite effect upon a people so temperamental as the French-Canadians, so excitable by nature, so irresponsible and easily led in political matters, so light-hearted and gay in character, so far in knowledge and physical fact from the historical scenes of war and the dreadful realities of European carnage. The official figures of French-Canadian enlistment up to Apr. 30, 1917, were issued on June 15 as 14,000 to which Quebec contributed 6,979, other Provinces 5,904, and the Valcartier 1st Contingent 1,217; Sir Wilfrid Laurier (Commons, June 18) thought the total should be about 20,000 while *La Presse* and others claimed that the real figures were 25,000. All kinds of reasons continued to be given for this fact and many have already been indicated; the Liberal leader in the above-mentioned speech pointed out, as an important cause, that French-Canadians had had no personal relations with France since 1760 and few settlers native to France.

In March the Federal Government faced the situation with the resignation of Hon. P. E. Blondin in order to raise a Battalion for Overseas; in May came the announcement of Conscription. On Mar. 20 Mr. Blondin had told the people of Sorel that "if the country is in danger and we had recourse to Conscription, it will be imposed frankly and above board"; he then resigned the Postmaster-Generalship to accept command of the 258th Batt. French-Canadians, for Overseas; at the same time the Canadian Defence Force plan was promulgated at Ottawa and much support was expected from Quebec; on Mar. 28 it was announced that Maj.-Gen. F. L. Lessard

had offered his services to assist Mr. Blondin in recruiting and the latter, in an address to his constituents of Champlain, declared that he felt "deeply convinced that the most imperious duty of the present hour for me is to practice what I have preached to you for the last three years and to devote myself entirely to the rallying of the French-Canadians." Preparations were made for a tour of the Province by Col. Blondin and Gen. Lessard which was to last 76 days—from May 1 to July 15—to commence in the extreme west of the Province and end in the lower St. Lawrence country. There were 70 persons in the party with a special train to carry them and 58 meetings were scheduled. Offices at once were opened in Montreal and the new Battalion started with officers who included Lieut. R. Lemieux, a son of the Liberal politician, Lieut. George Murphy, nephew of the Hon. C. Murphy, and Lieut. P. E. Letourneau, son of S. Letourneau, K.C., M.L.A. Col. Blondin stated (Apr. 3) that: "I am sure the hearts of the people in this Province are sound. I am going from prelate to prelate, from priest to priest, from father to father, from mother to mother, and from son to son, and I believe I can convince them that it is the duty of this Province to send its full share of young men to help the British and French armies." At the same time an organization was effected at Montreal, with Gen. Lessard in the Chair (Apr. 5) to help in recruiting two Battalions for home service. From France there sailed at this time two French officers to assist in the campaign, while Sir Edmund Osler, Toronto, sent a cheque for $2,000 to supplement other funds offered. Great interest was expressed by papers outside Quebec and the promoters of the movement received wide-spread compliments; while within the Province they received a measure of Clerical support.

But it was all too late. The public mind was trained in one direction; public conviction was solidified. A Montreal meeting on May 7 proved the fact, with determined interrruptions by a body of young men in the galleries who were styled by Senator C. P. Beaubien, in his effort at speech, as "the gentlemen of Laval." Sir Louis Taillon, a one-time Premier of Quebec, presided, and the speakers included Senators Beaubien (Cons.) and R. Dandurand (Lib.), Maj.-Gen. Lessard and Col. Blondin, Hon. J. Décarie of the Provincial Government and two returned officers of the 22nd Battalion. Clear speaking was practically impossible and neither war veterans, officers, nor political leaders could be properly heard; the police did nothing. At St. Hyacinthe the first recruiting meeting of the War was held on May 9; at Sherbrooke (May 10) Rev. Father H. A. Simard sat in his soutane on the platform and also spoke; at Megantic (May 11) Father Choquette shared in the meeting and at Coaticook (May 15) Rev. Father Martin expressed his sympathy with the speakers; Magog on May 17 saw the parish priest, a priest of the Benedictine Order, a clergyman of the Church of England, a Methodist minister and an Adventist preacher grouped on the platform. At all these and other meetings Gen. Lessard expressed himself as in favour of Conscription and hinted at its coming as a necessity; they were educative but brought few recruits. The campaign, however, was in full swing, with a Quebec meeting to be

addressed by Sir Lomer Gouin when, on May 20, this and other meetings were cancelled as a result, it was announced, of impending Conscription. Col. Blondin returned to Montreal to complete his recruiting there with a promised platoon from Laval University and, in September, the Battalion numbered 600. In the Commons on June 25 Sir Edward Kemp had stated that 92 recruits resulted from the Blondin-Lessard campaign.

From the May 20th announcement of Conscription a new and violent phase developed. It commenced with a protest in Quebec on May 21 organized by Oscar Drouin, President of the Young Liberal Club, and a group of young men; with 10,000 people listening to heated speeches and cries of "down with Borden," statements such as that of Ald. E. Dussault that it was the duty of Canadians to defend Canada and nothing more, or of Oscar Drouin that he would fight even to death against Conscription. A Referendum or Election was the demand by resolution, an anti-Conscription League was formed and a series of meetings around Quebec organized. At Ste. Anne de Bellevue (May 20) a young man's meeting was addressed by Charles Query who declared that "Borden is taking your sons by force and sending them away to be killed" and by I. Vautrin, President of the local Liberal Association. At Lafontaine Park, Montreal (May 23), 15,000 people heard T. Marsil describe Sir R. Borden as "the tool of Downing Street" and Ubald Paquin, a young journalist, declare that: "Conscription is organized murder, systematically calculated and prepared in advance; it is the suicide of a nation; it is total oblivion in the mire of militarism and Imperialism; it is the sinister obliteration of a people and its personality." The air of the cities and centres became day by day more heated. A parade of protest in Montreal where numerous meetings were held nightly, resulted in small riots on May 24 and the smashing of the windows of *La Patrie*. One large meeting was told by L. N. Ricard that: "All we owe England is Christian forgiveness. Proportionally, Canada has done more for the War than England itself," while Mayor Martin stated that Sir R. Borden "would send our children to the slaughter-house without a mandate from the people."

In Quebec Col. Lavergne commenced his harangues with a resulting riot but the more prominent speakers there and elsewhere were moderate and asked the people to wait until Sir Wilfrid Laurier had spoken. A Ligue Patriotique des Interets-Canadiens was organized in Montreal, anti-Conscription demonstrations continued to grow in size and many stormy scenes occurred on the streets of the city and at corner meetings, while protest-gatherings or parades were held at Lachine, Sherbrooke and Hull. Quebec City Council passed a Resolution against Conscription by 19 to 2 and Montreal by 12 to 5; at a Labour meeting in Montreal (June 6) E. C. St. Amour said that he did not preach revolution but "if they want to take our children by force and send them across the seas, we will do our duty here and perhaps shed our blood also." P. E. Lamarche, ex-M.P., (June 7) said: "The thought that comes to all true Canadians is that we have done enough for the works of war; we have sent men enough to death; our young country has need of some young men and

should keep enough to guarantee our national survival." His query as to what would happen if Germany won was greeted with laughter and he explained that the only evil result would be the conquest of India: "I am not ready to have ruin and bankruptcy here to keep the allegiance of 300,000,000 Hindus to the British crown. I do not want my country to be a country of beggars simply that the factories of Birmingham may continue to make goods for India."

The resignation of Mr. Patenaude from the Cabinet came at this juncture with the declaration of the Minister that Conscription "threatens to destroy this unity and to give rise throughout the country to deep internal divisions of long duration." In Montreal, on the 12th, Leo Doyon declared the Government to be obsessed with a mania for war and "to want blood and more blood to be sacrificed to German cannon" while at Maisonneuve on the 14th Fernand Villeneuve declared that 30,000 young men of Ontario had gone to the United States to avoid serving in the Canadian Army. Then came the Laurier declaration against Conscription and the movement took a party direction even while its seditious side continued and grew in volume. At Terrebonne, June 15, L. A. David, K.C., M.L.A., illustrated a leaning of these orators toward Independence in the statement that "much as we are loyal to the British crown and respect its flag this will only be the case as long as our country has not grown wings large enough to take its flight and occupy the rank which its destiny has reserved for it." M. David amplified this view at Maisonneuve on July 4: "The time is not far distant when parties will be formed on a new basis, one accepting Imperialism as its programme and the other the complete autonomy of Canada." Throughout the Province on Sunday (June 24) St. Jean Baptiste Day was celebrated with many speeches and sermons and at Montreal Senator A. C. P. Landry, the head of the Bi-lingual agitation, was emphatic: "We still have the right to discuss the proposal of obligatory enrolment. If it is adopted we shall take other measures which it would not be prudent to reveal to-day." Threats of personal trouble or danger were not limited to the Prime Minister and his Cabinet—Dr. J. L. Chabot, M.P., who favoured Conscription, stating in the House on June 28 that he had received many threatening letters—"describing the various methods of death intended for me should I vote for Conscription, conveying choice epithets galore, and qualifying me as a traitor and coward."

When the Parliamentary vote showed only 10 members outside of Quebec as opposed to Conscription it made thinking men reflect in that Province and aroused much biting comment in other Provinces. But in Quebec the opposition now grew with what it fed upon, politics became more and more an issue, the Nationalists switched over to the Liberal side and the demand for consultation of the people before enforcement rang through the Province. Joseph Demers, M.P., at Napierville (July 9) declared that the Government could not enforce the law: "We have at our disposal the means to resist such an unconstitutional law, and when the time comes we will be able to give you certain advice as to how to evade this law.

We will be passive. They can send us to gaol." At Laprairie (July 14) Roch Lanctot, M.P., used the most unbridled personal language about Sir R. Borden, Sir Wm. Mackenzie and the English-speaking members at Ottawa, declared that England was not doing her war-duty, boasted that he had refused to sign the National Service cards and assumed that "everyone up to 45 would have to go to the butchery." At a Quebec mass-meeting Ald. E. Dussault stated that the Anti-Conscription League would in future be the Quebec League of Canadian Rights and that special committees were being formed to afford legal aid to young men who refused to be conscripted. One of the bitterest of the speakers of this period was Tancrède Marsil, a Nationalist-Conservative who had edited two short-lived and violent papers in Montreal and, in the intervals, made many vehement speeches and organized a Sons of Liberty League. At a meeting on June 12 he declared that "force called for force" and urged a general labour strike; at Hochelaga (June 15) he said that "in 1837 the people rose because it was a tribute of money that was exacted but to-day it is a tribute of blood" and added that it was necessary "to oppose violence with violence" against the work of fools. At this time he and his paper declared themselves to be Laurier adherents and, during a Montreal meeting on June 22, he stated that "the duty of the hour is to face the enemy, not the Boches in Europe, but those nearer at hand"; in Montreal on June 28 he denounced Dr. Michael Clark as "an immigrant who should go back to his own country," and Graham, Pardee, Guthrie and Carvell as men who had betrayed Laurier in order to become Ministers; he, at Chambly (July 22), gave vent to wilder utterances such as the assertion that to obtain soldiers "they have thrown workmen in the street to starve and replaced them by women and children, by 'blokes' and Chinese."

In August anti-draft meetings were held everywhere. At Lafontaine Park, Montreal (Aug. 8), Fernand Villeneuve, a very young man, gave this advice to the crowd: "If a recruiting officer comes to you do not be afraid to give him a threshing, and if you have anything to shoot with don't be afraid to use it." F. X. Moisan denounced the English as too cowardly to face the Germans and added: "If you are resolved to have justice and liberty, be resolved to sprinkle the soil of the Province of Quebec with your blood instead of reddening the soil of Flanders with it for the benefit of England." Ubald Paquin declared that the English had become more Boche than the Germans and that the Colonies were to England simply reservoirs from which to draw men: "He who enrols is a traitor to his race, and a coward, and should be afraid to walk the street in khaki, for all honest men will have the right to spit their contempt in his face." On the 9th Villeneuve let loose this language: "It is not out of fear that the French-Canadian is opposed to Conscription. It is out of love for our country and hatred for England." The statement of Sir E. Kemp that the Government intended to enforce the Act evoked a fresh storm in Montreal where, on Aug. 13, Gédéon Martel, President of the Federation of Labour Clubs, declared that "we are ready to go ahead to the end, to prison if

necessary, and if they come to shoot us we will be the first to do the shooting"; while Cleo Thibault intimated that it would "take more than two Regiments to crush the French-Canadians" and that one French-Canadian was as good as 15 "blokes"—English immigrants. L. O. Maille, at this time, became prominent as a street orator in Montreal, stated (Aug. 21) that he was going to run for Parliament and if elected would endeavour to reduce the Governor-General's salary; Paul Lafortune added on this occasion that Canada had been sold body and soul by the capitalists to the Empire.

At the Champ de Mars (Aug. 26) Alphonse Bernier went so far as to favourably compare the Kaiser with King George on the ground that the former had sent his sons to the War while the latter had sent the Prince of Wales to enjoy himself in Paris! At Lafontaine Park (Aug. 28) young Villeneuve produced a "Declaration" signed by 20 persons—including himself, Lafortune and Bernier—and headed "A Warning to Conscriptionists." It stated that "if the Bill is enforced Borden and his men will have to suffer the penalty of death ('Supplice de la mort'). Nothing will be left lacking to put into operation our project, because these men are traitors and executioners, and merit death." Many in the crowd signed the document. Stormy scenes and some street rioting followed. Aug. 30 was a wild night in Montreal with large crowds, myriad street speeches, a clash with the police on Philips' Square, the free firing of revolvers and wounding of at least 7 men, the smashing of windows, an occasional looting of shops, the blocking of street cars and traffic. An alleged telegram from Valcartier saying that American and French-Canadian troops were fighting the English evoked wild cheers at one juncture. Several arrests were made and at Quebec similar demonstrations were attempted but subsided after marching past the home of Hon. A. Sévigny. The Government announced that adequate steps would in future be taken to preserve order and the Police of Montreal broke up various ensuing meetings—though a published protest on Sept. 2, signed by R. Parsons (an English anarchist) and P. Mongeau, declared that they would continue the fight to remain free men. On the 3rd Bernier, Lafortune, Mongeau and Villeneuve addressed a large meeting with violent attacks upon both parties and the clergy and vigorous eulogies of Bourassa. At another on the 4th Villeneuve said that from the blood of their opposition would came glorious days while, on the 7th, G. Martel, Labour leader, urged a general strike and, on the 11th, another meeting was addressed by Lafortune, Bernier, Mongeau and Maille in speeches of similar character with special eulogies of Henri Bourassa.

An unpleasant incident occurred at this time which was collateral to the general agitation without being a part of it. On Aug. 9 at 4 o'clock in the morning a charge of dynamite was exploded at one side of the residence of Lord Atholstan (Sir Hugh Graham) at Cartierville. It smashed the windows and filled the lower rooms with wreckage but as the building was of solid stone it escaped serious damage and the family or household were uninjured. Prior to the

outrage Lord Atholstan—whose paper, *The Star*, was vigorously in favour of Conscription—had received threatening letters but paid no attention to them. The dynamite was found to be part of 350 pounds stolen on Aug. 1 from a local quarry by a gang of masked men. The local police were unable to find, or at any rate did not find, the men; the Dominion police were sent to the scene and advertised a Government reward of $5,000 for capture of the miscreants; Elie Lalumière, one of the anti-conscription orators and a dealer in electric fixtures, was the first to be arrested (Aug. 30); on Sept. 2 at Lachute Joseph Leduc, *alias* Handfield, Henri Monette, *alias* Girard, and J. A. Tremblay, three suspected men, were rounded up but, after a fight with the police, Leduc shot himself and the other two escaped. All three men were desperadoes, cocaine fiends, wanted for several murders and crimes. Lalumière was said to be an associate of theirs and to have been connected with corrupt political work in earlier days.

Tremblay, Cyr, Goyer, Wisintainer, Chagnon, and others, totalling 12 in number, were eventually arrested and placed on trial before Mr. Justice Saint Cyr. Lalumière made a written confession which resembled the wildest of criminal romances and detailed other plots—the blowing up of *The Star* offices, *The Gazette*, the Mount Royal Club, Senator Beaubien's home and the killing, in some form or other, of Sir R. Borden and various public men. Tremblay also confessed and gave the names of Handfield, Monette and himself, with several others, as placing the dynamite at Cartierville. He specified Lalumière but afterwards withdrew the name. On Sept. 18 Monette was caught and brought before Judge Lanctot. At this stage, also, a Government detective named Charles Desjardins was interjected into the case. He had been instrumental in working up evidence, had joined organizations in order to learn of the projected crime, and was now accused of complicity in it, put under arrest and sent for trial, with P. E. Lamarche, K.C., as the person pressing the charges. Judge Lanctot (Oct. 22) cancelled his bail and the whole matter was alleged to be a Nationalist revenge for the exposé of a plot which so injured their political campaign. The 12 men charged with different branches of the crime came for trial before Mr. Justice Pelletier and a jury on Nov. 14. The first trial had failed because one of the jurors died; this second one resulted in a disagreement through one of the jurors obstinately refusing to concur in the verdict of guilty; a third trial was arranged and fixed for November, 1918. The attempted crime seems in its origin to have been a mixture—partly fanaticism evoked by superheated politics, partly the real criminality of desperate characters. Some of the men were mere hot-heads like Lalumière, others like Tremblay were clever enough to know better, others were of the Leduc-Monette type. That a heated political atmosphere can cause crime was illustrated by the fact that Paul Lafortune could, unrebuked, tell a Montreal public meeting on Aug. 12 that "the affair at Cartierville shows that we are not cowards. What was done there was well done, and I am not afraid to say so, and ask that my words be reported."

Equally violent were speeches on Sept. 12th—C. Renaud describing the Borden Government as "cursed demons," while Villeneuve went a step further and declared that "if we cannot float the flaming flag of Independence over the Parliament Buildings at Ottawa there remains the flag of the Americans; we have had enough of the Union Jack." Bernier declared that "if ever any man deserved to be blown up and deserved death, it is the owner of *The Star*." Following this meeting Villeneuve, Lafortune, Coté and Mongeau were arrested but allowed out on bail. Marsil, Mongeau and Bernier repeated their speeches on the 15th with no reference, however, to disobeying the Conscription Act; on the 18th P. E. Mongeau announced that the meetings would in future be political ones and the legal point was thus evaded; G. Martel (Sept. 28) denounced Sir R. Borden as "the worst autocrat the world has ever seen." A month later Mongeau endeavoured to get a legal declaration that the Military Service Act was unconstitutional on the ground of Canada having no power of Conscription under the B.N.A. Act except for the defence of Canadian territory. Mr. Justice Bruneau on Oct. 31 issued a writ under this appeal temporarily holding up the prosecution of Mongeau and his fellows but not expressing a constitutional opinion. The Elections followed and showed a deep and almost passionate resentment in Quebec against Conscription, the Act and the Government, with an equally strong desire to back Sir W. Laurier.

The brief notoriety of the men just dealt with—Lalumière, Marsil, Mongeau, Bernier, Villeneuve, Lafortune—passed away and they were replaced by politicians who were more careful in their statements but who embodied some at least of the feeling which these youthful and enthusiastic orators expressed. The remarks of these young men have been quoted here because they were the finger-posts to a condition, the signs of a sentiment which existed, and the result of precedent training by older men—members of Parliament elsewhere quoted, Liberal and Conservative-Nationalists, Bourassa and his school; because they were the 1917 embodiment of opinions which politicians have often created in Quebec and benefited by but which they usually refrain from leading. Of course this does not mean that all Quebec, or the majority of the people under proper leadership, or in normal conditions, thought as these men spoke; it does mean that in their racial and linguistic aloofness the French-Canadians could often be misled by the very enthusiasms and temperament which ordinarily would make them the best of citizens. Nor was there anything remarkable in some French-Canadians opposing Conscription; the point was in the union of a whole Province against it. There were plenty of English-Canadians opposed to it—even an occasional anti-Conscription riot occurred; there were plenty of speeches which were not exactly British in character—even a few which were seditious in matter though negligible in importance. After the Elections, also, agitation largely ceased in Quebec, seditious speeches dropped for a time, the registration under the Act took place and showed Montreal as registering 83% of its available population and Quebec City 80%, with a total

for the two cities, reported on Nov. 14, of 100,623 seeking exemption and 1,654 offering for service. Thousands of appeals were entered by the Government representatives against these proposed exemptions and the Military Service Council on Nov. 26 issued this statement: "It has become perfectly apparent that a large number of Exemption tribunals in the Province of Quebec have failed to appreciate their duties and, in consequence, have granted exemptions in a very large number of cases where no justification for exemption exists. As a result it has become necessary to invoke the right of appeal on a very large scale."

Meanwhile this situation was taken seriously in the rest of Canada. Usually the attention bestowed upon Quebec affairs was not as much as they deserved; in these years of stress and strain of war the attention was greater in one sense than the Province merited, yet in another was neither wise nor useful. Ontario people resented being called "Boches" but nothing was done, except in the Bonne Entente attempt, to get at the root of the evil. French-Canadians quite properly resented the occasional term of slacker or coward applied to them; but as a matter of fact the words were used upon a thousand recruiting platforms all over Canada in application to local men who did not volunteer. The Hon. N. A. Belcourt made a most interesting speech in the Senate on Aug. 3, appealing for consideration for his people, speaking with absolute truth of their temperamental qualities and great sensitiveness, their love of country and instincts of courtesy and friendliness, but he suggested no way of escaping from the political leadership of the Merciers and Bourassas, whose counter-types in Ontario politics, to the French publicist, would be George Brown or D'Alton McCarthy.

The Bi-lingual School Question: Ontario vs. Quebec.

As with nearly all issues arising between Provinces and peoples in a common country there was a fundamental historical basis for this one. At the beginning of things there was no question of French Canada, with its 60,000 population, expanding racially and territorially, and the boundary lines between Upper and Lower Canada were laid with the belief that on one side there would be a French Province and on the other an English one. As these and all other parts of British America grew together into the Dominion of Canada two ideas in this respect found frequent expression—one that the whole country was rightly and legally open to French-Canadians and available for their expansion, settlement, development; the other was that this could not be controverted, but that the right did not carry with it privileges of language and race and community isolation which had been granted to Quebec as a Province. The divergence was sharp and it was fundamental to this Bi-lingual issue which also involved a vital question of the right of each Province to manage its own affairs—a right greatly and obviously to the advantage of Quebec in its relation to the Dominion and other Provinces.

In these days, as time went on, Quebec people prided themselves and with some reason, upon their equitable treatment of the Protest-

ant-English minority and they asked the other Provinces in 1896, in 1905 and in 1916-17, to act in a similar way toward the Catholic-French minority. Even here the issue was complicated in 1917 by the presence of a Catholic-English minority in Ontario which also desired to attend the Separate Schools and did not desire instruction in French. Another difference between the Ontario and Quebec minorities was that the French minority in Ontario was aggressive, fighting for alleged rights, anxious to bring and keep another Province in the issue, whereas the English minority in Quebec was quiescent and apparently satisfied with its condition. The attitude of the Quebec minority was illustrated at the 43rd annual Convention of the Protestant Teachers of Quebec which (Oct. 4) declared that "in view of the recognized necessity and importance of having the French language taught in the Protestant schools and securing better results, it is desirable to secure the services of a Director of French for the Protestant schools of the Province." There, also, were other differences. In Ontario the Roman Catholics were only exempt from taxation for the Public schools and not for the High schools, as in Quebec; in Ontario, also, the curriculum, inspection and final examinations were under control of the Minister of Education and not of a Committee of Public Instruction as in Quebec. Then there was the ever-present element helping to add fuel to the least flickering flame of dispute in racial or religious matters—the Nationalists of Quebec and the Orangemen of Ontario and other Provinces. There was good in both these organizations and there was much of religious and moral appeal in both of them. But each was partisan in a form particularly antagonistic to the other; each thought within limitations which allowed no breadth of view; anti-Empire in the one case and anti-Church in the other constituted a ring within which their votaries must dance. It must be added, however, that Orange loyalty to British institutions and Empire was bred in the bone and made many English believers in religious toleration condone the Order's vehement sectarian viewpoint.

As to the Bi-lingual issue in detail it has been dealt with in this work from year to year*. One thing was clear—that Ontario had never sought to really restrict or destroy Separate Schools as Manitoba had done. In fact a party leader had been kept out of power for years because, in part, of the belief that he was anti-Catholic. On the other hand it had not followed the New Brunswick system under which Acadian children were educated during the first four years in their mother-tongue with continuous English training thereafter. There was a looseness and toleration, however, about the Ontario system, before the time of Regulation 17, which permitted the growth of schools almost entirely French and this was the chief excuse for Government action in that respect. It was not in any sense a religious issue despite the sectarianism of the Orange Order and this was proven in the issue of a Pastoral read to the Catholic churches and Separate Schools of Ontario on Feb. 4, 1917. It was signed by 11 members of the Canadian Hierarchy—Archbishops

* See Pages 524-532 and 566-571 in the 1916 volume; 502-517 and 562-567 in the 1915 volume; also the issues for 1910-1911-1912-1913.

Gauthier of Ottawa, McNeil of Toronto, Spratt of Kingston, and Beliveau of St. Boniface, Bishops Scollard of Sault Ste. Marie, Macdonell of Alexandria, Fallon of London, O'Brien of Peterborough, Latulippe of Haileybury, and Ryan of Pembroke, with Dr. Charlebois, Vicar Apostolic of Keewatin. The document had been prepared at a meeting in Ottawa on Jan. 24, after study, deliberation and prayer, and it urged the clergy and laity to obey all just laws and regulations of the civil authorities, asked the majority in Ontario to consider sympathetically the aspirations of the minority, and added these conclusions:

> That we are confident there is no desire or intention on the part of the Government or the majority of the people of Ontario to prescribe the French language. This is set forth in the official statement of the policy of the Government of Ontario issued on the 14th day of March, 1916, as expressed in the following words: 'Regulation 17 applies only to the list of schools annually designated by the Minister as English-French. In the case of schools not on the list, but containing French-speaking pupils, or in the case of new schools organized since the adoption of Regulation 17, in 1913, the use and study of the French language are provided for by Section 84 (b) of the Public Schools Act, and by Section 12 (2) of the Regulations for Public and Separate Schools. These enactments, which have for many years defined the place of the French language in Ontario schools, have not been amended or rescinded.'
>
> That we are also confident there is no ill-will on the part of the French-Canadian people towards the Government or the majority of the people of Ontario, and are of the opinion that much of the agitation against the educational measures of the Government has been caused by the misunderstanding of Regulation 17.

The issue between Bishop Fallon and some of the French-Canadian people of his Diocese illustrated the fact that the issue was essentially racial. A vigorous fight was put up during 1917 by the French-Canadians of a parish in Essex County regarding the appointment of Rev. F. X. Laurendeau as its Curé. A letter dated Aug. 26 submitted to the Bishop of London by officials of the local church and representing the dissentient group which had refused to receive the pastor and had shut its church doors because they believed him opposed to Bi-lingualism, was both bitter and personal in its attack upon His Lordship—with no reference to any public issue. On Sept. 9, Father Laurendeau took possession, but was escorted to the church by Provincial policemen who had to use their clubs upon a mob of people and force the doors of the church. After this the church was for a time boycotted and at a meeting of thousands of French-Canadian Catholics from neighbouring places, at Ford City on Sept. 23, it was decided to attend no service addressed by Bishop Fallon or permit him to confirm their children. On the other hand a meeting of 26 priests in the Deanery of London (Oct. 24) of whom 6 were French, deplored this action and deprecated "the conduct of unprincipled agitators who are leading the people astray," and re-asserted their loyalty, respect and cheerful obedience to constituted authority.

During these months and despite the Privy Council's decision that Regulation 17 was constitutional and valid, much opposition to its enforcement continued. Inspector Thomas Swift of the Ottawa Bi-lingual schools, reported that in his February inspection he had found the French language used as the language of com-

munication and instruction; the reason assigned by the teachers being that the children were able to make more progress when taught in their own language. The Inspector added that the schools were at least a year behind the Public schools in efficiency and that there was no real effort to teach English or obey the Regulation. In the Legislature during March the Minister of Education, Hon. Dr. R. A. Pyne, carried a Bill providing for the appointment of a Commission to take the place of the Ottawa Separate School Board if that Board continued to neglect or disobey the school laws of the Province. Speaking in the House on Mar. 30, Dr. Pyne said: "I regret that the law is not being obeyed. The Government now is merely taking precautionary measures to prevent a repetition of the conditions which have occurred in Ottawa. We think the Bill is all right, but it may never be invoked and I hope and trust it never will be." As to this action, N. W. Rowell, K.C., Opposition leader, doubted its constitutionality as being a repetition, in fact though not altogether in form, of the 1915 legislation which had been disallowed. He preferred the processes of law against the School Boards concerned but would not oppose the Bill; he pleaded for every possible toleration and welcomed the assurance of the Premier (Sir W. H. Hearst) that every effort was being made to get properly-trained Bi-lingual teachers. The French-Canadian members of the House united, however, against the Bill which had five opponents—Pinard, Mageau, Racine, Ducharme and Evanturel.

Another Government measure provided for relief of the late unconstitutional Ottawa Commission in its expenditure of $300,000 and assessed that amount upon the Ottawa Separate School Board. It was resolutely opposed by the same five members and Mr. Rowell, as Opposition leader, supported (Apr. 4) the Bill though he did not like charging the money to the School Board. The Premier declared that: "The Government is determined to stand by and enforce Regulation 17. It is both practicable and workable and has proved so in every school which has made a sincere effort." These measures were discussed in the Senate on Sept. 13 and denounced by French-Canadian members, such as Hon. F. L. Beique, who declared them to be unconstitutional and "in complete disregard of the judgments of the highest Courts of Canada and of the Privy Council, as well as a violation of most sacred rights." Meanwhile, on Mar. 19, the Toronto *News*, whose attitude was so much discussed in Quebec, editorially stated its policy as follows: "Beyond all question a working knowledge of two modern languages is of immense value, seeing that it doubles efficiency in expression and increases the range of thought. It is very desirable that we should have more intensive study of French in the high schools and universities of Canada. It is not possible to give two languages equal status in public schools. It is possible to treat French fairly in French-speaking communities and yet ensure that every child in Ontario shall have a good knowledge of English."

Legal actions continued during the year. On June 7 Mr. Justice Kelly refused the application of Chairman S. N. Genest of the Roman Catholic Separate School Board at Ottawa to quash the

judgment of Dec. 17, 1914, committing him for breach of an injunction which had restrained him from employing, or paying salaries of, teachers not possessing the proper legal qualifications. Mr. Genest appealed and the Appellate Division of the High Court finally dismissed his action on June 22. A little later Mr. Justice Sutherland decided that in respect to the enforcement of this injunction Mr. Genest must produce original records, cheque book, vouchers, pay sheets, etc., or in default stand committal to jail. On Oct. 2 he submitted, in part, to this order in presenting at Ottawa certificated copies of certain documents. Then the long-standing case of the Ottawa School Board against certain Banks, as to the Board funds held under legal actions and decisions, opened before Mr. Justice Clute at Ottawa on Oct. 3. In his evidence on the 5th Inspector Swift confirmed his Report of February: "In 1917 I cannot say there was one school which I could classify or put down as conforming with Regulation 17. As far as I can remember, between 40 and 47 teachers out of 112 had valid certificates. The rest had no certificates at all or had no valid certificates." On Oct, 29 the Court of Appeal received from the Provincial Government a submission of its 1917 legislation as to these Schools and on Dec. 10 Sir Wm. Meredith rendered judgment declaring the Act valid and confirming the Legislature's authority to appoint a new Commission to manage these Schools.

Meanwhile, in Quebec, Bi-lingualism was being officially imposed or insisted upon wherever possible. In Parliament, H. Boulay moved an amendment to the new Railway Act which provided that timetables, bills of lading, station signs, etc., in the Province of Quebec should be printed in both French and English and he asked that all railway employees coming in contact with the public should understand both the official languages of the country. After discussion the Minister of Railways accepted this so far as the trainmen on local trains in Quebec were concerned. On July 9 Hon. Mr. Lemieux noted that his request to have Customs and Immigration forms printed in French and English had been acceded to. Such was the general situation in 1917 so far as Bi-lingualism was concerned—read with what has been written in preceding Sections.

The Church and the People: Attitude of the Hierarchy.

The place of the Roman Catholic Church in Quebec has always been one of power and responsibility. In the early days of British rule it was trusted, and rightly so, by the far-away authorities in England; in days of early war with the United States it proved to be loyal to the Government and faithful its to responsible post; during later times of attempted revolution and internal strife it held the reins of moderation and upon the whole stood by the flag as well as its own rights; during the years of fateful conflict in 1914-17 it was trusted by all Governments concerned and much was hoped from its admitted influence over the people. The position, however, was more difficult than in any previous case. The Church itself was international and neutral in one great sense; but in another it stood, as usual in such cases, with the racial unit which it guided in

religious matters—the Catholics of Ireland and Austria, of Belgium and France, of the United States and Canada. A cardinal precept of the Church was loyalty in secular things to the secular Government but across its path in Quebec, as in Ireland, there swept conditions of special complexity. In the Quebec case was the fact that French-Canadians were a race within a race, a unit in a country of mixed race and religion—a country within an Empire of many races and religions.

All around it was the pressure of 5,000,000 Canadians and 100,000,000 Americans who at heart, in a sort of passive way, disapproved of Church influence and control over the French-Canadians—though the rest of the Dominion accepted without reserve the pacts and understandings upon which the secular power of the Church and the privileges of its people in Quebec rested. Hence the apparent necessity—in a tremendous issue which the attitude of the Pope proclaimed to be apart from the Church—of not endangering its hold upon a mercurial but devoted people by any aggressive leadership along war lines. Loyal and correct leadership was given by the Hierarchy from the first; a dignified and proper stand was assumed throughout as to the national duty of British subjects, but the position taken was not aggressive or seriously educative in character. Moreover, the Church was hampered by the evolution of the Bi-lingual question and the use made of it by Mr. Bourassa, a devoted son of the Church and clever enough to know how to retain that reputation. The lower clergy were not, also, as united in their attitude or, in many cases, as correct in their views as were the Ecclesiastical leaders. Hence a certain increase in hostile expressions during this year from enthusiasts such as the Orangemen in English Canada; hence some of the regrettable utterances during the Conscription and Election periods there and some, at least, of the recruiting difficulties in Quebec; hence a divergence of thought between the English and French Hierarchies upon the Bi-lingual question. As a matter of fact the vital issue in Quebec, as in Ireland, was racial and not religious.

For this reason and the facts which follow much of the Church criticism heard in Ontario and elsewhere was unjust. As Archbishop McNeil of Toronto put it on Nov. 3: "Quebec and Ireland are a very small part of the Catholic Church and I am not authorized to speak for either; but I can speak for the Catholic Church in this matter. Thirty years ago we all held in Canada the opinion which still prevails in parts of Quebec. We looked upon ourselves as British colonists depending on England for defence against any public enemy. . . . The real test of loyalty is obedience to the law. No part of Canada has yet failed in this test. Not until there is disobedience to the law will it be time to speak of disloyalty." There was no real question of the patriotism of the Church in France despite the new law of March which sent the balance of priests, acting in hospitals or as stretcher-bearers, etc., to the Front; if the issue were raised the 25,000 priests in the French armies could give an answer which was affirmed by a multitude of gallant deeds and war honours. So in Quebec, where the issue should not have

been raised; but where some difficulty was unavoidable in view of the racial complications. There, also, had been a natural suspicion amongst the Church leaders as to the influences of French infidelity upon the sons of Quebec but the religious revival in France, the passing of anti-Church leaders such as Caillaux and Malvy, the turning of the soldiers back to the Church of their fathers in the fire of battle, all tended, by 1917, to greatly relieve that situation.

On Jan. 3 Cardinal Bégin addressed a Pastoral to his churches, directing the people to sign the National Service cards. It was not, His Eminence added, a question of politics or of Conscription, it was the taking of an inventory of Canada's resources; "Let us set an example. Let us prove that we are actuated by an enlightened patriotism conformable to the teaching and traditions of the Catholic Church. Let us show respectful deference towards the civil authority within its rights." In a following Lenten letter to his clergy, read in the churches of Montreal on Feb. 18, Archbishop Bruchési condemned the frivolities of the day in feminine fashions and various social extremes and urged greater Christian charity in this time of war. A collection was authorized in all churches for the Patriotic Fund and Red Cross and the clergy were asked to commend the matter to their people. At this time also Mgr. Emard, Bishop of Valleyfield, issued a Pastoral letter urging his flock to harmonize their Bi-lingual desires with the rights of other nationalities, and declaring the Empire's part in the War a righteous one, and the duty of all able to do so to enlist in the Army. Speaking at a banquet in Montreal on May 23, given in honour of the *Bonne Entente* movement for closer and more friendly Provincial relations, Bishop Gauthier, Auxiliary to the Archbishop of Montreal, spoke with frankness of current issues as he saw them. The French-Canadians in 1812 had saved Canada to Britain, yet in response the Catholic minority educational rights had been taken away from the schools in New Brunswick, in Manitoba, in Alberta and Saskatchewan, and now in Ontario; no serious complaint had ever been made as to Quebec's treatment of its minority schools. One language was not an essential for the British Empire, for Switzerland or for Belgium; it need not be for Canada. As to the War the French-Canadians had done their part.

The Conscription issue followed and in the beginning of the agitation (May 25) Archbishop Bruchési urged the people of his Archdiocese "to use their rights as free citizens with calm and moderation" and he appointed a succeeding Sunday as a day of prayer for union and peace in Canada. On June 6, at St. Benoit, His Grace explained why he had originally supported National Service: "We did all we could once more to prove our loyalty to the British Crown. For my part I have done all I could to help Canada to do her part, as was suitable, and to show that we here do not deserve the attacks of the Orangemen. In the matter of National Service cards I asked the Prime Minister if it was a question of Conscription. He answered with emphasis that there was no such question, and that he himself was opposed to all compulsory enlistment." Now, all was suddenly changed and his people were

at liberty to express their opinions. With this development came warning notes of hostility from *L'Action Catholique*, the episcopal organ of Quebec. Conscription was, early in June, described as a new question which had only, as yet, been glimpsed by the most far-seeing statesmen, the country was said to be unprepared for it, the Government to have long since declared that it would never be imposed upon the country, the great war-need of the moment to be production. Further Canadian effort in sending men to war was said to threaten exhaustion. As the agitation in the Province grew so did the sentiment of this journal: "Let our people consider themselves as duly warned. A campaign of calumny has been taken up against them throughout the world. It is vile and cowardly, but that is how matters stand. We are at this moment actually guilty, in the first place, of being Canadians."* Then came the refusal to exempt divinity students from Conscription and, on July 28, Cardinal Bégin gave an interview to *L'Action Catholique* dealing primarily with this subject and, as a whole, denouncing compulsory service:

> This Conscription law is a menace which causes the Canadian clergy the worst apprehensions. This military service, as it is proposed, or at least as we are enabled to judge from the speeches and articles its discussion has provoked, is not only a serious blow to the rights of the Church of Christ, independent in its domain, and whose laws and practice exempt the clergy and that class of society which that name designates from the service of arms, but also it constitutes a fatal obstacle to the recruiting of ministers of God, shepherds of souls, as well as to that of the staff of clerical teachers, and through this very fact it creates, in our society, an evil much worse than that which it is alleged to attempt to remedy. . . . On the other hand, treaties assure Canadian Catholics the free practice of their religion. The legislation under way may strike that liberty a mortal blow. I like to believe that political wisdom will, in the end, overcome, in the hearts of our statesmen, the urgings and counsel of certain elements liable to trouble forever the peace of this country, and that no one will dare, on a matter so important and delicate, to hurt the sentiments of the whole Catholic population of the Dominion and imprudently sow on this side of the Atlantic the seed of the fatal religious discords that have divided the old world.

Following this utterance the Montreal *Gazette* stated that Cardinal Bégin—who in 1916 had urged Sir R. Borden to disallow the Ontario Bi-lingual Regulations—had now written to Catholic Ministers and members at Ottawa in opposition to the Military Service Act; *Le Devoir* also hinted at this but, if it were so, the letter or letters were never made public. As the Provincial agitation continued to increase and the French-Canadian press became more vehement, with increasingly unpleasant comments elsewhere in Canada, Archbishop Bruchési, in celebrating on Aug. 8 his 20th year in the Episcopate, dealt with the issue in a sermon very seriously: "The Church is above parties. But we cannot close our eyes to events in the country. We have reached an exceedingly grave position. Divisions between the Provinces and between nationalities have been accentuated. We are nearing racial and religious war. When will these troubles end?" His Grace believed that the War would not end by force of arms but by financial troubles, revolutions, weariness. As to Canada: "Incontestable rights have been violated.

* Translation in Montreal *Star* July 6th—with extracts from other Quebec papers.

Laws have been passed of which even those who passed them seem to be afraid." Prayer was the only recourse.

Meanwhile, in June, *La Croix* of Montreal and its affiliated journal *L'Ideal Catholique* had published articles of a rather violent tone against Conscription. They were important as coming from papers which, though not official organs of the Hierarchy, yet circulated almost exclusively amongst the clergy of the Province and because, also, they were represented in other parts of Canada as embodying the views of the Church. The Editor of *La Croix* was a well-known writer—Joseph Bégin—and, on June 15, his paper came out boldly for secession from the Dominion: "From being the pioneers of this beautiful country we have become the valets of a race which pretends to be superior but which is nothing more than the modernized product of the rapacious Jews. What advantage, minimum though it be, have we got from Confederation? Our faith, our language, our schools and the future of our children, the well-being of our families, the mission which Providence seems to have confided to our hands, to plant on the shores of the St. Lawrence a truly Christian civilization, appear to be passing away. The War came and the majority here again imposed upon us its arbitrary will. We are already crushed by an enormous Debt, and to-day they wish to impose by force a law as unconstitutional as it is anti-Canadian, which will send our sons and brothers to the European butchery, like so many cattle, to satisfy the appetite of a master." Separated from Canada, yet still under the British Crown, was the ideal, and to promote this a leader was called for and the formation of Committees, everywhere, urged. In succeeding issues this view was reiterated and Conscription was described as a product of the Orange lodges. *L'Ideal Catholique* pressed (July 6) for recognition of a new French country which would possess boundless resources and a glorious future.* Hundreds of papers in Canada and many in the States republished these articles; Catholic papers such as the Antigonish *Casket* repudiated them, while *L'Action Catholique* dealt with the difficulties in the way and Archbishop Bruchési (Aug. 20) declared the proposal "thoughtless and unreasonable." Abbé Groulx of Laval University was disposed to sympathize with pessimistic views of Confederation. In the St. John Cathedral on Oct. 16 Cardinal Bégin declared that "it is the duty of all to pray for a peace, long and lasting, such as the British Empire is fighting for and as outlined by the Pope"; at Halifax on the 19th His Eminence made an earnest appeal for the Red Cross. He had instituted a collection in every Parish of Quebec: "In the name of justice, humanity and civilization, I ask your keenest interest in and your largest contributions towards this magnificent work."

Meantime, what of the clergy? The parish priests had much influence, they were undoubtedly affected by the persistent teachings of *Le Devoir* and the later attitude of *La Croix*, they had in 1896, in some measure, supported Laurier against the Manitoba *Mandement* of the Hierarchy. To them the Church was a great

*These quotations are taken from translations which appeared from day to day at this time in the English press of Montreal as "French-Canadian Views."

rock, buttressed by language and race and made to appear, through the organs mentioned and the statements of politicians, as threatened by any war-policy which took away the young men from their shores to the aid of infidel France. The majority of rural priests appear to have taken no part in the matter at all; a minority vehemently opposed war-action until justice should be rendered the race by Ontario and J. H. Rainville, M.P., appealed to the priests of Chambly-Verchères to help in saving French Catholics from this dangerous position; a small section came out in active support of recruiting during the Blondin-Lessard campaign. Anti-Conscriptionist orators, also, were frequent in their denunciation of the Church for its approval of National Service, and P. Panneton in Montreal, on May 25, openly attacked Archbishop Bruchési for his support of recruiting. General Lessard, in a statement on May 8, expressed his view clearly: "The voice of the Episcopal authority has made itself heard, but it does not seem that the majority of the clergy gave as attentive an ear to that voice, as we would have expected." As to Laval some of its professors—Montpetit and Perrault, for instance—opposed Conscription publicly as they had a right to do, and just as Methodist professors in Ontario and Anglican priests there and elsewhere supported it; others like Ferdinand Roy recognized the needs and difficulties of the situation; some students undoubtedly allowed their Gallic enthusiasms to carry them away at public meetings and to give room for unpleasant comments in other Provinces. As a whole, the Church during this troubled year of 1917 was not friendly toward Conscription and it is a question if, in view of all conditions in its own Province, anything else could have been expected; it was not hostile to recruiting but on some occasions was passive, on others indifferent, at certain stages helpful; it was loyal to Canada's place in the War and gave full support to Patriotic Funds—with some large purchases of Victory bonds; it stood, above all, and through all the turbulence of the later months of 1917, for observance of the law and acceptance, even of Conscription, if once enforced as the law of the land.



H.R.H. Prince Arthur of Connaught | Lieut.-Gen. Sir Arthur Currie | Brig.-Gen. Victor W. Odlum | Maj.-Gen. Sir David Watson

On the Way to the Front: Canadians in England

There was an immense amount of Canadian war-work done in England during these years; large financial and commercial transactions were carried on between the Governments concerned through the office of Sir George Perley; much military training was done, large camps maintained, many hospitals looked after in Great Britain and at the Western and other Fronts; centres for Red Cross and every form of patriotic work which women could undertake were maintained; London was the essential pivot upon which turned the final efficiency and force of Canada's war-effort as it passed from the fulcrum into France. Under the supervision of Sir George Perley as Acting, and finally as permanent High Commissioner for Canada, and since late in 1916 Minister of Overseas Forces, a multitude of matters were dealt with and, at the beginning of 1917, he had the following additional Canadian officials:

Special Agent of the Minister and Department of Militia	Maj.-Gen. John W. Carson, C.B.
General Officer Commanding Canadian Forces in British Isles	Maj.-Gen. R. E. W. Turner, C.B., V.C., D.S.O.
Acting Overseas Deputy for Minister of Militia	Brig.-Gen. Alexander D. McRae.
Adjutant-General	Brig.-Gen. P. E. Thacker, C.M.G.
Director of Personal Services	Col. H. Kemmis-Betty, D.S.O.
Accountant-General	Col. W. R. Ward.
Chief Paymaster and Officer of Records	Lieut.-Col. J. G. Ross.

Sir George Perley in his public utterances during this year struck a high note of sane Imperialism. In the Empire number of the Manchester *Guardian* (Mar. 20) he expressed these views: "It must always be the desire of a virile people to attain a full measure of self-government. This necessitates a change in the present British system, so that the Dominions may have a real voice in peace and war and all matters of common concern. One can justify our sacrifices in this struggle, but it would be impossible to argue that we can regularly and permanently assist in the Empire's wars unless we have something to say as to their declaration and management." In celebration of the 50th anniversary of Confederation the Royal Colonial Institute presented an illuminated Address to Sir George Perley, describing Canada as "the pioneer, overseas, in self-government, federation, and nationhood; the possessor of a rich and storied past, of a present made glorious by Canadian prowess and sacrifice, of a future boundless as the wheat-growing lands of the North-West." To the Montreal *Star* on Aug. 4th he issued a message declaring that: "Our history as a nation will be recorded as starting from this war, our troops having made a name for themselves second to none. They have shown that a citizen army, inspired by love of liberty, is a match for the best-trained troops of Germany." During a discussion in the Commons at Ottawa on Aug. 7 it transpired that during these war-years, while

Sir George Perley had been acting as High Commissioner and practically as Overseas Minister of Militia, he had declined any remuneration for his services and so also for his varied administrative duties at Ottawa between 1911 and 1914. So, it may be added, with F. B. McCurdy, Parliamentary Secretary of the Militia Department. In the debates which followed, notably on Aug. 13, Liberal speakers deprecated Sir George Perley's control of military affairs and opposed the creation of a Minister of Overseas Military Forces which the Government put through Parliament at this time. Sir Robert Borden, on the latter date, explained that the Order-in-Council of October, 1916, had provided for the position; this present legislation attached a salary to it. He explained that Sir George had assumed its duties at the Premier's urgent request; so far as purely military matters were concerned he acted by the advice of General Turner. The powers of the Minister were defined by the Premier and may be condensed as follows:

1. He was charged with the control of and was responsible for the administration of the affairs of the military forces of Canada in the United Kingdom and on the continent of Europe; the ordnance, arms, ammunition, armouries, stores, munitions and habiliments of war belonging to Canada in those countries; all expenditure incurred in the United Kingdom or elsewhere in Europe for or in respect of these Forces.
2. He was given power in urgent matters to act provisionally without reference to the Canadian Government.
3. He was charged with the negotiations on the part of the Government of Canada with His Majesty's Government, in all matters connected with the government, command and disposition of the Overseas forces of Canada and arrangements for co-ordinating their operations and services with those of His Majesty's troops.
4. He was given power to appoint and pay the necessary officers and clerks and to create an Advisory Council.

As the year progressed Sir George organized his Department so that Civil matters came to him and military matters were largely dealt with by Gen. Turner; Lieut.-Col. Walter Gow of Toronto was appointed Deputy Minister. In the middle of the year Sir Richard Turner—he had received a K.C.M.G. from the King—was administering the military affairs in England through four Branches: (1) that of the Assistant Military Secretary in charge of Major F. F. Montague; (2) that of the General Staff in charge of Lieut.-Col. H. F. McDonald, C.M.G., D.S.O., (3) that of the Adjutant-General in charge of Brig.-Gen. P. E. Thacker, C.B., C.M.G.; that of the Quartermaster General in charge of Brig.-Gen. A. D. McRae, C.B. General Carson, had early in the year, retired from his position. In August Sir George Perley visited the Canadian troops at the Front and afterwards described the appointment of General Currie to the command as most popular, the spirit of the soldiers as wonderful, the work of the Railway and Forestry Corps as most valuable, that of the Canadian hospitals as splendid. In October, upon finally accepting office as High Commissioner, Sir G. Perley resigned his seat for Argenteuil, Que., and at the same time Sir Edward Kemp gave up his Ministry of Militia to accept the post of Minister Overseas. On Dec. 20 it was announced that the High Commissioner had handed over a bronze gun captured by the 58th Canadian Infantry Battalion to the British authorities for the manufacture of future Victoria

Crosses; at Christmas time he issued a message of congratulation to Canadians on the honour won by their troops during 1917.

During the year Sir George had joined the Imperial War Graves Commission, headed by H.R.H. The Prince of Wales, which included the Earl of Derby, K.G., as Chairman of Committee, and all the Dominion High Commissioners as members and had for its object a mission declared by the Imperial Conference to be a sacred obligation resting on the whole Empire—the maintenance of the burial places of its soldiers and sailors. He organized a Committee to deal with the transport of Canadian troops and their dependants after the War, and including H. A. Allan, J. H. Plummer, Brig.-Gen. St. Pierre Hughes, Lieut.-Col. J. H. D. Hulme and others; in July a Military Mission was appointed to visit and spend 3 months in France, attached to the Ministry of War, and consisting of Brig.-Gen. Lord Brooke, Major G. R. Geary (Toronto), Major Asselin (Montreal), and Capt. Joly de Lotbinière; another Mission, appointed by the Canadian Government, however, was that of the Canadian War Archives Society composed of (Hon.) Lieut.-Col. A. G. Doughty, C.M.G., Dominion Archivist, Lieut.-Col. Wm. Wood of Quebec and Capt. Gustave Lanctot "to make a survey of all the war activities of Canada, with a view to obtaining a complete and comprehensive key to all classes of public war records." Meantime the Canadian War Records Office had been doing good work since its establishment in 1916 by Sir W. Max Aitken with a grant of $25,000 from Ottawa; the aid of Lieut.-Col. R. Manley Sims, D.S.O., Major C. G. D. Roberts and Capt. Holt White had been effective in collating data for the permanent history of Canada's forces in the field. This office and work had nothing to do with the Canadian Records Office which dealt with the details of casualties, sickness and individual incidents in the Army.

Sir Max Aitken, though giving up "Eye-Witness" work during this year, retained his interest in the Records and became Lord Beaverbrook as a result of participation in British politics. His services to Canada as its Record Officer since 1915, and as Officer in charge of the War Records Office since January, 1916, were given without remuneration. His duties were, by means of daily cables, to give to the Canadian public an account of the performances of the Canadian troops and in this capacity he wrote the two volumes of *Canada in Flanders*. He also looked after the collection, fyling, copying, collation and safe-keeping of the enormous quantity of official records, maps, diaries, *précis* and private accounts relating to the operations and activities of the Canadian troops. It may be added that on Feb. 21 Lord Beaverbrook was given a Dinner and presentation of plate by 50 leading politicians—amongst them Mr. Bonar Law, Rt. Hon. Neil Primrose, Sir F. E. Smith, Tim Healy, Rudyard Kipling, and Lord Rothermere. The Canadian Army Dental Corps was established in 1917 with Col. J. A. Armstrong (Ottawa) as Director of Dental Services, though in preliminary work and organization it had already done much and performed 300,000 operations. Meanwhile, arrangements had been evolved and completed in 1917 for the handling of the large sums—ranging

up into the hundreds of millions—required to pay expenses of troops in England and at the Front. Sir Robert Borden in the Commons on Feb. 1, 1917, gave a statement in this regard which may be summarized briefly:

1. Canada, Australia and New Zealand, at the outbreak of war signified a desire to bear the whole cost of their Expeditionary Forces and have since made their own issues of pay, cash allowances and pensions.

2. The expenses borne in the first instance by the Imperial Government for Canadian troops in England (rations, forage, clothing, stores, etc.) are recovered currently through the ordinary medium of accounts.

3. As to expenses in the Field it is not practicable to keep account of actual issues and it is the intention of the Imperial Government (subject to the concurrence of the Dominion Government) that payment should take some simple form such as an estimated rate per head.

4. There are no accounts which show the cost of supplies and services to Canadian troops in France and the figures can only be arrived at by estimate. Leaving munitions aside the rate of expenditure per head of the Army as a whole (excluding Indian troops) is about 9s. 6d. per day. Of this sum about 4s. represents pay, cash allowances and pensions, the charges corresponding to which in the case of Canadian troops are paid by Canada direct; remounts, for which it was found possible to make a separate settlement on the basis of actual transactions; and mechanical transport vehicles. The remaining 5s. 6d. includes a certain number of large items supplied by the War Office such as rations, forage, fuel, clothing, equipment and general stores, drugs, stationery, and accounts for a total of 4s. per day.

5. The total estimate (April, 1916) was 6s. per day per man which is considered reasonable.

On Feb. 17 it was announced from Ottawa that the forces in England had been re-organized with 26 reserve Battalions arranged according to Provinces and acting as re-inforcements for Battalions at the Front coming from the same Province or, where possible, locally. A question greatly discussed during the year—especially in women's organizations and social reform bodies—was the moral condition of the Canadian soldiers in England. Much of the talk, some of the Resolutions, many of the speeches, were very wide of the mark. War psychology breeds an infinite brood of rumours, and includes depressed views of social and public conditions, with an almost morbid willingness to believe the worst. This moral issue also furnished a ready field for exaggeration in the interest of Prohibition advocacy. At the Ontario Prohibition Convention of Mar. 8 statements absolutely vitriolic in character were made, the British Government was freely condemned with little visible reason or proof for conditions guessed at, or rumoured, or asserted in private correspondence, and more than one woman urged that no more men be allowed to go across. The Rev. E. Tennyson Smith, a veteran English reformer, protested strongly: "To suggest for one moment that the British Government connives at the existence of immoral conditions is absolutely untrue and unfair. Your boys will have no greater temptation or even as great temptation in England as here, for anything worse than the streets of Montreal I have never known. It is entirely untrue that the British Government permits or even winks at immorality." On motion of Mrs. Thornley of the W.C.T.U. a Resolution was passed declaring that the Convention "views with extreme regret and genuine concern the use of the wet canteen, the rum ration and the *permission* (afterwards changed

to "existence") of conditions concerning social vice with the gravest possible effect."

As to alleged drinking and encouragement to drink given in England, Sir Robert Borden in the Commons on May 18, after referring to the kind, hospitable and generous treatment of Canadian troops by the British people and submitting reports from Generals Turner and Steele and Gen. Child of the War Office, added: "It is enough to say that these reports indicate that all such representations are almost absolutely without foundation. The Canadian troops are not addicted to the habit of drunkenness. . . . When troops go to the canteen they are necessarily under discipline and supervision. If there is no wet canteen, and men go out to the public-houses—and you cannot very well prevent them—they are not under the same discipline or supervision." The Rev. John MacNeill of Toronto, at a Prohibition meeting in England on Mar. 3, assumed that many of these charges were true and urged the Temperance example of Canada; the British Government, meantime, by steady legislation, had reduced the national production and consumption of liquor by two-thirds; the Rev. W. B. Caswell, Chaplain, 18th Reserve Battalion, wrote to the *Christian Guardian* (Apr. 25) that statements as to drinking and vice were grossly exaggerated, that the average in the Battalions of 1,200 or 1,500 that he knew of personally was less than one case of drunkenness per day, and that Canadian soldiers in London as tourists were "just as sober and as clean as at home." On July 6 English papers announced that Mr. Lloyd George had received a protest from the Ontario Presbyterian Women's Missionary Society, making grave charges against the British Government because Prohibition had not been adopted and alleging that Canadian soldiers in England were being ruined, body and soul, by drink and disease.

This was characterized freely by Canadian chaplains and officers on the spot as a gross and libellous exaggeration; it was stated officially that the British convictions for drunkenness and other offences in the London area averaged one-fifth of the pre-war period and that protests from workmen and others as to the increasing shortage of beer had recently gone as high as the King. The Rev. Dr. S. D. Chown was explicit as to this problem in a statement to the Social Service Conference on Sept. 13: "There is no question that the reports circulated in Canada as to social disease and drunkenness among the men overseas are not well founded. The stamina of the men is splendid. Convictions and arrests for drunkenness among the Canadian soldiers are less than among a similar body of civilians. The Canadian troops overseas show absolutely no sign of deterioration." At the same time he definitely condemned the existence of temptations greater than the men should be called upon to meet. As to disease in particular Lieut.-Col. (Professor) J. George Adami, M.D., F.R.S., of McGill and the C.A.M.C., on his return from England referred to a branch of the subject (Ottawa, Jan. 16) seldom heard of in Canada: "The number of Canadians going to England with venereal disease has become serious and is a cause of complaint from authorities on the other side." There was a tendency in Canada to

suppose that the 76,000 enlisted troops who were discharged from the Force during the years 1914-17 had been associated in some way with this question, but it was absolutely without basis. As a matter of fact, many of them never reached England, many of the remainder developed unfitness under new climatic conditions, some who got there were affected.

Another issue of these years was the return, or usefulness in England, of officers belonging to broken-up Battations or who had been sent over unattached. There were hundreds of them—an estimate of those remaining in January, 1917, being 300—and General Turner had to face the problem of their disposition. Many of the seniors were too old to revert to lieutenant and there were no other places for them; nearly all wanted to go to the Front and hated to go home without facing fire; in many cases in was impossible for financial and family reasons, to take much lower rank. During 1916-17 200 or more returned to Canada and during the war-years at least 200 Canadians had received British commissions while the Imperial Government also found about 200 positions in training camps, transport duties, posts of town major in the various villages behind the lines, etc., which were suitable for older men. A Canadian Overseas Order, finally, stated that "from October 26, 1917, only officers (with the exception of Quartermasters) with Overseas service will be deemed eligible for employment on the establishment of any reserve unit, regimental or command depôt, school of instruction, department or other formation in the British Isles." Prisoners of War matters were a fruitful source of misunderstanding and there was not always in Canada a due regard for the many-sided nature of the problems before the War Office. New regulations issued in March evoked for the moment some local complaint and this reference from the Canadian Red Cross *Bulletin:*

> We may fairly suppose that the action of the British War Office was based on two principles: (1) To prevent news and food reaching the enemy, and prolonging the War; (2) to ensure the proper feeding of all Canadian prisoners so far as this is possible. The part played by the Canadian Red Cross is to guarantee the cost of supplying food and clothing to all Canadian prisoners, and also to undertake the actual work of registering the names and addresses (so often changed), of prisoners, and sending off to them the weekly parcel of food on which their very life depends. Each prisoner now receives from the funds of the Red Cross a weekly parcel of food costing $1.50 one week, and about $3.00 the next week, together with 6 lbs. of bread each week. Clothes are sent as permitted and as required.

A meeting held in Toronto (Apr. 19) with W. R. Plewman in the chair practically expressed disbelief in the need for these precautions and in the judgment of the War Office! There were about 2,300 Canadian prisoners in Germany at this time and the War Office treated British and Canadians in exactly the same way. Complaint also was made in Parliament on July 31 by J. G. Turriff. In October it was announced that the British Government had arranged for licenses to send British (or Canadian) prisoners money for their maintenance, *via* an agent in a neutral country, to the limit of £25 per month—through Thomas Cook & Sons and subject to Government authorization in Canada. It may be added here that the

5th Division in England which was destined, finally, to be broken up as re-inforcements, was commanded by Maj.-Gen. Garnet B. Hughes, C.M.G., D.S.O., the Artillery by Brig.-Gen W. O. H. Dodds, C.M.G., and the various Canadian Camps as follows: London Area, Col. G. Godson-Godson, D.S.O.; Shorncliffe, Col. C. A. Smart, C.M.G.; Bramshott, Brig.-Gen. F. S. Meighen, C.M.G.; Seaford, Colonel S. D. Gardiner, M.C.; Shoreham, Brig.-Gen. J. P. Landry, C.M.G. What were called the Reserve Brigades were commanded as follows: 1st, Col. M. A. Colquhoun, D.S.O.; 2nd, Col. J. E. Leckie, C.M.G., D.S.O.; 3rd, Col. S. D. Gardiner, M.C.; 4th, Brig.-Gen. J. P. Landry, C.M.G.; 5th, Col. J. A. Gunn, D.S.O.; 6th, Col. J. G. Rattray, D.S.O. Of the Infantry Brigades in the 5th Division Brig.-Gen. J. F. L. Embury, C.M.G., commanded the 13th, Brig.-Gen. A. E. Swift, D.S.O., the 14th, and Lieut.-Col. D. M. Sutherland the 15th. As to appointments during the year, Major G. McLaren Brown, of the C.P.R. in London, became an Assistant Director at the War Office (unpaid) and a Lieut.-Col., and Maj.-Gen. H. E. Burstall, C.B., C.M.G., was made an A.D.C. to the King. Other Canadian appointments in England were as follows:

Director of Organization	Lieut.-Col. F. S. Morrison, D.S.O.
Director of Personal Services	Lieut.-Col. G. F. Hamilton, D.S.O.
Director of Medical Services	Surg.-Gen. G. La F. Foster, C.B.
Director of Chaplain Services	Rev. J. McP. Almond, C.M.G., M.A.
Director of Supplies and Transport	Lieut.-Col. D. M. Hogarth, D.S.O.
Director of Ordnance Services	Lieut-.Col. K. C. Folger, D.S.O.
Commandant, Canadian Training School, Crowborough	Lieut-.Col. A. C. Critchley, D.S.O.
Inspector of War Trophies	Major Beckles Willson.
President, Board to Deal With Regimental Funds	Lieut.-Col. R. M. Dennistoun, K.C.
Director of Veterinary Services	Brig.-Gen. W. J. Neill.
Director of Timber Operations	Brig.-Gen. A. McDougall.
Representative at the Front of Minister of Militia	Col. R. Manley Sims, D.S.O.
Representative on British Canteen Commission	Col. Nelson Spencer, M.L.A.

The Canadian Hospital service in England was important and, in the main, effectively managed during 1917. Lieut.-Col. H. A. Bruce, M.D., whose Report created so much discussion in 1916 and undoubtedly struck weak points in the system—while it apparently exaggerated other defects—was early relieved of his appointment as Inspector-General and became a Chief Inspector of the British Medical Services in France. His Report and the Supplementary one of Sir Wm. Baptie's Commission were debated in Parliament at Ottawa on Feb. 6 and again on July 31 and very widely dealt with in the press.* Surg.-Gen. G. Carleton Jones, who was referred to largely in these documents, was appointed during the year to co-ordinate the Canadian Services in Great Britain, France and Canada. In Parliament on Aug. 27 the Premier submitted a despatch from Sir George Perley reviewing 28 reforms and specific improvements effected during the past 8 months in the administration of the Canadian Army Medical Corps, including details and arrangements as to inspection, assembly and embarkation of patients for shipment, hospital-ship service to Canada, increased accommodation for patients, abolition of dual administration at Shorncliffe, etc., and of Purchasing bureau for Medical supplies, establishment of central Medical stores, decentralization of Medical Boards, etc.

* See 1916 volume for summary of Reports.

Incidents of the year included the regrettable suicide of Col C. W. F. Gorrell, formerly C.O. of the Red Cross Hospital at Taplow; the placing of the Perkins Bull Convalescent Officers' Hospital under the C.A.M.C., and the report of the Ontario Military Hospital in Kent with its 6,000 patients in 12 months; the opening of the Canadian Women's block of the Royal Naval Hospital at Haslar by H.M. Queen Mary—accompanied by Princess Mary—on May 10; the calling of Capt. Andrew MacPhail, M.D., F.R.S.C. (Professor of the History of Medicine at McGill University) from the Front to deliver the Cavendish Lecture before the West London Medico-Chirurgical Society on June 22; the acquisition of a new Canadian Hospital at Liverpool and the moving of the Hospitals at Ramsgate to Buxton with the establishment of the University of Toronto Base Hospital—returned from Salonika—at Basingstoke; the fact that on July 20 there were 18,907 Canadian military patients in Canadian and British hospitals in the British Isles. The following is an official list of all C.E.F. Hospitals in England or France at the close of 1917:*

Canadian General Hospitals

Hospitals	Location	Officer Commanding
No. 1 General Hospital	France	Lieut.-Col. J. G. Gunn.
No. 2 " "	France	Colonel G. S. Rennie.
No. 3 " "	France	Colonel H. S. Birkett, C.M.G.
No. 4 " "	Basingstoke	Lieut.-Col. W. H. Hendry.
No. 5 " "	Liverpool	Lieut.-Col. J. L. Biggar.
No. 6 " "	France	Colonel G. E. Beauchamp.
No. 7 " "	France	Colonel F. Etherington.
No. 8 " "	France	Lieut.-Col. H. R. Casgrain.
No. 9 " "	Shorncliffe	Lieut-.Col. E. G. D. Davis.
No. 10 " "	Brighton	Colonel W. McKeown.
No. 11 " "	Shorncliffe	Lieut.-Col. W. A. Scott.
No. 12 " "	Bramshott	Lieut.-Col. H. E. Kendell.
No. 13 " "	Hastings	Lieut.-Col. J. E. Williams, D.S.O.
No. 14 " "	Eastbourne	Lieut.-Col. E. Seaborn.
No. 15 " "	Taplow	Lieut.-Col. W. L. Watt.
No. 16 " "	Orpington	Lieut.-Col. D. W. McPherson.

Canadian Convalescent Hospitals

Bearwood	Wokingham	Major R. E. Woodhouse.
Bromley	Bromley	Lieut.-Col. J. R. Speir.
Hillingdon House	Uxbridge	Lieut.-Col. J. A. Sponagle.
I.O.D.E. and Perkins Bull	London	Lieut.-Col. H. M. Robertson.
King's-Canadian	Bushey Park	Lieut.-Col. J. D. McQueen.
Monk's-Horton	Monk's-Horton	Lieut.-Col. George Clingham.
Woodcote Park	Epsom	Lieut.-Col. L. E. W. Irving, D.S.O.

Canadian Special Hospitals

Canadian Red Cross	Buxton	Lieut.-Col. F. Guest.
Etchinghill	Etchinghill	Lieut.-Col. W. F. M. McKinnon.
Granville Special	Buxton	Lieut.-Col. J. S. Clark.
West Cliff Eye and Ear	West Cliff	Lieut.-Col. S. H. McKee, C.M.G.
Witley Camp	Witley	Major L. C. Harris.
Lenham	Lenham	Lieut.-Col. W. M. Hart.
Officers' Hospital	Broadstairs	Lieut.-Col. C. H. Gilmour.

Canadian Stationary Hospitals

No. 1 Stationary Hospital	France	Colonel H. C. S. Elliot,
No. 2 " "	France	Lieut.-Col. A. G. Farmer.
No. 3 " "	France	Lieut.-Col. C. H. Reason.
No. 4 " "	France	Lieut.-Col. A. Mignault.
No. 7 " "	France	Lieut.-Col. J. Stewart.
Nol 9 " "	France	Lieut.-Col. R. McLeod.
No. 10 " "	France	Lieut.-Col. E. Seaborn.

Canadian Casualty Clearing Stations

No. 1 Casualty Clearing Station	France	Lieut.-Col. C. H. Dickson.
No. 2 " " "	France	Lieut.-Col. J. E. Davey.
No. 3 " " "	France	Lieut.-Col. R. J. Blanchard.
No. 4 " " "	France	Lieut.-Col. S. W. Prowse.

* Furnished to the Author by courtesy of Gen. W G. Gwatkin, C.B., Chief of Staff, Ottawa.

Of Canadian women's work in England much might be written. As an organization the chief factor was the Canadian War Contingent Association of which Sir George Perley was President and J. G. Colmer, C.M.G., Hon. Secretary, with Lady Perley and Mrs, McLaren Brown as President and Secretary respectively, of the Ladies' Committee. Lady Strathcona, Lady Kirkpatrick, Mrs. L. S. Amery, Mrs. Donald Armour, Mrs. Franklin Jones, Mrs. Haydn Horsey, Mrs. Grant Morden, Mrs. P. Pelletier and Lady Drummond were amongst the members of this Committee. The supply of a steady stream of comforts to the soldiers was the central object of the Association—with toilet articles, food such as hard candy, tinned and dried fruits, chewing gum, lime-juice, curry powder, etc., tobacco, pipes, cigarettes, games, matches, books, magazines, pencils, mouth organs, etc.—as the chief needs. There was a Dominion branch at Halifax to supervise shipping from Canada. The Association also maintained the Queen's Canadian Military Hospital at Beachborough Park, Shorncliffe, and to this institution the women interested gave splendid service and had a new wing under construction in 1917. Expressions of gratitude came to the organization during this year from Generals Byng, Turner, Currie, Burstall, Lipsett, Watson and many others. The receipts from Canada in 1916 illustrated the work done and included 280,000 pairs of socks and 12,500 flannel shirts; the cash subscriptions received in that year were $60,000; during 1917 the receipts and volume of work increased and in October and November, for instance, 106,000 pairs of socks and 4,000 each of shirts, handkerchiefs and mufflers were sent, with 120,000 cigarettes, to the Front. To Canada during the year Mrs. McLaren Brown paid a visit and made a number of speeches while several Provincial branches were organized to help the cause in London. Red Cross work specially appealed to Canadian women in London and here Lady Drummond of Montreal was foremost. She was the organizer and head of a Committee which looked after sick and wounded Canadians in connection with the Red Cross Society and under her leadership ladies of the C.W.C.A. in conjunction with hundreds of friends in all parts of England joined in visiting the numerous hospitals and helping in the work of sympathy and support. The Information Bureau of the Canadian Red Cross was organized by Lady Drummond and continued under her active supervision as one of the most valued of helpful institutions in London for the Canadian soldier. During a brief visit to her home in Montreal, after three years of devoted effort, Lady Drummond—who had lost her only son at Ypres—gave an eloquent Message to Canadians through the Ottawa Canadian Club:

A Message for you, Canada, one that is written in scarlet, even the blood of your sons; at a great price have these exalted you. Henceforth you are above vain-glory. Prejudice and faction shall die out of you, you shall be intolerant only of falsehood and wrong. As in this War England and France, in firm alliance, have defended against a perverted and selfish nationalism, not only their own integrity, but freedom and justice for the world, so may it be with *les deux races au Canada* in time to come. Safe and confident may you be in their common loyalty, Canada; strong also, not in selfish isolation, but as sharing the burdens and privileges of a great community of nations; symbol and presage of a larger unity of mankind.

There was women's work in every direction. At the headquarters of the C.A.M.C. there were lady drivers headed, in length of service, by Miss Gordon Brown, a neice of Col. Sir A. P. Sherwood of Ottawa; in France there were many Red Cross Canadian girls and women taking men's places as drivers of motor ambulances and carrying wounded men from the ambulance trains to the hospitals, helping also with supplies and work of many kinds; throughout France also were many Canadian V.A.D. nurses and helpers in every stage of suffering for the wounded, in every form of kindly entertainment, amusement or comfort for the soldier on leave or resting in the C.R.C. Huts behind the Front. At this point, also, there must be mentioned the British women whose work Lady Drummond recorded in a December, 1917, letter to *The Times*: "In closing I would say a word of grateful, heartfelt thanks as a Canadian woman to the women of this country for the 'perfect mothering' which they have given to our men from overseas." Great Britain had 80,000 Voluntary Aid Detachment Helpers or V.A.D.'s, and the cry and need was for thousands more; Canada helped in this splendid work but not as much as she might have done (perhaps 200 altogether), with the sharp criticisms of Sir Sam Hughes as, no doubt, a negative influence. The unselfish labours of these (in the main) unpaid workers were too great to merit attention to the gossip of occasional women critics. As a matter of fact the V.A.D. nurses in Canada did work similar to that of probationers in a regular nursing course—general ward-work. But in England or near the Front they performed every duty from washing dishes and preparing trays for the men in the hospitals to acting as telephone operators or driving motor ambulances. There was no place they were not ready and anxious to fill. In England, also, every kind of Club and institution, the historic homes of London and the country, were ready for wounded or rest-seeking Canadian soldiers with varied Committees of Canadian women seeking means to help.

There was one serious side to this shield, however—the presence in England, at the beginning of 1917 of about 30,000 Canadian women—relatives of soldiers in the main but many, also, who had drifted to England, in one of the curious contrasts of wartime, for social reasons, for pleasure, for curiosity or similar motives. Of the large total, therefore, a proportion were unable or unwilling to do war-work, to do work of any kind which would be helpful to the community, and became additional burdens upon the financial and food resources of a greatly-burdened country. Gradually they were sifted out by Canadian authorities, some were brought home and no more were allowed to go from Canada; but ships were scarce and difficulties many. Of the incidents during the year an interesting one was the visit of the Duchess of Connaught's Irish-Canadian Rangers, of Montreal, to Ireland. According to despatches 700 men and 28 officers arrived in Dublin on Jan. 25 and were heartily cheered on their march through the streets. The officer in command was Lieut.-Col. O'Donoghue; the Adjutant was Capt. the Hon. A. J. Shaughnessy. The Battalion was reviewed by Lord Wimborne, the Lord Lieutenant; the officers were entertained by

the Lord Mayor at luncheon; letters of welcome were received from the Duchess of Connaught, Mr. Redmond, Sir Edward Carson and others. Belfast was visited and a great welcome received; Cork and Armagh joined in the reception; Blarney Castle was added to the circle of entertainment and "the wearing of the Green," for the moment, assumed an Imperialist chord. Other matters included the depositing of the Colours of the 124th Battalion in Witley Parish Church, one of the oldest in England and mentioned (1081) in the Domesday Book; the tribute by Mr. Lloyd George (July 3) to the skilled work of Canadian Forestry Battalions in Britain; the opening of a Canadian Khaki Club at Shoreham on Aug. 20 and organization of a Canadian Club for officers at Shorncliffe on Sept. 24; the election in 1917 as 834th Lord Mayor of London of Charles A. Hanson, founder of the Montreal brokerage firm of Hanson Brothers; the initiation of an Overseas Press Club with John Kidman of the Montreal *Gazette* as Hon. Secretary; the organization of a Khaki College Library at Witley (Nov. 22) as a part of the Canadian scheme for education of soldiers in training camps as well as in Army groups at the Front.

Canadian Forces in France: Sir A. W. Currie and Other Commanders.

The year 1917 saw about 125,000 Canadians in France giving, when up to establishment, 90,000 fighting troops. This Canadian Army Corps was commanded by Lieut.-Gen. Sir Julian Byng up to and after Vimy, and then by Lieut.-Gen. Sir Arthur Currie; its Divisional Commanders were Majors-General A. C. Macdonell—after General Currie's promotion—H. E. Burstall, L. J. Lipsett and David Watson; its Cavalry Brigade was led by Brig.-Gen. J. E. B. Seeley, D.S.O., War Secretary for a time before the War. In this Army* there were 54 Battalions of Infantry, or about 55,000 men, more than 10,000 Artillery, from 3,000 to 4,000 Engineers, 3,000 Medical troops, perhaps 2,000 Army Service Corps, with others making about 20,000 troops of other arms than the Infantry. The Cavalry Brigade had an establishment of 3,000. The fighting corps troops amounted to 11,000, the bulk of them being Artillery, 5,000 or 6,000 strong, including siege artillery, aircraft artillery, trench mortars, with Corps field-troops for maintaining the supply of ammunition, etc. There also were over 2,000 engineers, tunnellers, telegraphers, telephonists, etc., with 3,000 machine-gunmen and cyclists. With these men in the Divisions and Cavalry Brigade and Fighting Corps troops were 28,000 in Railway, Forestry and Labour Services, with 36,000 on the lines of communication. These figures, of course, indicated the establishment and necessarily differed at various stages of fighting, rest, recuperation and reserve.

At the beginning of the year Maj.-Gen. A. W. Currie, C.B., D.S.O., who had been in command of the 1st Division since 1915, was steadily making his mark as a rising officer of solid ability. He had joined the Canadian Militia as a private in 1895 and had worked his way up to the successful command of the 5th British Columbia

* Official statement issued by Department of Militia, Ottawa, on Nov. 1st, 1917.

Regiment of Garrison Artillery; he received in 1914 the command of a Brigade for active service and soon showed the elements of natural military capacity. Writing to M. N. Oxley of the National Life Assurance—of which Company the General had, in private life, been resident manager at Victoria, B.C., for 15 years—in a letter published at Toronto (Jan. 20) he stated that, during 1916, "we inflicted more casualties than we received, and whenever you do that in this war you win, for it is a war of attrition." Typical of the man were these letters to different old friends which from time to time found their way into print—kindly in remembrance of everyone serving under him and of special interest to his correspondent or local circles. In one, published by the Victoria *Colonist* of Apr. 15, after referring to the return of a bombing party from a raid, he said that there was nothing savage about them: "Nothing can exceed their self-sacrifice, their sense of duty, their sharing of each others' burdens, their chivalry or their gallantry. They are living closer to their God than ever before. . . . I would like to tell you a little about our chaplains. They've been splendid—practicing Christianity, not preaching it." In a letter to a New York friend, dated Mar. 16, he spoke of the Germans with much force: "Every story concerning German cruelty, treachery, lack of decency and honour, rape, murder, is true. Would it be worth living in a world with Germany in the ascendancy? I don't think so."

On June 10 General Byng issued a special Order of farewell upon promotion to the command of one of the British armies: "During the year of my command the unvarying success in battle, the progress in training and in discipline, and the unswerving devotion and loyalty of all ranks are features which stand out prominently in the history of the Corps. That history will last forever, and my association with you in the making of it is a joy that can never be impaired." Many tributes were paid to this popular Commander by the Dominion Government, officers and men in personal correspondence, and by all who knew his military work of the period. The Canadian press was chiefly interested in his successor and several journals hoped it would be a Canadian with Generals Currie and Turner specially mentioned. On June 19 it was announced that Sir Arthur Currie—recently knighted by the King upon the Battlefield of Vimy—had been authorized to take over the command. It was a remarkable promotion and well illustrated the possibilities for natural talent in a great struggle where real ability was an absolute essential. The new Commander continued from time to time to express himself on Canadian affairs touching the War and, while in London on June 19, said to F. A. McKenzie, the correspondent: "My own personal conviction is that the only solution of the problem of Canadian recruiting is Conscription. I believe the many difficulties which now threaten the adoption of such a policy would disappear before prompt, bold action. My experiences in France have shown me, as a soldier, the necessity of Conscription if we desire to maintain at full strength our fighting divisions to the end of the War." In July he was gazetted, with Maj.-Gen. Turner, a Lieut.-General. On Aug. 4 he authorized a Message to the Montreal *Star*, stating

that news from Canada was not pleasant reading at the Front where "Orangemen and Catholics, Anglo-Saxon and French-Canadians, Whig and Tory, fight side by side and, dying, are laid side by side in the same grave, fully satisfied to give their lives for the cause they know to be just." These and other utterances caused political criticism in Canada and the declaration of Hon. Frank Oliver at a Liberal Convention, Red Deer, Alberta, (Sept. 27) that "when we have a political general in command of our forces I want to be assured that our battles are not being fought for political effect." This statement—and later rumours as to the General's retirement—aroused much comment but were generally accepted as ebullitions of an election campaign—especially as Sir Arthur did not hesitate to urge public support for the Union Government because of its Conscription attitude. His private letters of this period show intense pride in the men under his command—the fighting, indomitable spirit of the Canadians. To Sir. Wm. Hearst, Toronto, in a note which was published on Dec. 6, he said: "The year 1917 has been a glorious year for the Canadian Corps. We have taken every objective from the enemy we started for, and have not had a single reverse. Vimy, Arleux, Fresnoy, Avion, Hill 70, and Passchendaele all signify hard-fought battles and notable victories. All this testifies to the discipline, training, leadership and fine fighting qualities of the Canadians. Words cannot express the pride one feels in being associated with such splendid soldiers." In December the General was decorated by King Albert upon the battlefield with the highest Belgian honour for his victory at Passchendaele Ridge.

Only less important than the work of the Infantry and Cavalry and Artillery was that of the so-called non-combatant Services—a mere figure of speech very often, so far as danger was concerned. The Railway Corps were particularly effective—the work of one month (April) showing 51 miles of track laid, 43 miles repaired, 36 graded, 46 ballasted, 60 maintained (average), 1,597 men engaged on construction with 3,276 of other labour attached and many bridges built or repaired. Col. W. C. P. Ramsey, C.M.G., Montreal, and Brig.-Gen. J. W. Stewart (Vancouver), were in charge. The despatch of F.-M. Sir Douglas Haig, made public on June 20, referred to this work and to Government action as to Railway stock late in 1916: "I wish to place on record here the fact that the successful solution of the problem of railway transport would have been impossible had it not been for the patriotism of the Railway companies at home and in Canada. They did not hesitate to give up the locomotives and rolling stock required to meet our needs and even to tear up track in order to provide us with the necessary rails." To these men and the Labour Battalions, Roland Hill referred in an article of Oct. 17 issued by the Militia Department: "They are shelled by Fritz, if anything, more persistently and in greater volume than the Infantry, yet night and day tons of ammunition and rations and men go forward over repaired lines, feeding guns and men alike." Railway troops, as they came to be called, moving the lines up to and operating them close behind the Front, had many casualties

in 1917 and the Canadian contingents won a number of the D.S.O. and other honours—notably in the Cambrai fighting. So with Canadian Engineers and Tunnelling companies (No. 3) who sent Hill 60 up in fine dust, who were continually under fire in many parts of the long lines and who rendered great and varied service. One Correspondent visited a Company which counted 7 officers with the Military Cross and 27 men with other decorations won in this work.

The Forestry Corps also did good work with 22 Companies operating in France in the middle of 1917 with probably double that number by the end of the year. The Companies were equipped with Canadian-made saw milling machinery and tools, and the greatest efficiency and keenness was displayed by all ranks. Operations extended over a large area. All species of lumber were manufactured, including sawn timber, sleepers, trench timber, pit props for roads and mining. They often operated under fire and in an advance their work was essential. Nine-tenths of the preparation was in fact dependent on lumber supplies. Nothing could be moved over soggy, shell-devastated ground without improvised plank roads or railways resting on wooden ties. Shelters for men, trenches, saps and innumerable other structures of an advancing army were made of wood. At the beginning of 1917 there were 1,500 of these Canadian workers at the Front; at the end of the year there were 56 companies—33 working for the British and 23 for the French armies, with about 8,000 men altogether. Col. J. B. White (Westmount) was at the head of the Corps. The work of the Canadian Army Medical Corps was arduous, effective and highly considered, the skill of the surgeons and devotion of the nurses remarkable; the work of the stretcher-bearers in the battles of this year was beyond all praise for self-sacrificing bravery and assiduity; and the achievements of Medical science in the Canadian service, as in the British and French, were wonderful, with epidemic disease almost eradicated, typhoid non-existent, sanitation splendid. The medical work of this Corps included early diagnosis and elimination of suspected cases of epidemic disease; inoculation to control typhoid fever, etc.; chlorination and filtration of water, and destruction of excreta; control of insects and breeding places of flies; protection of food. The Dental service before and after the formation of the Canadian Army Dental Corps was exceptionally effective and did much to maintain the health of the troops.

The Canadian Battles of the Year—Vimy, Passchendaele, Bellevue, etc.

The War efforts and successes of Canadian troops in 1917 came at a stage when the acknowledged high standing of the Army Corps was at its best with a good average of mental and physical qualities, excellent conditions of discipline and training, a shrewd individual common-sense trained in the business of war. There was quick initiative and a disregard for red-tape which was characteristic and effective when combined with discipline. Canadians had held at various times a battle-front ranging from about a mile on the Ypres Salient, 6,000 yards in the fierce fighting

of June, 1916, and perhaps 12 miles in the Somme offensive of 1916; early in 1917 they held, according to Stewart Lyon's estimate, about one-fortieth of the entire Western front. During the first months of this year they carried out a number of important raids—notably north of Arras on Jan. 17 with 1,000 yards of trenches captured; on Feb. 15 when a Bavarian Battalion was treated to mines and bombs and some of their trenches were taken; on Feb. 27 and Mar. 1 when considerable damage was done the enemy but with the loss in the latter fight of Colonels S. G. Beckett and A. H. G. Kimball, C.B., D.S.O., Then came the Battle of Vimy Ridge. It was a part of the general attack launched on Apr. 9 by the 1st and 3rd Armies of the British Command along the Arras front and the Canadians were given a section of the Arras-Lens road, with Vimy Ridge as their objective. They had four Divisions in line assisted by one British brigade. Their troops numbered about 75,000 with Lieut.-Gen. Sir Julian Byng, K.C.B., in command of the Corps which was a part of the 1st Army under Gen. Sir H. S. Horne, K.C.B.; the enemy's Army was under Crown Prince Rupprecht of Bavaria. The Commanders of the four Canadian Divisions were, respectively, Majors-General A. W. Currie, C.B., H. E. Burstall, L. J. Lipsett and David Watson; the Infantry Brigades were commanded by Brigadiers-General Garnet B. Hughes, C.M.G., W. St. P. Hughes, D.S.O., F. O. Loomis, D.S.O., G. S. Tuxford, C.B., C.M.G., Robert Rennie, C.M.G., M.V.O., D.S.O., A. H. Macdonell, C.M.G., D.S.O., A. C. Macdonell, D.S.O., C.M.G., H. D. B. Ketchen, C.M.G., J. H. Elmsley, D.S.O., F. W. Hill, D.S.O., Victor W. Odlum, D.S.O., and J. H. MacBrien, D.S.O. The Battalion Commanders were as follows, early in the year, and with very few changes at the date of the Battle:

INFANTRY	C.O. BATTALION
1st	Lieut.-Col. G. C. Hodson.
2nd	Lieut.-Col. W. M. Yates.
3rd	Lieut.-Col. J. B. Bogers, M.C.
4th	Lieut.-Col. W. Rae, D.S.O.
5th	Lieut.-Col. H. M. Dyer, D.S.O.
7th	Lieut.-Col. W. F. Gilson.
8th	Lieut.-Col. J. M. Prower, D.S.O.
10th	Lieut.-Col. D. M. Ormond.
13th	Lieut.-Col. G. E. McCuaig, D.S.O.
14th	Lieut.-Col. R. P. Clark, M.C.
15th	Lieut.-Col. C. E. Bent, D.S.O.
16th	Lieut.-Col. C. W. Peck.
18th	Lieut.-Col. G. F. Morrison, D.S.O.
19th	Lieut.-Col. W. R. Turnbull.
20th	Lieut.-Col. C. H. Rogers.
21st	Lieut.-Col. E. W. Jones, D.S.O.
22nd	Lieut.-Col. A. E. Dubuc, D.S.O.
24th	Lieut.-Col. R. O. Alexander, D.S.O.
25th	Lieut.-Col. E. Hilliam, D.S.O.
26th	Lieut.-Col. A. E. G. McKenzie, D.S.O.
27th	Lieut.-Col. J. P. Daly, C.M.G., D.S.O.
28th	Lieut.-Col. A. Ross.
29th	Lieut.-Col. J. M. Ross, D.S.O.
31st	Lieut.-Col. A. H. Bell, D.S.O.
38th	Lieut.-Col. C. M. Edwards, D.S.O.
42nd	Lieut.-Col. G. S. Cantlie, D.S.O.
43rd	Lieut.-Col. W. Grassie.
44th	Lieut.-Col. E. R. Wayland.
46th	Lieut.-Col. H. J. Dawson.
47th	Lieut.-Col. W. N. Winsby.
49th	Lieut.-Col. W. A. Griesbach, D.S.O.
50th	Lieut.-Col. C. B. Worsnop, D.S.O.
54th	Lieut.-Col. A. H. G. Kemball, C.B.
58th	Lieut.-Col. H. A. Genet, D.S.O.
60th	Lieut.-Col. F. A. DeL. Gascoigne.
72nd	Lieut.-Col. J. A. Clark.
75th	Lieut.-Col. S. G. Beckett.
78th	Lieut.-Col. J. Kirkcaldy, D.S.O.
87th	Lieut.-Col. R. W. Frost, D.S.O.
102nd	Lieut.-Col. J. W. Warden, D.S.O.
Princess Patricias,	Lieut.-Col. A. S. A. M. Adamson, D.S.O.
Royal Can'd'ns,	Lieut.-Col. C.H. Hill, D.S.O.
93rd	Lieut.-Col. T. J. Johnston.
1st C.M.R.,	Lt.-Col. R. C. Andros. D.S.O.
4th "	Lt.-Col. H. D. L. Gordon, D.S.O.
5th "	Lt.-Col. D. C. Draper, D.S.O.

The attack of the Canadian Corps was preceded by a blasting, withering fire from British and Canadian artillery which smashed Vimy Ridge as though by the combined force of an earthquake and tornado. The defences had been organized on a scale proportionate to the importance of the position and consisted of an extensive and intricate series of heavily wired trench systems, with numerous fire trenches and communication trenches, deep and elaborate dug-

outs, caves and tunnels, concrete machine-gun and trench-mortar emplacements, and cunningly-constructed redoubts, while along the whole front lay a chain of great craters created by preceding mine explosions. An official description of the fire-onslaught which followed the three days' bombardment declared that it was pressed with special and terrific force on the morning of Apr. 9 from massed artillery and many field-guns hidden in advanced positions: "The greatest of British guns bombarded the enemy positions on and beyond the Ridge and trenches, dugouts, emplacements and roads, were smashed to uselessness." An intense *barrage* of shrapnel from the field-guns, strengthened by the indirect fire of hundreds of machine guns, followed along the front and at 5.30 a.m. the Canadian troops advanced in three waves of attack. Flurries of snow drifted over the battlefield as the Canadians left their jumping-off trenches. Behind the rolling *barrage* the light was sufficient for manoeuvring purposes and yet obscure enough to obstruct the range of vision and lessen the accuracy of fire by the German riflemen and machine gunners: "The first stage of the advance was made over ground indescribably tangled with obstacles of all sorts, with great mine craters, with thousands of shell-holes which had churned the whole field into a vast puddle of mud, with crumbled trenches, coils and hedges of torn entanglements and barbed wire." But over this difficult ground, over and around the craters and tangles, into and under the fire of the enemy, the long lines of Canadian infantry moved forward steadily on the fringe of a rolling curtain of shrapnel fire. The troops followed the *barrage* and with them were a large number of Tanks, then new to the enemy and a great help when the crest of the Ridge was reached and the soldiers had to meet machine-gun emplacements which still existed and Germans who were still able to fight despite the artillery blasts. Especially at Hill 145 was a strong defence made with reserves pouring in from Lens and Douai but it was useless and by 1 p.m. the Canadians were in possession of Vimy Ridge and looking down upon the level plains of Douai with the villages of Farbus, Vimy and Petit Vimy lying at their feet and not far beyond those of Bailleul, Arleux and Mericourt. Following this success they branched out and in the next few days took various places, including the villages of Vimy and other points of German vantage; on the 13th the enemy withdrew on a considerable front. Field Marshal Haig's report of the Battle of Arras (Dec. 25) dealt with this portion of it as follows:

> The attack of the 1st Army on the Vimy Ridge was carried out by the Canadian Corps. It was further arranged that, as soon as the Vimy Ridge had been secured, the troops in line on the front with the Canadian Corps should extend the area of of attack northward as far as the left bank of the Souchez River. An additional Army Corps was also at the disposal of the 1st Army in reserve. . . . On the left the Canadians rapidly overran the German positions and by 9.30 a.m., in spite of difficulty going over wet and sticky ground, had carried the village of Les Tilleuls and La Folie Farm. Further north, the Canadian division, with an English brigade in the centre of its attack, completed the capture of the Vimy Ridge from Commandant's House to Hill 145, in spite of considerable opposition, especially in the neighbourhood of Thelus and the high ground north of this village. These positions were taken by 1 p.m., and early in the afternoon our final objectives in this area had

been gained. . . . The left Canadian division, meanwhile, had gradually fought its way forward on Hill 145, in the face of a very desperate resistance. The enemy defended this dominating position with great obstinacy, and his garrison, re-inforced from dugouts and underground tunnels, launched frequent counter-attacks. In view of the severity of the fighting, it was decided to postpone the attack upon the crest line until the following day. At the end of the day, therefore, our troops were established deeply in the enemy's positions on the whole front of attack. We had gained a firm footing in the enemy's third line on both banks of the Scarpe, and had made an important breach in the enemy's last fully completed line of defence. Meanwhile, on the left flank of our battle front, the Canadians had renewed their attack at 4 p.m. (Apr. 10) on the portion of Hill 145 still remaining in the enemy's possession, and captured it after sharp fighting, together with over 200 prisoners and a number of trench mortars and machine guns. . . . On our left flank operations of the 1st Army astride the Souchez River met with complete success. Attacks were delivered simultaneously at 5 a.m. on Apr. 12 by English and Canadian troops against the two small hills known as the Pimple and the Boisen-Hache, situated on either side of the Souchez River. Both of these positions were captured, with a number of prisoners and machine guns. Steps were at once taken to consolidate our gains and patrols were pushed forward to maintain touch with the enemy. The withdrawal (of the enemy) commenced on the morning of Apr. 13. Before noon on that day Canadian patrols had succeeded in occupying the southern portion of Givenchy-en-Gohelle, had pushed through Petit Vimy and had reached the cross-roads 500 yards north-east of the village. That afternoon English patrols north of the Souchez River crossed No Man's Land and entered Angres, while Canadian troops completed the occupation of Givenchy-en-Gohelle and the German trench system east of it. Further south our troops seized Petit Vimy and Vimy, and Willerval and Bailleul were occupied in turn.

The honour won in this action was great and promised to be permanent; the comments were world-wide and eulogistic of the Canadian forces; the congratulations many and earnest. As Percival Phillips of the *Morning Post* put it (Apr. 10): "The Canadians hold Vimy Ridge and dominate the beaten enemy beyond it. They fought their way from the foot to the crest and continued their progress down the steeper eastern slope to-day. It is the bitterest German defeat of all. The Ridge which barred our path to the plain of Douai was regarded by Prince Rupprecht's armies, like many other defences since lost, as an impregnable fortress capable of resisting any assault. Yet the Canadians took it on a time-table, which, save in one trifling instance, was faithfully adhered to, and flung the Bavarian front back into the ruins of Vimy and the scarred field below." In its editorial of Apr. 11 the New York *Tribune* declared that: "No praise of the Canadian achievement can be excessive. From the plains and from the mountains, from the cities and from the prairies, Canada has poured out her thousands and her hundreds of thousands; she has sent across the ocean an army greater than Napoleon ever commanded on any battlefield; her volunteer regiments have shown the same stubborn and tenacious quality which is the glory of the British army." From the British press came whole-hearted and unstinted eulogy. Little was said of the English north-country and Scottish troops who, in this far-flung Arras fight, also captured dozens of fortified and difficult places on the way to Lens and Cambrai and St. Quentin, took about 10,000 prisoners and many guns and in six days advanced six miles and broke the tradition of trench impregnability. The imagination of old and new countries, alike, was caught by the specific Canadian success. From the King in London and the Prime Minister at

Ottawa came congratulations, from Sir Edward Kemp an official cable, and from Sir Sam Hughes an unofficial one, from the Governor-General of Australia and Mr. Walter Long, Colonial Secretary, came cabled eulogies, from General Sir Henry Horne this official statement: "By the troops of the 1st Army the Vimy Ridge has been regarded as a position of very great strength. The Germans have considered it impregnable. To have carried this position with so little loss testifies to soundness of plan, thoroughness of preparation, dash and determination in execution, and devotion to duty on the part of all concerned. The ninth of April will be a historic day in the annals of the British Empire." In a Special Order Sir Douglas Haig said: "The capture of the renowned Vimy Ridge is an achievement of the highest order of which Canada may well be proud."

In this Battle of Vimy—lasting, with its extensions, from Apr. 9 to the 13th—the casualties included some representative officers. Brig.-Gen. F. O. W. Loomis was slightly wounded, Lieut. H. Boyd Symonds and Lieut. L. C. Ramsay of Montreal were killed, and Capt. W. S. M. MacTier and Lieut. A. J. Norsworthy, of a notable military family, wounded; Major Gordon Heron and Lieut. Wm. Molloy, ex-M.L.A., of Winnipeg, were killed; Major J. A. Crichtley, M.C.—one of four brothers and a father on active service from an Alberta ranch—was killed, as was Capt. Walter Pickup and Lieut. E. R. Dennis, M.C., of Halifax, Capt. Victor Gordon Tupper of Vancouver, Major C. C. Gwyn of Dundas, Lieut. Douglas Armstrong and Capt. G. R. Heron, Ottawa; so with Lieut. Guy A. Beck, one of four Toronto brothers at the Front, Major T. H. Callaghan, D.C.M., Capt. C. W. Birch, Victoria, Major W. E. Curry and Capt. H. S. Boulter of Toronto. The operations of this first phase in the Battle of Arras were continued on Apr. 28 on a front of 8 miles and following preliminary attacks held up by insufficiently destroyed wire entanglements. The objectives of the Canadian Corps on this date consisted of Arleux-en-Gohelle and the German trench system west of the village, known as the Arleux Loop. The attacking troops were ordered to advance to a definite line east of the village, and there consolidate a position in preparation for further operations. The main attack against Arleux was entrusted to the same Canadian Division that had reached Parbus Wood on the right of the Canadian attack on the 9th of April, while the Division that had captured Thelus was directed to form a defensive flank to the north. The attack was launched at 4.45 a.m., and in spite of determined resistance on the part of the German infantry the whole of the enemy's trench line was successfully carried. Severe fighting took place in Arleux but the garrison of the village was gradually overcome, and the objectives gained. Some hundreds of prisoners were taken and the line held.

In further co-operation with the British advance and in a general attack from Bullecourt to Fresnoy, the Canadian troops stormed the latter village and the German defences north of it towards a point close to Acheville. The German infantry offered the most stubborn resistance throughout the advance, and the fighting was bitter, German losses heavy and 470 prisoners taken. In consequence of a

failure to capture Oppy this position became a sharp salient and after the Canadians had been relieved by a British Division was, on the 8th, evacuated. Progress was made however from the readjusted Canadian trenches and on June 12 a number of trenches were captured and consolidated with counter-attacks repulsed. On the 24th of June Canadian troops co-operated with the British brigade on their left in successful attack north of the Souchez River, by which an important section of the enemy's trench system was seized on a front of about 400 yards. Next day this success was followed up on both banks of the river. Canadian troops occupied the German trenches from the northwest edge of La Coulotte to the river, while further north troops of the neighbouring British Division made equal progress. On the 26th of June the advance of the Canadian Corps was resumed under cover of an artillery *barrage* and rapid progress made on the whole front between the Arras-Lens railway and the river. All objectives were gained, including La Coulotte village. On June 27 the enemy's trenches south of Avion were attacked and captured and on the 28th a general attack was launched with Canadian troops pushing through Avion and Eleu dit Leauvette.

All these operations involved courage and skill and organization. At Fresnoy, according to *The Times* correspondent: "The village was strongly defended by machine guns and wire. While these were temporarily held by the troops attacking the village frontally, those on both sides pushed right and left. After fighting amid the ruins 200 men and eight officers surrendered. This success breaks at this point the notorious Oppy-Mericourt line." Of the Arleux fight *The Times* said that: "All the conditions were very favourable for the defence, but the Canadian attack was irresistible. The machine-guns from the sunken roads gave some trouble, and the left-hand troops were temporarily delayed. The centre and right went straight on, however, over successive obstacles and into the village, where there was very stiff fighting, much of it individual hand-to-hand combats." Following this advance—a part of a large and hotly-contested British movement on a 15-mile front—Sir Julian Byng on May 3 addressed a Message "expressing to all ranks the pride I feel in commanding the Canadian Corps." It was in this stage of the fighting that Lieut.-Col. Russell Britton, D.S.O., was killed by a shell. Writing to the London *Chronicle* Philip Gibbs said: "These men who took Arleux and Fresnoy are great soldiers, excelling in certain grim qualities of spirit which make them terrible in attack and strong to endure. . . . Imagine the spirit of men who will walk through two *barrages*, falling walls of shell-fire, in order to get at the enemy beyond. That was what happened on the way to Fresnoy." Of the fighting around Coulotte there was one brilliant piece in which a central electric station, forming an outpost of Lens, was finally taken by British Columbian troops on June 6. This part of the struggle around Lens, including Coulotte and other actions, brought Canadians within a mile of the centre of this great mining city and region while movements or raids in August captured other positions on the way—especially on Aug. 21

when lines of trenches skirting the town were taken with 200 prisoners. Meanwhile, on Aug. 15, the chief portion of the Canadian troops had attacked on a front of 4,000 yards south-east of Loos with the strong fortification called Hill 70 as the objective. It had been reached by the British but not held in the Battle of Loos on Sept. 25, 1915. The assault now was successful at light cost and in exact accordance with plans while, at the same time, three mining suburbs of importance were captured. The succeeding actions resulting in the capture of Passchendaele Ridge were thus described by Sir Douglas Haig in his Report of Dec. 25:

On Oct. 26 English and Canadian troops attacked on a front extending from the Ypres-Roulers railway to beyond Poelcappelle. The Canadians attacked on the right on both sides of the small stream known as the Ravebeek, which flows south-westward from Passchendaele. On the left bank of the stream they advanced astride the main ridge and established themselves securely on the small hill south of Passchendaele. North of the Ravebeek strong resistance was met on the Bellevue Spur, a very strong point which had resisted our efforts in previous attacks. With splendid determination the Canadians renewed their attack on this point in the afternoon, and captured it. Two strong counter-attacks south and west of Passchendaele were beaten off, and by nightfall the Canadians had gained practically the whole of their objectives.

On Oct. 30 Canadian and English troops attacked at 5.50 a.m. on a front extending from the Ypres-Roulers railway to the Poelcappelle-Westroosebeke road. On the right the Canadians continued their advance along the high ground and reached the outskirts of Passchendaele, capturing an important position at Crest Farm on a small hill south-west of the village. Fighting was severe at all points, but particularly on the spur west of Passchendaele. Here no less than five strong counter-attacks were beaten off in the course of the day, our troops being greatly assisted by the fire of captured German machine guns in Crest Farm. At 6 a.m. on Nov. 6 Canadian troops renewed their attack and captured the village of Passchendaele, together with the high ground immediately to the north and north-west. Sharp fighting took place for the possession of pill-boxes in the northern end of the village, around Mosselmarkt, and on the Goudberg Spur. All objectives were gained at an early hour, and at 8.50 a.m. a hostile counter-attack was beaten off. Over 400 prisoners were captured in this most successful attack, by which for the second time within the year Canadian troops achieved a record of uninterrupted success. Four days later, in extremely unfavourable weather, British and Canadian troops attacked northward from Passchendaele and Goudberg, and captured further ground on the main ridge after heavy fighting.

No brief record, such as this must be, can give any idea of what the fighting of these months involved; of the universal courage displayed or the heroism so often evoked by opportunity and marked by honours from the Crown or mention in despatches; of the privations cheerfully endured, of the friendly emulation with Empire or Allied soldiers. Canadian troops did not like too much praise—though it would have been difficult to reach that point. They were at this time amongst the best troops on the Front; to say that they were better than the best British or French soldiers would be to express an impossibility. Of the various events summarized above it may be said that the official British report of Aug. 15 described the storming of two miles of German positions east of Loos: "The formidable defences on Hill 70, which resisted our attacks in the Battle of Loos in September, 1915, and had since been improved and strengthened by every method and device known to our enemies, were carried by assault." These lines were held after the capture by

Canadians against what *The Times* described as "repeated German counter-attacks of the bloodiest and most costly description." It was probably the most desperate fighting that the Canadian Corps faced during the year and on Aug. 22 they had taken another mile of trenches under similar conditions and held one advanced post within the city itself. This conflict was marked by a bloody personal encounter with bayonets in which neither combatant would yield—until the Canadians won over the dead bodies of the enemy. Between the 15th and 22nd 1,400 prisoners were taken. Sir Douglas Haig on the 23rd sent this Message to General Currie:

> I desire to congratulate you personally on the complete and important success with which your command of the Canadian Corps has been inaugurated. The Division you employed on Aug. 15 totally defeated four German Divisions, whose losses are reliably estimated at more than double those suffered by the Canadian troops. The skill, bravery, and determination shown in the attack and in maintaining the positions won against repeated heavy counter-attacks were in all respects admirable.

To Sir Edward Kemp General Currie cabled in reply to congratulations that "in repeated and determined counter-attacks the flower of the German army was thrown against us, but our line remained unshaken as our own Rockies. Will not the pride which you say Canada has in her sons inspire her to send us men to take the place of those so nobly fallen?" As days and weeks passed the Canadians continued to press upon and crowd the defenders of Lens—raiding at times the very heart of the blood-stained city, holding houses faced by the enemy across the street, fighting day and night, winning many decorations and multiplying incidents of heroism. Then they were relieved and placed on the Passchendaele line where more open and conspicuous fighting took place and they smashed their way through Bellevue Spur and other fortifications to and over the Ridge. Of the Bellevue fight much might be said. While pressing up the slope the men were frequently hip-deep in the squelching mire and struggled onward thus for six hours until in the face of a shattering machine-gun fire they were ordered to withdraw temporarily. Then re-inforcements were brought up, the waves re-organized, the Canadians advanced again and yard by yard the semi-liquid slope was breasted. Pill-box after pill-box was cleared until the crest of the spur was reached and passed. In the British offensive of June-October, which as a whole took the Messines, Wytschaete, Zonnebeke, Pilken and Passchendaele Ridges, the Canadians captured the last-mentioned after taking Meetchele Village in a notable preliminary action.

This fighting on the outposts of Flanders gave the Corps new reputation and the French press could not say too much of the initiative, persistence and cool courage shown. General Currie wrote Sir G. Perley on Nov. 7 that: "The situation was that certain tactical features had to be taken. Canadians were brought to do the job; so far they have done it mighty well." The Canadian Cavalry, chiefly Fort Garry Horse, which aided General Byng at Cambrai, performed some work on Nov. 20 which ranked with the best exploits of the kind in Empire history—one squadron charging

upon and capturing an enemy Battery and racing two miles into the enemy lines over infantry and other obstacles and then fighting its way back, or the 43 who remained did, through guns and soldiers to Masnières. At the close of the year the Canadian Corps was back at Lens. It may be added that the German troops facing Canadians at Vimy totalled 140,000 or 8 Divisions; that, according to General Byng, the prisoners taken were 5,000 and the artillery included 65 guns, 106 mortars and 126 machine guns. General Currie's explanation of the success as given in a letter to Col. E. G. Prior of Victoria (*Colonist*, June 7) was (1) supreme confidence in the men, (2) careful plans and study before attack, (3) splendid artillery training and support. War appointments of the year included Col. A. E. G. MacKenzie, D.S.O., of St. John as Brig.-General to command the 5th Brigade; Col. F. B. Black, ex-M.L.A., of Moncton as Brig.-General, with command of a Brigade; Brig.-Gen. E. W. B. Morrison, D.S.O., as Canadian Artillery Corps Commander in succession to Maj.-Gen. Burstall. In September Walter A. Willison was named as Canadian Press representative with the troops in succession to Stewart Lyon who had held the post about a year. The French Government presented to Canada and forwarded a collection of War trophies which Sir Robert Borden described in the Commons on Sept. 19; General Seeley, former Secretary for War and Commanding the Canadian Cavalry, lost his son in action; Lieut.-Col. J. H. Mitchell, D.S.O., C.M.G., was one of a British Staff Mission sent to Italy at the close of the year; the retirement of Brig.-Gen. Arch. H. Macdonell, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., from active service was another personal event of importance.

The Returned Soldier: Pensions and the Hospital Commission; The G.W.V.A.

Much was done for the returned soldier in 1917; there, still, however, was much to do. There were from 10,000 to 20,000 men in Canada during the year who (1) had returned to England from the Front wounded or ill and, after a time of careful treatment, been found incapacitated for further service, and were brought home, (2) had been brought to Canada to be treated for wounds or disablement of a presumably permanent nature. There were, also, about 70,000 men who had been in khaki for a short time but were discharged before leaving the country for physical or other reasons or who had got to England and there were found to be unfitted for active service, or in a small minority of cases, were sent home for insubordination or personal offences. They were not a factor, as yet, but might some day develop difficulties. The returned soldier was at this time an Imperial problem as well as a Canadian one and a strong effort was organized in England to direct after-war emigration of soldiers, in concert with the Dominions, to the Empire rather than outside countries. The Standing Emigration Committee, of which the Duke of Marlborough was Chairman, and the Empire Land Settlement Committee (Earl Grey, Chairman), were elements in this work; the Australian constitution of a Government Board to direct local financial aid in the migration of soldiers from the Motherland was one result. The British Govern-

ment appointed a Committee in February to consider and report on this question with Lord Tennyson as Chairman and the High Commissioners for Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, and Agents-General for six Australian States as members, and only one Canadian, J. Bruce Walker, Commissioner of Immigration, Winnipeg. He was selected, no doubt, by the Canadian Government and Sir George Perley did not accept a place on the Committee.

On Jan. 10-12 a Conference on this question was held between the Dominion and Provincial Governments at Ottawa as the result of a despatch from the British Government supporting the retention of emigrants within the Empire wherever possible. Land settlement plans for soldiers were discussed and legislation was, later on, presented to Parliament and approved. Preferential employment and technical education for returned men were also considered. The Imperial side of the question was to be taken up by the Premier when he went to England in the summer and, meanwhile, the subject was discussed in the Canadian Commons on Feb. 5 by F. F. Pardee and others on the basis of future demobilization of 400,000 soldiers and 300,000 munition workers. Sir Robert Borden in speaking divided the returned men into two classes—(1) those who, upon arrival in Canada, were retained under the care of the Military Hospitals Commission, placed in hospitals, in sanatoria, or in convalescent homes, and who continued to draw their pay and allowances and to be provided for; and (2) those who were discharged and as to whom it was the duty of the Federal and Provincial Governments to see that they had every opportunity for employment either in the occupations in which they were engaged before or in some other occupation. From Parliament the discussion passed to the country. W. J. Gage of Toronto took the practical step of donating $100,000 to provide comfortable homes at nominal rentals for the widows and children and other dependants of Canadian soldiers killed on active service; the Ontario Good Roads Association (Feb. 27) heard schemes for the employment of returned soldiers in highway construction; farm work was said to be insufficiently remunerative to keep the men and their families and to be neither permanent nor popular; the National Service Commission undertook to find the previous trade or calling of each man on service and Lord Shaughnessy at Montreal (Mar. 20) drew attention to the danger of putting soldiers into work or places for which they were unfitted. "I should," he added, "like to see thousands of them, not now highly skilled, given special training to equip them with the skill they lack. We have got to find out in detail what is best for the men—yes, and for each particular man, with his individual capacities and aptitudes."

This was, in reality, one of the chief objects of the Military Hospitals Commission, appointed by the Dominion Government in 1915, with Sir James Lougheed as Chairman and 16 other members, an *ex-officio* member from each of the nine Provinces appointed by the respective Governments and a subsidiary Committee in each Province. By the close of 1917 the Commission had 54 Military Convalescent Hospitals and 14 Sanatoria for the treatment of

Tuberculosis under its control. They were established at Sydney, Halifax, and Kentville in Nova Scotia, Charlottetown, P.E. Island, and Fredericton, River Glade and St. John in New Brunswick; at Quebec, Lake Edward, Montreal, Ste. Agathe and Ste. Anne de Bellevue in Quebec; at Kingston, Ottawa, Cobourg, Whitby, Toronto, Guelph, Newmarket, Hamilton, St. Catharines and London in Ontario; at Winnipeg and Ninette, Manitoba; at Regina, Saskatoon, Moose Jaw and Prince Albert in Saskatchewan, and at Calgary, Edmonton and Frank in Alberta; at Victoria, Sidney, Qualicum, Vancouver, Balfour and Kamloops in British Columbia. The officers were S. A. Armstrong, Director, E. H. Scammell, Secretary, T. B. Kidner, Vocational Secretary, Lieut.-Col. A. Thompson, M.D., M.P., Medical Superintendent, and Lieut.-Col. J. J. Sharples, O.C. for the Commission. An important part of the Commission's duty was its system of re-education after discharge from the C.E.F. It appointed vocational officers for Ontario, the Maritime Provinces, Quebec, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia, in conjunction with the Provincial Employment Committees which represented the Provincial Governments. Disabled Soldiers' Training Boards and Provincial Advisory Committees on Training were also appointed. This latter body consisted of a member of the Provincial Committee, a vocational officer and a medical man. As to the Provincial Committees it was agreed by the Provinces to "assume the responsibility of endeavouring to find employment for discharged soldiers, who, upon their return to Canada, are physically and otherwise fit to assume such employment." Up to the beginning of 1917 these Provincial Committees had obtained positions for 5,886 returned soldiers with only 148 reported as being still out of employment or unsuited.

On May 8, 6,515 patients were in charge of the Commission and 20,600 Canadians were in English Hospitals. On Aug. 17 the former total was 8,811. There were four classes of patients dealt with in Canada: (1) the active cases requiring continuous medical attention, (2) the convalescent, (3) those suffering from Tuberculosis, (4) those suffering from special disorders such as shell-shock or rheumatism. According to Sir R. Borden in the Commons (Feb. 5) the Commission then had in operation, or under construction for these purposes, 16 hospitals or homes, with accommodation for 2,600 men in the 1st class; for class two 27 institutions, accommodating 4,700 men; for class three 18 institutions, with accommodation for 900 men; and for class four, four institutions with accommodation for 200 men. The number of men who had passed through the hands of the Commission was nearly 10,000. Details were worked out by this body with most minute pains and if its mechanism had been adjusted as carefully as its paper organization there should have been none of the friction or incidents of discomfort which did occasionally and inevitably develop. Complaints as to lack of accommodation developed early in the year and on Feb. 22 Col. Sharples told a Parliamentary Committee that 16,000 returned soldiers had passed through the receiving depôts at Quebec, St. John and Halifax with others arriving at the rate of 600 a month: "Up to this time it

had been possible to accommodate in the hospitals all who required treatment." Col. Thompson testified that the Commission would shortly have 10,000 beds available for returned men and had notified Sir George Perley that it was ready to care for the soldiers as fast as they were sent back to Canada.

A very real difficulty was that of the over-lapping powers and jurisdiction of the Hospitals Commission and the Army Medical Corps. The M.H.C. claimed to have control and to be responsible for all unfit returned soldiers in everything but the strict and limited medical treatment; the C.A.M.C. claimed that vocational and general training of disabled or wounded men was a part of the medical treatment and that it should, therefore, share in administration of the work. The latter body had first been in charge of the wounded and afterwards under the Militia Department continued its appointments despite the power of selecting nurses and medical staff having, also, been given the new Commission. Hence friction and some disorganization and a vigorous report in 1916 by Col. F. W. Marlow of the C.A.M.C., Toronto. On Feb. 28 Sir Edward Kemp, Minister of Militia, stated in the Commons that "the Medical end of the Military Hospitals Commission work was to be turned over to the Canadian Army Medical Service. A new office to be known as Director of Medical Services Invalids would be created and this officer would have full responsibility in dealing with and administrating the medical and surgical work under direction of the Department. The Military Hospitals Commission would provide the hospitals and equip them, look after the commissariat and continue their work of re-educating returned soldiers. It was explained that there were 1,800 officers of the C.A.M.C. of whom about 500 were still in Canada and 400 civilian doctors partially employed in military work. To the new office thus created Lieut.-Col. J. T. Fotheringham, C.M.G., and late of the C.E.F., was appointed.

Later in the year a Board of Consultants was appointed to act with Col. Fotheringham in co-ordinating and supervising professional standards and practice in all institutions of the Hospital Commission—General Surgery, Lieut.-Col. I. H. Cameron; Medicine, Lieut.-Col. D. McGillivray; Orthopædic Surgery, Lieut.-Col. C. L. Starr; Special Sense cases, Lieut.-Col. J. D. Courtenay; X-Ray, etc., Lieut.-Col. Robert Wilson. In the Commons on Feb. 7 the Premier moved the appointment of a Committee to inquire into and report upon "(1) the reception, treatment, care, training and re-education of the wounded, disabled and convalescent who have served in the C.E.F.; (2) the provision of employment for those who have been honourably discharged from the C.E.F., and (3) the training and re-education of those so discharged who are unable to engage in their former occupation." Sir H. B. Ames (Chairman), R. B. Bennett, Hon. C. Marcil, W. S. Middlebro, Hon. C. Murphy. F. B. McCurdy, F. F. Pardee, D. C. Ross and D. Sutherland were named. From the Senate Messrs. C. P. Beaubien, N. A. Belcourt, J. W. Daniel, J. H. Ross, F. P. Thompson and General Mason were appointed. A number of meetings were held in Montreal, Toronto and Ottawa

and much evidence taken. That of Col. F. W. Marlowe, who had resigned his post of A.D.M.S. a month before, aroused (Mar. 21) a stormy discussion; other witnesses were Maj.-Gen. W. A. Logie, Hon. W. D. McPherson, Mayor T. L. Church. Col. Marlowe's Report, made public by the Minister of Militia on Feb. 28, had alleged a practical disruption of the A.M.C. as an organization owing to Oversea requirements and had deprecated the duplication of machinery created by the M.H.C. instead of the Militia Department fitting the A.M.C. to take up what he described as its proper Hospital work. To combine military discipline and medical care under civilian control was the problem of the Commission and the point at which it took issue with the Army Medical Corps. On July 17 the Committee reported to Parliament a series of recommendations which may be summarized as follows:

(1) That both Federal and Provincial authorities take effective measures to prevent the spread of Tuberculosis.
(2) That those soldiers who are hopelessly insane should be cared for at the expense of the Federal Government in Provincial institutions.
(3) That returned soldiers suffering from venereal diseases should be quarantined at the port of arrival in Canada until cured.
(4) That orthopædic institutions be provided at centres throughout Canada.
(5) That a number of returned men be induced to learn the occupation of manufacturers of artificial limbs, and that soldiers be supplied with limbs free of cost during lifetime.
(6) That returned men who have been undergoing convalescent treatment and have partially completed courses of vocational training be allowed to continue such courses for two months.

The educative work of the Hospitals Commission was admirably carried on during the year with classes in every convalescent home which helped (1) to fill in the time, (2) to give back physical strength, and (3) to revive mental confidence. There were distinct divisions such as (1) Informative—with instruction in ordinary school subjects, stenography, bookkeeping, preparation for civil service, mechanical and architectural drawing, motor mechanics, machine tool operating, poultry raising, bee-keeping, vegetable and flower gardening; (2) Occupational—such as wood-working, shoe-repairing and novelty-making, in which the men were also able to make a little money. Tuberculosis patients were separately and carefully treated. The system developed in Canada was, at the close of 1917, perhaps the best in any country, with the entire cost defrayed by the Government, courses longer than elsewhere and 10% of all casualties under instruction, pensions larger and general treatment better. On Nov. 15 returned soldiers under the M.H.C. command numbered 10,953 with 19,059 cases in United Kingdom hospitals; a record in the past year of 21 new centres of treatment and vocational training erected and equipped; 45 buildings remodelled and equipped; 100 institutions caring for convalescent soldiers with 11,395 beds available in convalescent homes and 2,500 other beds used in clearing depôts; 3,000 men enrolled for vocational training and 869 men being taught new trades.

The Board of Pension Commissioners for Canada was composed of Lieut.-Col. R. H. Labatt, London, Comr. J. K. L. Ross, Mon-

treal, and Major J. L. Todd, C.A.M.C., Victoria. During this year Pension matters in England were looked after by a Pensions and Claims Board, the Secretary to the High Commissioner, etc. About 20,000 pensions were awarded, of $5,000,000 a year, during 1917 with 828 complaints received and carefully investigated. The expense in salaries, etc., was $481,752. By Order-in-Council of Oct. 22 amended regulations were issued providing for an increase in pensions and allowances as from Apr. 1, 1917, with a total advance of 40%; at the same time disabilities were divided into 20 classes instead of six with greater certainty of receiving pensions based accurately upon the disability incurred; an additional allowance for married men was granted and the allowance for children was graded upon the nature of the disability involved. The total disability payment per annum was $600 compared with $351 in Great Britain, $379 in Australia, $505 in New Zealand, $240 in France, $360 in United States and $243 in Italy—with many differences in detail. The future total of Pensions was estimated by Comr. Ross (Winnipeg, Aug. 27) at $40,000,000 a year. Arrangements were made with the Patriotic Fund and Hospitals Commission to give information as to Pensions and the Board also opened branch offices at the 15 chief centres of Canada. As to Separation Allowances and alleged grievances Sir E. Kemp stated in the Commons on May 8 that there were then being issued monthly from Ottawa 150,000 cheques for assigned pay, and 90,000 for separation allowances or, in all, 240,000 cheques each month. Delays and mistakes, he pointed out, were at times inevitable and were caused by sudden increases, volume of business, inexperience of staff and of paymasters in battalions, sudden movement of battalions, unexplained instructions from Overseas, changes of address and incomplete information. The British and other Governments had the same trouble. Of Pensions to Canadians in Imperial Forces the Minister stated on Aug. 20 that arrangements had been made with the British Government so that each Government should pay pensions of its own officers, irrespective of their service with the other.

Meanwhile, it was obvious that Soldiers' organizations in some form or other would spring up and at the first of the year there was one in Winnipeg with 1,100 members, in Victoria with 300, in Woodstock, Ontario, with 150, in Vancouver with 250, in Hamilton with 300, in Edmonton with 300, in Calgary with 200, in Ottawa with 200, in Montreal with 500, in Toronto with 700. Most of these had been organized during 1916 and appear to have sprung from the Montreal Association, or rather from its example. On June 5, 1915, a letter from W. D. Lighthall, K.C., had appeared in certain newspapers urging organization for the protection of soldiers' interests, and on Sept. 27 following a preliminary meeting was held at his Office with a larger one on Nov. 6—Col. F. S. Meighen in the chair with Gen. E. W. Wilson and a number of returned soldiers present. A Committee was appointed and on Feb. 13, 1916, the constitution completed and accepted at a public meeting with J. Seggie elected President, W. B. Scott and J. C. Murray, Vice-Presidents, and A. H. Stevenson, Secretary. The constitution of

this Canadian Association of Returned Soldiers set forth that: "This is to be an Association of honourably-discharged men who enlisted and have seen Overseas service in the Great War of 1914. It is independent of Governments, parties, politics, benefactors, and all other outside influences. It seeks to represent the men, their view, their needs, their principles, their honour and dignity, and all their interests. The objects are: friendship, memorials, fraternal help and loyalty." Its objects were afterwards incorporated by Parliament as those of the Great War Veterans' Association of Canada with a few additions:

(*a*) To perpetuate the close and kindly ties of mutual service in the Great War, and the recollections and associations of that experience, and to maintain proper standards of dignity and honour amongst all returned soldiers;

(*b*) To preserve the memory and records of those who suffered and died for the nation. To see to the erection of monuments and memorials to their valour, the provision of suitable burial places, and the establishment of an annual Memorial Day;

(*c*) To ensure that provision is made for the due care of the sick, wounded and needy among those who have served, including reasonable pensions, employment for such as are capable, soldiers' homes, medical care and proper provision for dependant families of enlisted men;

(*d*) To inculcate constantly loyalty to Canada and the Empire and unstinted service in their interests;

(*e*) To establish, maintain and operate club-rooms, hospitals, employment and information bureaux, industrial and other educational schools and facilities, libraries and establishments for the benefit of and promotion and advancement generally of the interests of such soldiers.

Following the growth of the Montreal and other organizations—the Returned Soldiers' Association of British Columbia, the Army and Navy Veterans of Saskatchewan, the Great War Veterans of Winnipeg and of Ontario, etc.—the need of co-operation was felt and, early in 1917, arrangements made for a Convention at Winnipeg on Apr. 12. At this meeting the Great War Veterans' Association of Canada was formed with delegates present from all over Canada and 35 Associations represented, of which Nova Scotia, Ontario, British Columbia and Saskatchewan were Provincial in scope. A. C. Hay of Winnipeg presided and the platform, as above stated, was approved, the headquarters located at Ottawa and a monthly journal called *The Veteran* decided upon and shortly afterwards issued. Resolutions were passed in favour of Conscription and protesting against the Saskatchewan and Alberta plans for granting votes to Overseas men: recommending that 320 acres of land within reasonable distance of transportation facilities be allotted to each Canadian who had gone Overseas, with a minimum loan of $2,000; asking the Dominion Government to throw open for entry for members of the C.E.F. land reserved for Railway purposes but not yet allotted, all arable land held under stock-grading leases and all other blanketed land subject to the joint supervision of the Government and the G.W.V.A."; urging that the present system of gratuities under the Pension Act be abolished and that the ratio of disability of the pensioner be reduced from 20% as at present, to 5%, also, that any decision of the Board be not final; declaring that the pensions of officers and men in the ranks should be equalized, that a pension scale, based upon a minimum of $1,200 per annum for total dis-

ability, be inaugurated, that the pension of the widow and the widowed mother be no less than that of the totally-disabled pensioner, and that the pensions for children be materially increased; asking that the head-tax on Chinese be retained and increased and that German and Austrian aliens of the Prairie Provinces be disfranchised until the end of the War. The following officers were elected: President, W. P. Purney, Halifax; Vice-Presidents, James Robinson, D.C.M., Vancouver, and J. J. Shanahan, Toronto; Secretary-Treasurer, N. F. R. Knight, Ottawa. The Executive Committee represented the seven Provinces as follows: S. C. Tippett, St. John, J. R. Anderson, Montreal, K. C. Macpherson, Ottawa, J. M. Dunwoodie, D.C.M., Winnipeg, Ivan Finn, Prince Albert, Dr. V. C. Mulvey, Edmonton and H. E. Stafford, Vancouver. At the close of the year there were over 80 branches of the G.W.V.A., with 30,000 members.

Meanwhile, the organization in its varied branches had early made itself felt in an aggressive presentation of opinions. On May 21 President W. P. Purney issued to the press a statement of principles which he had addressed to the members of the G.W.V.A. Unity and co-operation were the watchwords and the spirit of their work was as follows: "We have rights—if not accorded we will demand them, and if united gain them; we have have rights—let us not ask for more, for if unreasonable we will lose the respect and esteem that we hold to-day; we have rights—yes, and is not the greatest one that of worthy citizenship in Canada—the best country on earth?" A later document gave details and programme including (1) Government combing out of Departments, Militia services and non-essential industries for enlistment; (2) the conscription of aliens, of national labour with Government control and operation of all factories and public utilities during the War; (3) the placing of all incomes and, wealth above a reasonable figure, at the service of the country; (4) the creation of a Department of Government to deal with demobilization, Pensions, Hospitals, Land settlement, Vocational training and all similar problems; (5) the increase of total disability pension from $480 to $840 per annum and other allowances in proportion. All kinds of Resolutions were passed at G.W.V.A. meetings. The Ontario Branch (May 15) urged that "no commissioned officers be given the privilege of resigning because they refuse to revert to the lower ranks in order to proceed to the Front, and that if such persons be discharged their certificates be marked dishonourable." That of Winnipeg (May 22) urged the Government to control food prices and to purchase or acquire all wheat held in Elevators, etc.; later on (Aug. 16) it protested vigorously against a War-time general election. That of Quebec Province submitted a Petition in July urging a community system of farming and the grant of "sufficiently large tracts of land to found, say, three colonies in different parts of the Province of Quebec—as near the railroad as possible and divided into 100-acre lots." That of Vancouver protested against the attitude of the Winnipeg Liberal Convention on Conscription and elections. In this and other directions a certain amount of political action was taken and several candidates were put up in the Elections.

On Oct. 24 J. J. Shanahan, Acting President, issued a political manifesto with the following as the vital clause: "It will behoove us to bring all our forces to bear to secure the defeat of any candidate who is not prepared to do all in his power to secure the enforcement of Conscription." On Nov. 5 the Ontario G.W.V.A. issued instructions as follows: "No branch should nominate any member or private citizen for Parliament. The G.W.V.A. is a non-political association and intends to remain such. . . . Great War Veterans should endorse any man who is selected by representative organizations supporting the Union Government." The Saskatchewan Association (Nov. 9) issued a manifesto urging support of the Union Government, protesting against past "political pull" in the Army, and advocating seniority of service, ability, and actual war service as the future and primary qualifications for promotion. In Calgary the G.W.V.A. (Nov. 12) urged this Election platform: "Immediate enforcement of Conscription by the draft method and conscription of wealth; establishment of an ample income tax and prevention of profiteering; equalization of pensions and waging of war to the last man and the last dollar." The Toronto branch (Nov. 23) decided to give individual support to Majors R. C. Cockburn and Carson McCormack; that of Winnipeg (Nov. 27) asked for alien labour conscription at $1.10 per day and that of Halifax urged support of the Union Government. The Winnipeg G.W.V.A. helped to elect one of its members to Parliament—Maj. G. W. Andrews. The Saskatchewan organization (Nov. 1) protested against the appointment of officers to the Depôt battalion who had not seen service overseas; asked that men who had fyled on homesteads after enlistment should be allowed to count their time in the Service as residence on their homesteads; petitioned the Dominion Government to appoint a public trustee to look after the settlement of the estates of soldiers killed in action. Khaki Clubs were formed in Toronto, Hamilton and other places; forcible action was taken in Toronto against employment of aliens and there, as in Winnipeg, Vancouver, etc., in breaking up anti-Conscription meetings.

Another soldiers' organization which was much discussed but neither so effective nor so strong as the G.W.V.A was the Associated Kin of the C.E.F., started in London, Ontario, by Gordon Wright with a Dominion Association of which Mr. Wright was President, J. M. McEvoy of London, Vice-President, J. H. Laughton, Secretary, and J. H. Coyne, F.R.S.C., St. Thomas, Treasurer. The Toronto branch was formed at a meeting on Feb. 5 with Hon. W. R. Riddell in the chair and Æmilius Jarvis as the chief speaker. A representative Committee was appointed and Hamilton Cassels, K.C., a little later, became President, Dyce W. Saunders, Vice-President, Æmilius Jarvis, Treasurer and W. C. C. Innes, Secretary. Other branches were formed and the announced objects of the Association were to secure recruits, to collect and preserve information as to conditions of training and equipment, to protect the home interests of absent soldiers. A journal called *The Kinsman* was published and the recognition of Mothers losing sons in the War was a part of the plans proposed. Toward the close of the year an effort was launched to



Major William Avery Bishop, v.c., m.c., d.s.o., and Bar.

shley & Crippen,
Photographers, Toronto.

obtain a Dominion membership of 2½ millions at $1.00 per head but it met with considerable initial criticism and was not successful. There were Next-of-Kin Associations in Calgary and Winnipeg.

On Active Service: Canadian Aviation in 1917.

Canadians by 1917 had won a remarkable place in the Aviation records of the Empire. Yet they had no distinct organization, no centre for separate achievement and reputation, no Corps such as had won distinction for Australia in the East. They simply took to the air as the British did to the sea and by individual effort, voluntary action and initiative swarmed into the British service until both the Royal Flying Corps and the Royal Naval Air Service recognized a peculiar aptitude in the splendid work rendered by Canadians fighting side by side with their British brothers. The Canadian Army Corps was complete except in this one branch, and there were plenty of aviators in the latter years of the War to form Canadian Squadrons but, for some reason, Sir Sam Hughes did not approve and though, after he ceased to be Minister, much was done in Canada to encourage Imperial enlistment and to facilitate Imperial construction of machines and training of men, nothing was done in the organization of a Corps. It was estimated at the end of 1917 that 1,000 Canadians had joined the R.N.A.S., and 3,000 the R.F.C.—as officers and pilots, mechanicians and assistants. An official statement in London on Aug. 11 was that 299 officers and 409 privates coming to England in the Canadian forces had been granted commissions in the R.F.C., with 93 others of Canadian birth; that 346 officers joined the R.N.A.S. in Canada under arrangements organized by Admiral Kingsmill, while 66 others had joined this service and been transferred to the Flying Corps; that 80 members of the Canadian military forces had been granted commissions in the Naval Air Service—a total of 1,293 officers.

In the early part of 1917 Capt. Lord Alastair Innes-Ker, D.S.O., was in Canada and recruited a number of men for the R.F.C.; the Department of Naval Service at Ottawa did everything possible to recruit men for the Naval Air Service, and had marked success, with 632 accepted up to the close of the year; in December Lord Montagu of Beaulieu, an authority and enthusiast in aircraft matters, spoke at a number of centres—Toronto, Ottawa, Montreal, Winnipeg and other Western points, Vancouver and Victoria, etc.—to, as he explained it in Toronto on Dec. 11, "impress on the Canadian people the increasing importance of aircraft in the War and the hope we have that many more of the young men of Canada will join the flying forces, both naval and military." He reiterated everywhere the earnest belief that aircraft would decide the great issue. "If," he declared, "Canada continues to give us, in increased numbers, the class of air men that she has given in the past, she will be making one of the best contributions she can towards the winning of this long and bitter struggle." He estimated about 2,000 Canadians as being in the two Services at this time—not including mechanicians and corps-workers. The Administration of the British Corps was, of course, entirely in British hands and there were some inevitable

rumours that Canadians did not always receive fair treatment and promotion. The fact of the matter was that promotions on active service in such a Corps could and did go absolutely by merit; if there was any exception it would be in favour of Canadians—as was known to be the case in distribution of Honours to several of the Army services. So far as the promotion from Lieutenants to Fl. Commander was concerned there was no complaint; such as it was it referred to Squadron Commander—a position requiring exceptional qualities and experience quite distinct from the splendid daring which distinguished Canadian aviators. The Air Service, also, was a branch of the active Services which Canadians heard little about—unless it were the announcement of casualties—until Wm. Avery Bishop came upon the scene in 1917 with a record which soon placed him in the class of Alfred Ball of British fame and Guynemer of French celebrity. Within a few months he won almost every Army honour available and rose from Lieutenant to Major in rank. The following official statements of these Honours are published here for the first time in conjunction and present a remarkable picture of achievement:

M.C. May 26, 1917: Lieut. Wm. Avery Bishop.

For conspicuous gallantry and devotion to duty. He attacked a hostile balloon on the ground, dispersed the crew and destroyed the balloon, and also drove down a hostile machine which attacked him. He has on several other occasions brought down hostile machines.

D.S.O. June 18, 1917: Capt. Wm. Avery Bishop.

For conspicuous gallantry and devotion to duty. While in a single-seater he attacked three hostile machines, two of which he brought down, although in the meantime he was himself attacked by four other hostile machines. His courage and determination have set a fine example to others.

V.C. August 10, 1917: Capt. Wm. Avery Bishop.

For most conspicuous bravery, determination and skill, Captain Bishop, who had been sent out to work independently, flew first of all to an enemy aerodrome; finding no machine about, he flew on to another aerodrome about 3 miles south-east, which was at least 12 miles the other side of the line. 7 machines, some with their engines running, were on the ground. He attacked these from about 50 feet, and a mechanic, who was starting one of the engines, was seen to fall. One of the machines got off the ground, but at a height of 60 feet Captain Bishop fired 15 rounds into it at very close range, and it crashed to the ground. A second machine got off the ground, into which he fired 30 rounds at 150 yards range, and it fell into a tree. Two more machines then rose from the aerodrome. One of these he engaged at the height of 1,000 feet, emptying the rest of his drum of ammunition. This machine crashed 300 yards from the aerodrome, after which Captain Bishop emptied a whole drum into the fourth hostile machine, and then flew back to his station. Four hostile scouts were about 1,000 feet above him for about a mile of his return journey, but they would not attack. His machine was very badly shot about by machine-gun fire from the ground.

Bar to D.S.O. Sept. 26, 1917: Capt. Wm. Avery Bishop.

For conspicuous gallantry and devotion to duty when engaging hostile aircraft. His consistent dash and great fearlessness have set a magnificent example to the pilots of his squadron. He has destroyed no fewer than 45 hostile machines within the past five months, frequently attacking enemy formations single-handed, and on all occasions displaying a fighting spirit and determination to get to close quarters with his opponents, which have earned the admiration of all in contact with him.

Such a record is rare in any warfare and it won instant appreciation

in Canada when the facts became known. In October the announced results of five months' fighting by Major Bishop, in addition to 47 destroyed machines, was 110 single combats with the enemy, 23 planes sent down without absolute certainty as to destruction, thrilling escapes without number including one fall of 4,000 feet with his machine in flames. Incidentally the winning of this reputation meant public recognition in Canada of the large part taken by Canadian aviators at the Front. In the Commons on Aug. 17 Sir Edward Kemp referred to the distinguished services of Capt. Bishop and placed on *Hansard* the *Gazette* record of his V.C. In September Major Bishop—as he then was—returned to Canada upon a brief visit to his father, W. A. Bishop of Owen Sound, Registrar of Grey County, and his family. He was given a warm welcome by the public everywhere and in Toronto on Sept. 27 crowded streets and cheers greeted him, a dense throng at the City Hall acclaimed him again, Mayor Church presented a formal Civic welcome. In his speech the visitor stated there were more than 1,000 Canadians in the Flying Corps at this time. After a rest of about a week at his home Major Bishop visited Kingston on Oct. 6 and received an enthusiastic welcome; to an Aero Club luncheon, Toronto, on the 13th he gave a description of Aerial fighting at the Front, Hon. N. W. Rowell spoke and Col. Hamilton Merritt, President of the Club, stated as to Aviation in Canada that: "It was only when the Imperial Government stepped in with her millions of money that Canada got a chance. The growth since then, with 15 air squadrons of 270 machines now in operation, has been remarkable." Major Bishop addressed an immense audience in Massey Hall on Oct. 15 for the British Red Cross and, also, the Empire Club and, on Oct. 17, this youthful hero of the Air—he was only 22 and held the British record to date for air fighting—was married in Toronto to Miss Margaret Burden, a neice of Sir John Eaton. After visits to New York and Washington he returned to England and active service.

Meantime other Canadians had won air distinction and rapid promotion and honours. Fl. Lieut. Basil Deacon Hobbs, D.S.O., D.S.C., of the R.N.A.S. (Sault Ste. Marie) won his distinctions in May with a Zeppelin and 3 submarines to his credit, was later given a bar to his Cross and mentioned four times in despatches; Fl. Commander Redford H. Mulock, D.S.O. and Cross of the Legion of Honour (Winnipeg), won reputation in 1916 and in 1917 was made a Squadron Commander; Fl. Capt. A. Gerald Knight, D.S.O., M.C., was announced in January as missing after a career of varied exploits; Sub.-Lieut. Robert Leckie of Toronto was awarded the D.S.C. for bringing down Zeppelin L 22 off the coast of England on May 14; Fl. Comm. Theodore Douglas Hallam, D.S.C., was awarded a Bar to his Cross in 1917 after actions of varied courage and skill and so with Fl. Lieut. Raymond Colleshaw, D.S.C., who also was awarded the D.S.O. for "great gallantry and skill in all his combats"; Gerald Hervey of the R.N.A.S., son of P. C. B. Hervey, Superintendent of Dominion Parks, won his D.S.C. "for tackling ten Gothas single-handed in a German raid and bringing down two of them," and in 1917 was promoted to Squadron Commander;

Fl. Lieut. J. S. T. Fall, D.S.C., of Victoria, who won two bars to his Cross; Fl. Comm. Philip Sidney Fisher, D.S.C., D.S.O. (Montreal), obtained the latter honour for fighting six combats single-handed in one battle and as "a most efficient and plucky flight leader"; Fl. Lieut. Melville C. Wood, son of D. D. Wood of Winnipeg, was killed in September after two years of distinguished service (in Egypt); and so with Fl. Comm. Arnold J. Chadwick, D.S.C., of Toronto, on the Western Front. Promotions as Fl. Commander included in 1917 W. J. Rutherford, L. P. Watkins, E. G. Joy, R. I. Vander-Byl, A. G. Henshaw, P. B. Tabernacle, G. C. Rogers, L. W. Hopkins, Evans McKay, D.S.C., while Fl. Comm. P. C. Sherren, M.C., and Fl. Capt. J. S. Scott, M.C., were appointed Squadron Commanders and G. C. de Dombasle a Wing Commander. The casualties in this Service were very numerous, often pathetic because of the specially bright promise and youthfulness of those who passed away. Such a case was that of Fl. Lieut. Theodore Glasgow of Toronto who was killed in one of his earliest flights in France at the age of 19. Others were Fl. Lieutenants Carl McKissock, Toronto, Melville Sayer, Winnipeg, Eric McMurtry, Montreal and H. L. Crowe, Toronto. There were so many similar losses that these can only be mentioned here as an illustration of the tragedies of the splendid Air Force. Of young Canadians who distinguished themselves in the Service the following is a partial list in addition to those already mentioned:

Fl. Com. Wm. T. Hall.
" Cecil Darley, D.S.C.
" Robert Little, D.S.O.
" A. M. Chook, D.S.C.
" L. S. Breadner, D.S.O.
" A. P. Matheson.
" W. G. Barker, M.C.
" P. W. Chambers.
" Lester Hopkins.
" C. T. Lally, M.C.
" S. T. Edwards, D.S.C.
" G. G. MacLennan.
" J. T. Anglin.
" J. E. Shearman, D.S.O., D.S.C.
" C. McNicholl, D.S.C.
" W. E. Flett, D.S.C.

Fl. Com. A. S. Ince, D.S.C.
" L. F. W. Smith, D.S.C.
" H. G. Boswell, D.S.C.
Fl. Capt. Le Royer, M.C.
Fl. Lieut. J. S. T. Fall, D.S.C.
" S. W. Rosevear, D.S.C.
" Ellis V. Reid, D.S.C.
" C. B. Sproat, D.S.C.
" Harold S. Kerby, D.S.C.
" J. R. S. Devlin, D.S.C.
" A. W. Carter, D.S.C.
" Rochfort Grange, D.S.C.
" G. H. Darley, D.S.C.
" D. M. B. Galbraith, D.S.C.
" G. D. Smith, D.S.C.
" W. A. Curtis, D.S.C.

Meanwhile arrangements had been made under Imperial auspices and with the co-operation of the Canadian Government to construct Aviation plants upon a large scale, establish grounds for aviators, and organize 20 reserve squadrons in Canada as a branch of the Royal Flying Corps. Construction and equipment were placed in charge of the Imperial Munitions Board and the first undertaking in January was an aviation plant at Camp Borden involving a large outlay with, also, the training of Air students. The immediate construction of 360 training-planes was designed, the plant was to cost $3,000,000 and the work was directed by Col. R. S. Low. F. W. Baillie of the Canadian Cartridge Co. was selected as the Director of the Canadian organization; George A. Morrow, President of the Imperial Life Assurance Co., was Assistant Director; A. H. Mulcahey of the Grand Trunk, Winnipeg, was secured as Purchasing Agent, and Arthur F. White of the Dominion Securities Corporation appointed Secretary. It was the intention to recruit

the *personnel* for these Squadrons entirely in Canada, and to officer them as far as possible with Canadian officers sent back from Overseas. One object of the Imperial authorities in starting the scheme was to enable candidates to have instruction in flying free of expense to themselves; further, the machines for these Squadrons would be built in Canada and thus relieve the labour pressure in England. About 3,000 skilled mechanics were required for the necessary work of these Squadrons and their enlistment was at once commenced with payments arranged on the Canadian scale and running from $1.10 per day for unskilled labour to $2.80 for Warrant officers. Assistance was given in this connection by the National Service Board and 12,000 of its cards were selected as the basis of an appeal for recruits. To help in training the workmen 250 experts in aeroplane manufacture came from England.

It was announced in April that there were to be in Canada four centres, at which officers would be trained for the Royal Flying Corps with a thousand aeroplanes in use. The plant at Camp Borden was then in operation and another in the Bay of Quinte district was under construction. The erection of Schools and Aerodromes was proceeded with at North Toronto, Long Branch near Toronto, at Camp Lulu, Vancouver, B.C., as well as at Camp Mohawk on the Bay of Quinte. By May 31 there were 1,000 mechanics working at Camp Borden and 150 pilots under instruction with Brig.-Gen. C. G. Hoare in command of the Canadian Branch of the Flying Corps. Hundreds of men came from the United States to train at the new camps as they came into service and by August Canadian Aeroplanes, Ltd., controlled by the Munitions Board and managed by F. W. Baillie, had an immense factory in operation. Cadet officers for the Corps were called for at this time and many enlistments made—especially in British Columbia and around Toronto. Toward the end of the year Canadians and Americans, in training, very largely went south to the great Texas Camp at Fort Worth. During this period there were a good many fatalities from various accidental causes during training—in Canada, in Texas and at later stages in England. By the end of the year many millions were being expended by the British authorities upon this Canadian Air Service and work, with the Toronto factory employing over 2,000 skilled mechanics and turning out 5 planes a day; five Aerodromes or schools or camps had been constructed and a sixth was under way; hundreds of R.F.C. officers were keeping the training machinery in operation; the University of Toronto had utilized a number of its educational buildings for instruction in the theory of flight, aerial gunnery, observation, photography, wireless telegraphy, and many branches of military aeronautics through which all Cadets had to pass.

Meantime, the work of the Aero Club of Canada of which Col. W. Hamilton Merritt, Toronto, was the energetic President, had been of assistance in this development. Its original aim was to promote the training of Canadian lads for the Air Service and this was realized by the establishment of the Imperial training Squadrons and the construction work of the Munitions Board; its second object

was to obtain from the Canadian people as many gifts of aeroplanes as possible in order to help His Majesty's Government and the cause. This was partially realized by the presentation of 8 training aeroplanes and 5 Service aeroplanes—of which Colonel and Mrs. Merritt gave three, James Carruthers of Montreal seven and the Corporation of Toronto three—at a total expense of over $100,000. A woman's branch of the Aero Club was formed at Toronto in March with Mrs. E. H. Duggan as President. In Montreal the Canadian Division of the Aerial League of the British Empire had, meanwhile, been in active operation, with Sir H. S. Holt, W. M. Birks, Lansing Lewis, C. Forgie, G. G. Foster, K.C., interested in its management and G. R. Lighthall as Hon. Secretary. A number of aeroplanes were contributed through the influence of this organization and a Branch was formed in P.E. Island. Of incidents during the year one was the sending of a group of Canadian aviators to Italy to help the Italians in their difficulties and another was the initiation of an effort (Toronto, Mar. 6) to organize a Canadian Hospital for Flying Corps. Recruiting for the R.N.A.S. was discontinued by the Admiralty at the close of the year.

Canadian War Incidents: Casualties and Honours.

Nearly every notable or prominent family in Canada was represented on the active service list of this War. In many of them the year brought cause for grief mingled, always, with pride in the gallantry shown by Canadians during these days of the supreme sacrifice—as indeed with the still larger proportion of deaths from out of British or French homes. Fifty sons of Canadian members of Parliament had gone into the Army or Navy by 1917 and this year saw also a number of casualties notable for the intrinsic character and reputations of the officers concerned. Amongst the best known were Lieut.-Colonels S. G. Beckett, R. H. Britton, D.S.O., M. Docherty, D.S.O., D. I. V. Eaton, G. T. Denison, Jr., [S. W. Hewetson, Thomas C. Irving, D.S.O., A. H. G. Kemball, C.B., D.S.O., E. Woodman Leonard, D.S.O., R. C. McLeod, W. W. Stewart; Majors J. G. Anderson, M.C., P. W. Anderson, M.C., C. E. A. Bredin, D.S.O., K. L. T. Campbell, M.C., W. H. P. Collum, M.C., C. E. Cooper, M.C., J. A. Critchely, M.C., J. A. Delancey, M.C., H. Hutchison, D.S.O., M.C., O. M. Learmonth, V.C., M.C., T. M. Papineau, M.C., and Capt. V. G. Tupper, M.C.; others were Capt. C. T. Costigan, M.C., D.S.O., a well-known and gallant soldier; Lieut. D. J. Barker, formerly Assistant to the General Manager of the Bank of Montreal and a popular financial figure in Montreal; Capt. M. Lockhart-Gordon of Toronto, the second brother to be killed with still another on service; Corp. the Rev. F. T. Kinghan, B.A., of Sparta, Ontario; Lieut. A. J. Norsworthy of Montreal, brother of Major E. C. Norsworthy killed at Ypres and of Major S. C. and Lieut. J. W. Norsworthy still on service; Major Alvin Ripley, Postmaster of Lethbridge, Alberta; Lieut.-Col. Glenlyon Campbell, ex-M.P., D.S.O., dead of fever in England after leading his Campbell's Scouts at Vimy; Major F. R. Spence, Toronto, and Lieut.-Col. A. T. Thomson, D.S.O., M.C., of Port Credit, Ontario; Major Mahlon Lambert Boyle, M.C., brother

of Lieut.-Col. Russell Boyle killed at St. Julien; Major A. L. McHugh Vane and Major Cecil V. Strong of Halifax; Fl. Lieut. W. L. Clifford, Canada's champion Marksman at Bisley in 1909; Major Arthur Ion Fraser, D.S.O., of the Indian Cavalry. The following List, continued from preceding volumes,* gives the names of young Canadians of well-known name or family:

Lieut. F. Guy Dunstan x	Son of	Kenneth J. Dunstan	Toronto.
Lieut.-Col. R. C. Morris x	"	Late Hon. Alex. Morris	"
Fl. Lieut. H. L. Crowe x	"	Harry J. Crowe	"
Sergt. Ernest M. Rochester x	"	Rev. Dr. W. M. Rochester	"
Fl. Cadet H. C. Rochester	"	Rev. Dr. W. M. Rochester	"
Lieut. H. L. Watson x	"	W. G. Watson	"
Fl. Lieut. Conn. Smythe, M.C.	"	A. E. S. Smythe	"
Lieut. K. L. Carruthers	"	Prof. Adam Carruthers	"
Lieut. R. T. M. Dean	"	Rev. F. Morgan Dean	"
Fl. Com. G. M. Dean	"	Rev. F. Morgan Dean	"
Lieut. Harold M. Groves x	"	W. E. Groves	"
Lieut. B. V. McCrimmon	"	Rev. Dr. A. L. McCrimmon	"
Lieut. Norman McLeod x	"	H. C. McLeod	"
Lieut. M. Langdon Ellis	"	M. C. Ellis	"
Lieut. P. D. Huestis	"	A. E. Huestis	"
Lieut. N. C. Fergusson	"	G. Tower Fergusson	"
Lieut. Eric Chown	"	Rev. Dr. S. D. Chown	"
Major G. M. Orr	"	Late Dr. J. Orlando Orr	"
Fl. Lieut. P. H. Raney	"	W. E. Raney, K.C.	"
Capt. Leslie Lockhart-Gordon x	"	W. H. Lockhart-Gordon	"
Lieut.-Col. H. D. Lockhart-Gordon, D.S.O.	"	W. H. Lockhart-Gordon	"
Lieut. J. A. Wylie x	Nephew of	Maj.-Gen. W. A. Logie	"
Fl. Lieut. A. W. Kilgour x	Son of	Robert Kilgour	"
Lieut. John H. Creighton	"	Rev. Dr. W. B. Creighton	"
Lieut. Evans A. McKay, M.C.	"	Rev. Dr. W. J. McKay	"
Lieut. J. M. Massey, M.C.	"	John Massey	"
Lieut. Asa R. Minard x	"	Capt. A. R. Minard	"
Lieut. B. T. Nevitt x	"	Dr. R. B. Nevitt	"
Capt. J. H. G. Strathy, M.C.	Nephew of	Col. H. J. Grasett, C.M.G.	"
Sergt. R. Douglas Patterson x	Son of	Late R. L. Patterson	"
Lieut. Norman W. Cosby	"	Late Lieut.-Col. H. M. Cosby	"
Lieut. Gordon M. Pearce x	"	W. K. Pearce	"
Lieut. Rex Pearce x	"	W. K. Pearce	"
Lieut. R. S .C. Webber	"	B. C. Webber	"
Fl. Lieut. Gordon Hanlan x	"	Late Edward Hanlan	"
Lieut. C. T. Bruce x	Nephew of	Col. H. A. Bruce	"
Lieut. J. D. P. Scholfield	Son of	H. C. Scholfield, ex-M.L.A.	"
Capt. A. D. Fisken	"	J. Kerr Fisken	"
Lieut. N. A. Keys	"	Prof. D. R. Keys	"
Lieut. A. S. Robertson	"	Rev. Dr. Andrew Robertson	"
Lieut. B. F. Trotter x	"	Prof. Thomas Trotter	"
Lieut.-Col R. H. Britton, D.S.O. x	Nephew of	Mr. Justice Britton	"
Fl. Lieut. G. R. S. Fleming x	Son of	Atwell Fleming	"
Lieut. J. Spence Reid	Nephew of	Late F. S. Spence	"
Major H. W. A. Foster, D.S.O., M.C.	Son of	Late W. A. Foster, K.C.	"
Lieut. R. McPherson	"	Hon. W. D. McPherson	"
Pte. H. A. Chambers	"	Rev. Dr. A. B. Chambers	"
Lieut. C. P. Coatsworth, M.C.	"	Judge Coatsworth	"
Major W. H. Tyrrell	"	Dr. J. B. Tyrrell	"
Lieut. Thos. Brehant Saunders x	"	Dyce Saunders	"
Major C. A. Robertson	"	J. Ross Robertson	"
Lieut. Maurice Clarkson x	"	E. R. C. Clarkson	"
Lieut. M. M. Winchester	"	Rev. Dr. A. B. Winchester	"
Major W. E. Curry x	"	J. Walter Curry, K.C.	"
Fl. Lieut. G. H. Morang x	"	George M. Morang	"
Lieut. R. H. M. Joliffe	"	Rev. T. W. Jolliffe	"
Lieut. A. E. de M. Jarvis	"	Rev. Canon Jarvis	"
Lieut. A. M. Latchford	"	Hon. F. R. Latchford	"
Lieut. J. K. Latchford	"	Hon. F. R. Latchford	"
Lieut. F. K. Lefroy x	"	A. H. F. Lefroy, K.C.	"
Major G. R. Heron	Grandson of	Late J. Gordon Brown	"
Lieut. N. E. Walker x	Son of	Charles Walker	"
Capt. Chas. C. Gwyn x	Nephew of	Sir E. B. Osler, M.P.	"
Ian M. Macdonell	Son of	A. McLean Macdonell	"
Pte. D. Arthur Carey	"	D. A. Carey	"
Fl. Lieut. J. W. Lockhart	"	Reginald Lockhart	"

* See Pages 290-1 of *The Canadian Annual Review*, 1914; Page 221, 1915 volume; Pages 468-475, 1916 volume.

NOTE.—Those marked with a cross (x) were killed in action or, in a few cases, by military accident.

Lieut. Claude C. Temple	Son of	C. V. M. Temple	Toronto
Capt. C. S. Wright, M.C.	"	Alfred Wright	"
Lieut. V. B. Wright, x	"	Alfred Wright	"
Lieut. A. M. Wright	"	Alfred Wright	"
Lieut. H. A. Somerville	"	Late G. A. Somerville	"
Fl. Lieut. D. R. C. Wright x	Grandson of	Late Sir M. C. Cameron	"
Pte. E. F. Clarke	Nephew of	Late E. F. Clarke, M.P.	"
Lieut. G. A. Penchen	Son of	Lieut.-Col. A. G. Penchen	"
Fl. Lieut. F. S. Strathy x	"	Stuart Strathy	"
Capt. Eric Clarke	"	Dr. C. K. Clarke	"
Maj. Gordon B. Heyd	"	L. F. Heyd, K.C.	"
Capt. N. S. Macdonnell	"	Late Rev. D. J. Macdonnell	"
Lieut. Howard Hunter	"	W. H. Hunter	"
Lieut. W. M. Geggie x	"	Rev. Dr. A. Logan Geggie	"
Lieut. C. B. MacQueen	"	Col. F. W. MacQueen	"
Fl. Lieut. F. M. Bryans	"	Dr. W. F. Bryans	"
Lieut. H. Cassels	"	Hamilton Cassels, K.C.	"
Lieut. David Blain	"	Hugh Blain	"
Lieut. Gerald Galt x	Son of	Hon. A. C. Galt	Winnipeg.
Major Walter L. MacLean x	"	Rev. Dr. John Maclean	"
Capt. G. C. Rogers, M.C. x	Nephew of	Hon. Robert Rogers	"
Gnr. E. Brydone-Jack	Son of	Prof. E. Brydone Jack	"
Major C. S. Belcher x	"	H. M. Belcher	"
Lieut. Leslie J. Deacon x	"	T. R. Deacon	"
Lieut. M. M. Perdue	"	Mr. Justice Perdue	"
Lieut. A. R. Gordon	Nephew of	Rev. Dr. C. W. Gordon	"
Tpr. Douglas Waugh	Son of	Mayor R. D. Waugh	"
Pte. K. G. Bowman x	"	H. A. Bowman	"
Major Harold Aikins	"	Sir J. A. M. Aikins	"
Lieut. F. W. Parrish	"	W. L. Parrish, M.L.A.	"
Lieut. Leslie Deacon	"	ex-Mayor T. R. Deacon	"
Pte. S. S. McIntyre	"	Daniel McIntyre, LL.D	"
Lieut. Dawson Elliott	"	D. K. Elliott	"
Lieut. W. B. Wilton	Brother of	J. W. Wilton, M.L.A.	"
Major Lanigan	Son of	J. B. Lanigan	"
Lieut. A. L. Waugh x	"	R. D. Waugh	"
Capt. W. M. Hart, M.C.	"	Thomas Hart	"
Lieut. Arthur Goodeve x	Son of	A. S. Goodeve	Ottawa.
Lieut. S. M. Goodeve x	"	A. S. Goodeve	"
Col. G. T. Hamilton, D.S.O.	"	Archbishop Hamilton	"
Capt. Wm. H. Morris, M.C. x	"	ex-Mayor W. D. Morris	"
Fl. Lieut. J. A. M. Fleming	Grandson of	Late Sir Sandford Fleming	"
Lieut. John E. Almon x	Nephew of	Sir H. K. Egan	"
Lieut. J. de G. Audette	Son of	Mr. Justice Audette	"
Lieut. G. D. Burn	"	Sir George Burn	"
Lieut. H. M. Vidal x	"	Late Maj.-Gen. B. H. Vidal	"
Fl. Lieut. Jackson R. Booth	Grandson of	John R. Booth	"
Lieut. Holland N. Bate	Nephew of	Late Sir Henry Bate	"
Lieut. C. R. Magrath Godwin	"	C. A. Magrath	"
Lieut. R. L. Sladen x	Son of	A. F. Sladen, C.M.G., C.V.O.	"
Pte. Wm. Brooke x	"	C. J. Brooke, K.C.	"
Capt. W. D. Herridge	"	Rev. Dr. W. T. Herridge	"
Major J. C. T. Thompson	"	Late Sir John Thompson	"
Major Allan Powell, D.S.O.	"	Dr. R. W. Powell	"
Fl. Com. P. S. Fisher, D.S.O., D.S.C.	Nephew of	Hon. Sydney A. Fisher	Montreal.
Lieut. John C. Carling, M.C.	Grandson of	Late Sir Henri Taschereau	"
Lieut. Wilfrid H. Carling, M.C.	"	Late Sir Henri Taschereau	"
Lieut. Kenneth Duggan x	Son of	G. H. Duggan	"
Lieut. Herrick S. Duggan x	"	G. H. Duggan	"
Lieut. L. H. Biggar	"	W. H. Biggar	"
Capt. A. Dawes	"	Late James P. Dawes	"
Fl. Lieut. R. J. Dawes	"	Late James P. Dawes	"
Lieut. Stanley McPherson	"	Late D. A. McPherson	"
Lieut. Barclay McPherson	"	Late D. A. McPherson	"
Pte. Wilfrid McPherson	"	Late D. A. McPherson	"
Lieut. F. G. Pedley, M.C.	"	Rev. Dr. Hugh Pedley	"
Fl. Lieut. Hugh Allan x	"	Sir Montagu Allan	"
Lieut. C. S. de Gruchy, M.C. x	"	Philip de Gruchy	"
Capt. Percival Molson, M.C. x	"	J. T. Molson	"
Lieut. G. C. T. Hadrill	"	George Hadrill	"
Lieut. E. M. Chauvin	"	H. N. Chauvin, K.C.	"
Lieut. K. S. Drummond, M.C.	"	Late J. J. Drummond	"
Lieut. Edmund P. Cloran	"	Hon. H. J. Cloran, K.C.	"
Lieut. B. O. Wilson	"	Maj.-Gen. E. W. Wilson	"
Lieut. Eric M. Hersey	"	Dr. Milton Hersey	"
Major E. A. McMurtry x	"	S. A. McMurtry	"
Major John J. Moyse	"	Prof. C. E. Moyse	"
Lieut. R. Lemieux	"	Hon. R. Lemieux, M.P.	"

NOTE.—Those marked with a cross (x) were killed in action or, in a few cases, by military accident.

Lieut. W. E. Buchan x	Son of	J. S. Buchan, K.C.	Montreal.
Lieut. R. B. Esdaille x	"	C. B. Esdaille	"
Lieut. L. des Trois Maisons	"	J. P. A. des Trois Maisons	"
Capt. E. B. Finley	"	W. C. Finley	"
Lieut. Roger Maillet	"	Dr. Gaston Maillet	"
Lieut. René Bourgeois	"	Louis Bourgeois	"
Fl. Com. C. M. Clement x	Son of	Mr. Justice Clement	Vancouver
Capt. Kenneth Bell-Irving x	"	Mrs. W. Bell-Irving	"
Lieut. P. D. M. McLagan x	"	Late J. C. McLagan	"
Capt. J. Duff Stuart x	"	Lieut.-Col. J. Duff Stuart	"
Capt. H. B. Hamber x	Brother of	Eric W. Hamber	"
Lieut. H. M. Thomas	Son of	Rev. Ernest Thomas	"
Lieut. J. W. Smith	"	Hon. Ralph Smith	"
Pte. J. D. McMurrich x	"	Late W. B. McMurrich, K.C.	"
Lieut. R. H. Creery x	"	A. McC. Creery	"
Lieut. C. J. Creery x	"	A. McC. Creery	"
Lieut. K. A. Creery	"	A. McC. Creery	"
Lieut. H. Waring Laird x	Son of	Hon. H. W. Laird	Regina.
Pte. H. H. Hawkes	"	J. B. Hawkes, ex-M.L.A.	"
Sergt. Edward McNab	"	Hon. A. P. McNab	"
Major W. S. McInnis	"	J. K. McInnis	"
Major Kenneth Perry, D.S.O.	"	Comm'r A. P. Perry, C.M.G.	"
Lieut. H. A. Dyde	Son of	Rev. Dr. Dyde	Edmonton
Pte. H. G. Riddell x	"	Rev. Dr. J. H. Riddell	"
Lieut. F. R. Henry	"	W. T. Henry	"
Lieut. Frank M. Dunn x	Son of	Robert Dunn	Victoria.
Lieut. Donald Maclean x	"	Rev. Dr. H. N Maclean	"
Lieut. J. G. Tatlow, M.C.	"	Hon. R. G. Tatlow	"
Capt. D. F. Scott	"	W. E. Scott	"
Lieut. P. H. J. Blakemore	"	Wm. Blakemore	"
Lieut. Arthur B. Boggs	"	Beaumont Boggs	"
Capt. R. H. B. Ker	"	D. R. Ker	"
Lieut. W. C. Ross	"	Hon. W. R. Ross, M.L.A.	"
Lieut. H. M. Ross	"	Hon. W. R. Ross, M.L.A.	"
Pte. J. R. Kingham	"	Joshua Kingham	"
Major J. H. Sweet x	"	Archdeacon Sweet	"
Lieut. Hartley Holmes	"	Lieut.-Col. W. J. H. Holmes, D.S.O.	"
Fl. Lieut. Norman Hall	"	Major G. A. B. Hall	"
Lieut. A. M. Naismith	Son of	P. L. Naismith	Calgary.
Lieut. W. G. Cairns	Brother of	John Cairns	"
Lieut. R. E. P. Pryce-Jones	Son of	Lieut.-Col. A. W. Pryce-Jones	"
Lieut. Everett Fallis x	"	Rev. S. W. Fallis	"
Lieut. K. A. Clark	Son of	Dr. Michael Clark, M.P.	Red Deer.
Lieut. J. A. Clark	"	Dr. Michael Clark, M.P.	"
Pte. Michael Clark	"	Dr. Michael Clark, M.P.	"
Pte. Robert Clark	"	Dr. Michael Clark, M.P.	"
Capt. H. H. Van Wart	Son of	ex-Mayor W. Van Wart, K.C.	Fredericton.
Gnr. Gregory Bridges	"	Dr. H. V. B. Bridges	"
Capt. J. A. Winslow x	"	E. Byron Winslow	"
Lieut. Fred. Foster	Nephew of	Hon. W. E. Foster	"
Lieut. Hibbert Binney x	Grandson of	Late Bishop Binney	"
Corp. P. J. Veniot	Son of	P. J. Veniot	St. John.
Lieut. Ralph Murray	"	Hon. J. A. Murray	"
Lieut. Lionel Teed	"	M. G. Teed, K.C.	"
Major R. J. McLaren x	Son of	Late Lieut.-Col. Henry McLaren	Hamilton.
Lieut. G. Lynch-Staunton x	"	Hon. G. S. Lynch-Staunton	"
Lieut. J. A. McLaren	Nephew of	Lieut.-Col. J. I. McLaren	"
Major Wm. McLaren x	"	Lieut.-Col. J. I. McLaren	"
Capt. J. Alex. Turner	Grandson of	Late Hon. James Turner	"
Lieut. W. H. Hay	Nephew of	Sir J. S. Hendrie	"
Lieut. A. S. McLean x	Son of	M. Y. McLean, M.P.	London.
Lieut. Kenneth Somerville	"	Mayor C. R. Somerville	"
Lieut.-Col. E. W. Leonard x	"	F. E. Leonard	"
Lieut.-Col. Ibbotson Leonard	"	F. E. Leonard	"
Capt. Max. McEvoy	"	J. M. McEvoy, LL.D.	"
Major Ward Wright	"	Gordon Wright	"
Sergt. D. G. Wright	"	Gordon Wright	"
Capt. N. R. Wright	"	Gordon Wright	"
Lieut. John Howe	Grand Nephew of	Late Hon. Joseph Howe	Halifax.
Lieut. Gavin Stairs x	Grandson of	Late Hon. W. J. Stairs	"

NOTE.—Those marked with a cross (x) were killed in action or, in a few cases, by military accident.

Lieut. Fred. Tanner	Son of	Charles E. Tanner, K.C.	Halifax.	
Capt. D. D. Macdonald x	Nephew of	Mr. Justice Chisholm	"	
Lieut. A. H. Weldon	Son of	R. C. Weldon, ex-M.P.	"	
Lieut. A. S. K. Lloyd x	Son of	Rev. Dr. Lloyd	Saskatoon.	
Lieut. F. P. Lloyd	"	Rev. Dr. Lloyd	"	
Lieut. W. E. Lloyd	"	Rev. Dr. Lloyd	"	
Pte. G. C. Hopkins x	"	ex-Mayor Wm. Hopkins	"	
Fl. Cadet J. de B. Domville x	Grandson of	Senator Domville	King's, N.B.	
Fl. Cadet D. A. Swayze x	Son of	Judge Swayze	Lindsay.	
Lieut. Welland G. Williams x	"	W. H. Williams	Pembroke.	
Capt. L. A. Smith	"	C. C. Smith	Carnduff.	
Major O. M. Learmonth, V.C., D.S.O. x	"	Wm. Learmonth	Quebec.	
Major Henri Chasse, M.C.	Brother of	Edmond Chassé	"	
Lieut. Antoine Chassé	"	Edmond Chassé	"	
Lieut. Edward R. Osler x	"	Sir Wm. Osler, BART.	London, Eng.	
Capt. R. O'Leary, M.C.	"	Richard O'Leary	Richibucto.	
Lieut. A. N. Carter	"	E. S	Carter	Rothesay.
Major A. L. S. Mills, D.S.O.	"	Late Bishop Lennox Mills	Kingston	
Lieut. N. L. Chipman, x	"	Lewis Chipman, K.C.	Yarmouth.	
Lieut. A. S. Bertram	Nephew of	Sir Alex. Bertram	Dundas	
Pte. T. W. E. Allen x	Son of	Rev. Canon W. C. Allen	Millbrook.	
Lieut. Houlton Morphy x	"	H. B. Morphy, M.P.	Listowel.	
Pte. John Peters x	"	Fred. Peters, K.C.	Prince Rupert	
Capt. E. O. Wheeler, M.C.	"	A. O. Wheeler	Sidney, B.C.	
Lieut. Leo Buchanan x	"	G. O. Buchanan	Haney, B.C.	
Lieut. D'Arcy Strickland x	"	Late Col. D'Arcy Strickland	R.N.W.M.P.	
Lieut. Wilfrid McKay	"	Late Dr. A. McKay, M.L.A.	Ingersoll.	
Lieut. R. B. McGuire x	"	Blaney McGuire	Orangeville.	
Capt. F. I. Simpson x	"	Harvey Simpson, ex-M.L.A.	Virden.	
Lieut. J. D. de Pencier	"	Rt. Rev. Dr. de Pencier	N.Westmin'r	
Lieut. T. F. W. de Pencier	"	Rt. Rev. Dr. de Pencier	"	
Pte. W. H. Cooper x	"	Archdeacon Cooper	Keewatin.	
Lieut. W. M. Nickle	"	W. F. Nickle, M.P.	Kingston.	
Capt. Howard K. Harris	"	Late T. M. Harris	Brantford.	
Pte. Walter Hawkes	"	J. B. Hawkes, ex-M.L.A.	Balgorie, S.	
Pte. George Hawkes	"	J. B. Hawkes, ex-M.L.A.	"	
Pte. Oliver Hawkes	"	J. B. Hawkes, ex-M.L.A.	"	
Pte. Colin MacLeod	"	D. MacLeod, ex-M.L.A.	Springhill.	
Pte. A. R. Macleod x	"	Neil Macleod	Summerside.	
Corp. J. M. Macleod x	"	Neil Macleod	"	
Sergt. D. L. Macleod	"	Neil Macleod	"	
Pte. J. M. Williams	"	John Williams, M.L.A.	Arthur, Man.	
Lieut. P. J. Burn	"	Late Rt. Rev. Dr. Burn	Qu'Appelle.	
Lieut. J. R. Stratton, M.C.	"	Hon. J. R. Stratton	Peterborough	
Lieut. H. S. Matthews x	"	T. F. Matthews	"	
Lce.-Corp. R. R. Howden x	"	Hon. J. H. Howden	Neepawa.	
Lieut. J. G. B. Coyne	"	J. H. Coyne, F.S.C.C.	St. Thomas.	
Lieut. H. E. B. Coyne	"	J. H. Coyne, F.S.C.C.	"	
Lieut. W. G. B. Coyne	"	J. H. Coyne, F.S.C.C.	"	

A feature of the military life of Canada in this war was the number of families who contributed all their eligible sons—three, four and upwards—to the Army, with very often the Father also. Reference has been made in preceding volumes to some of the better-known cases;* a few more instances may be given here. The six sons of H. O. Bell-Irving of Vancouver all distinguished themselves in different branches of the Service: Lieut. Henry B. Bell-Irving, D.S.C., Dover Patrol; Major Richard Bell-Irving, R.F.C.; Major Fred. Bell-Irving, M.C., 14th Battalion; Capt. M. Bell-Irving, M.C., D.S.O., Royal Flying Corps; Fl. Comm. Duncan Bell-Irving, M.C., and Bar and Croix de Guerre; Lieut. A. Bell-Irving, R.A. The Lieut.-Governor of Nova Scotia, MacCallum Grant, had 5 sons on active service: Lieut. Eric M. Grant, 13th Batt., Capt. Gerald W. Grant, C.A.M.C., Lieut. J. M. Grant, R.C.N., Lieut. G. Grant, V. Battery, Mid'n H. S. W. Grant, R.C.N. The Stair family of Halifax—grandsons

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* See Page 290, 1914 volume of *The Canadian Annual Review;* Page 221, 1915 volume, and Pages 468-9, 1916 volume.

of Hon. W. J. Stair—included Gavin and George, who were killed, and Herbert and Denis fighting in Flanders during 1917. Major-Gen. S. C. Mewburn, C.M.G., M.P., Minister of Militia, had a son killed in action, 8 nephews and 14 cousins on active service. The family of the late Thomas Brown, Toronto, had 24 members in the Army, of whom one was the late Lieut. G. A. Ewens and another Major Howard Jeffs. M.C. Mr. and Mrs. J. A. Sullivan of Winnipeg boasted 3 sons and 4 sons-in-law on active service; J. G. Cosgrove of Winnipeg had 3 sons at the Front and with them were 9 cousins—all of Manitoba; Mr. and Mrs. J. W. Glenday of Toronto had 12 sons or nephews on service. The following statement compiled from all parts of Canada further illustrates this point:

Parent	Residence	No. of Sons on Service
Eustace Collins	Montreal	8
Thomas O'Shaughnessy	"	5
Mr. Mawhinney	"	8
James Barnard	"	(Father and 3 Sons)
Mrs. M. Morrison	"	4
Corp. James Murdock	"	(Father and 3 Sons)
Charles Cushing	Westmount	5
Donald McDonald	Toronto	7
J. E. Boswell	"	4
Mrs. Priscilla Hay	"	4
Philip W. Moore	"	4
William Cooper	"	4
Pte. H. Marshall	"	(Father and 3 Sons)
Pte. John Parm	"	(Father and 3 Sons)
John Daly	"	4
Mrs. David Ashdown	East Toronto	7
John A. Long	Ottawa	6
Mrs. McColl	"	4
A. Dobbie	Victoria	4
Sergt. F. J. Barker	"	(Father and 3 Sons)
Sergt. J. A. Kenning	"	(Father and 6 Sons)
Mrs. N. Pellow	"	4
S. N. Reid	"	4
Capt. A. G. Sargison	"	(Father and 3 Sons)
Mrs. Malcolm	"	4
J. K. Nicholl	Halifax	4
J. W. Nicoll	"	4
Mrs. Annie Ambrose	"	4
John Simpson	Winnipeg	5
G. H. Heath	"	5
Arthur J. Hebb	Lunenburg	5
Mrs. Letitia Meister	"	5
Mrs. L. Kendall	Vancouver	4
William Tough	"	(Father and 3 Sons)
Thomas Campbell	"	5
S. G. Ball	"	10
Mr. Watts	South Vancouver	(Father and 7 Sons)
L. G. Doidge	North Vancouver	4
Pte. Charles E. G. Adams	Kelowna, B.C.	(Father and 4 Sons)
Pte. M. A. Berard	"	(Father and 3 Sons)
Thomas Hill	Coldwater	5
John Ennis	Ayr, Ont	4
John McLean	Sydney, C.B.	4
Mrs. Solomon Matthews	St. John's	4
James W. MacIntosh	New Glasgow	5
Robert Mathers	Claburn, B.C.	(Father and 8 Sons)
Miles Simpson	Shoal Lake	4
Ernest Gratto	Truro, N.S.	6
Hugh Robertson	Verdun, Que.	5
Lieut. Seymour Greene	Duncan, B.C.	(Father and 5 Sons)
Mr. Sleight	Tisdale, Sask	4
Pte. George P. Kennedy	Pilot Mound	(Father and 3 Sons)
J. B. Carruthers	Kingston	4
Mrs. A. Colburne	Cumberland, N.S.	6
Thomas Bovey	Gananoque	5
M. Thorsteinson	Sturgeon Creek, Man.	4
Mrs. J. Leavitt	Verdun, Que.	4
Mrs. A. D. Telfer	Edmonton	4
J. W. MacDonald	Portage la Prairie	4
Mrs. J. F. Richardson	Maitland, Ont.	4
H. Rathbone	Grand Mère, Que.	5
G. D. Campbell	Weymouth, N.S.	6

Incidents of the year included the loss by Sir Montagu Allan, Montreal, of his only son—Fl. Lieut. Hugh Allan, following upon the death of his two daughters in the *Lusitania* disaster; the wounding and capture of Lieut. Travers Williams-Taylor, son of the Gen. Manager of the Bank of Montreal, in the Mesopotamia campaign; the fact of Upper Canada College, Toronto, being reported on Oct. 20 as having 950 of its Old Boys in uniform with 107 fatal casualties and a distribution of Honours which included 2 awards of C.B., 1 of C.M.G., 21 of D.S.O., 39 of M.C., etc.; the wounding for the fifth time in France of Major Wilfrid Mavor, D.S.O., M.C., son of Prof. Mavor of Toronto University; the statement of Major H. W. Niven, D.S.O., M.C., of the Princess Pats, that out of 1,066 original members of the Battalion only 20 or 30 still survived in the fighting line; the death at the Front of Nursing Sisters F. L. and G. L. Lang of Toronto, and of Miss E. J. Whitman, daughter of Senator Whitman of Nova Scotia; the fact of Canadian artists being better represented at the Front than was known in Canada, and including J. L. Graham, A. Y. Jackson, Ernest Fosbery, W. J. Wood, J. W. McLaren, R. S. Hewton, Charles Maitland, W. G. Storm, M.C., Louis Keene, C. H. Barrawd, A. E. Waite, F. Coates; the reverting of Lieut.-Col. Sir Wm. Price of Quebec from Colonel to Captain in order to get to the Front; the fact that up to Mar. 1 Sir John Eaton of Toronto had expended $1,000,000 out of his private means in supporting the families of men on active service who had been in his employ—including 1,800 from the Toronto store and 900 from Winnipeg. A remarkable war factor in Canada and in Imperial military life was the Royal Military College, Kingston. According to official information* the total number of its Cadets since foundation was 1,379 and of these 358 had held commissions in the Imperial Army, and 201 in the Canadian Permanent Force; 260 had commissions in the C.E.F. and 25 in the R.F.C., while 10 had enlisted as privates. Of the total 105 had been killed in action up to the close of the year, 214 had received Imperial Honours running from the V.C and K.C.B. downwards while 20 held Foreign decorations. Of the graduates the following won special distinction in the Imperial Service:

Lieut.-General Sir C. M. Kirkpatrick, K.C.S.I., C.B.
Major-General Sir W. T. Bridges, K.C.B.
Major-General Sir C. M. Dobell, K.C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O.
Major-General H. P. Leader.
Brig.-General G. S. Cartwright, C.B., C.M.G.
Brig.-General H. M. Campbell, C.B., C.M.G.
Brig.-General E. J. Duffus, C.B.
Brig.-General A. C. de J. de Lotbiniére, C.B., C.S.I., C.I.E.
Brig.-General H. C. Nanton, C.B.
Brig.-General P. G. Twining, C.B.
Brig.-General C. H. C. Van Straubenzie, C.B., C.M.G.
Brig.-General A. G. Brennen, C.M.G.
Brig.-General Sir E. P. C. Girouard, K.C.M.G., D.S.O.
Brig.-General R. J. F. Hayter, C.M.G., D.S.O.
Brig.-General W. C. G. Heneker, C.B., D.S.O.
Brig.-General W. B. Lindsay, C.M.G., D.S.O.
Brig.-General W. B. Lesslie, C.M.G.
Brig.-General E. M. Morris, C.M.G.
Brig.-General H. A. Panet, C.M.G., D.S.O.
Brig.-General E. de B. Panet, C.M.G., D.S.O.
Brig.-General A. E. Panet, C.M.G., D.S.O.
Brig.-General D. H. Ridout, C.M.G.
Brig.-General R. K. Scott, C.M.G., D.S.O.

Many Honours were won by Canadians during the year and many were awarded by the King but it is safe to say, as of all branches of His Majesty's service, that where one was recognized a dozen others

* Supplied by courtesy of the Commandant—Colonel C. N. Perreau.

deserved to be. In the higher circles of command Maj.-Gen. Arthur Wm. Currie, C.B., Maj.-Gen. Richard Ernest Wm. Turner, V.C., C.B., D.S.O., and Maj.-Gen. Samuel Benfield Steele, C.B., M.V.O., were knighted with a K.C.M.G. in each case. The awards of D.S.O., M.C., and D.S.C., and Military and Distinguished Conduct Medals, Royal Red Cross and other Honours were very numerous—numbering at least 3,000 by the close of the year if mention in Despatches be included. Next to the V.C. was the D.S.O. and ranking high, therefore, were the Bars to that Honour with Lieut.-Col. C. W. Weldon McLean, D.S.O., son of Maj.-Gen. H. H. McLean, M.P., of St. John, as the only Canadian winner of three Bars—and, it was said, the only one in the whole British Army. Another exceptional matter was the winning of both the D.S.O. and M.C. with Lieut.-Col. J. B. Rogers, Majors T. R. Coleman, A. P. Miller, Cyril North, Fred Lister, H. W. A. Foster, Charles Reynolds, S. C. Norsworthy, K. A. Mahaffy, H. M. Urquhart and Captains C. E. Bailey (a Bar to the M.C. also), L. D. Heron, and D. E. McIntyre amongst the recipients, while Fl. Lieut. Basil D. Hobbs won the D.S.O. and D.S.C. Other incidents were the fact of Col. W. P. Anderson, Ottawa, having three sons on active service and each decorated with the D.S.O.; the mention in Despatches five times (up to January, 1917) of Brig.-Gen. J. H. Elmsley, C.M.G., D.S.O., of Toronto; the volunteering for service of Vice-Adm. John Denison, R.N., from the retired list and, when over 60 years of age, his reversion to the rank of Captain and winning of the D.S.O.; the conferring of Military Medals upon 90 Western Canadians in September for bravery shown during the battles around Lens and the rapidity of promotion and honours won by Canadians in the Imperial Service. Special Honours of the year 1917 were as follows:

C.M.G. Col. C. A. Hodgetts.
C.M.G. Brig.-Gen. J. P. Landry.
C.M.G. Col. C. A. Smart.
C.M.G. Lieut.-Col. H. F. McDonald, D.S.O.
C.M.G. Lieut.-Col. R. J. F. Hayter, D.S.O.
C.M.G. Major-Gen. H. E. Burstall, C.B.
C.M.G. Brig.-Gen. F. O. W. Loomis, D.S.O.
C.M.G. Col. R. F. M. Sims, D.S.O.
C.M.G. Brig.-Gen. J. H. Elmsley, D.S.O.
C.M.G. Brig.-Gen. E. Hilliam, D.S.O.
C.M.G. Brig.-Gen. V. W. Odlum, D.S.O.
C.M.G. Lieut.-Col. C. H. Mitchell, D.S.O.
C.M.G. Lieut.-Col. G. E. Sanders, D.S.O.
C.M.G. Maj.-Gen. D. Watson, C.B.
C.M.G. Lieut.-Col. M. Murray Alexander.
C.M.G. Colonel G. P. Murphy
C.M.G. Hon. Col. The Rev. R. H. Steacy.
C.M.G. Lieut.-Col. Jas. G. Ross.
C.M.G. Brig.-Gen. F. S. Meighen.
C.M.G. Lieut.-Col. P. J. Daly, D.S.O.
C.M.G. Lieut.-Col. J. E. Leckie, D.S.O.
C.M.G. Maj.-Gen. S. C. Mewburn.
C.M.G. Maj.-Gen. E. W. Wilson.
C.M.G. Brig.-Gen. T. D. R. Hemming.
C.M.G. Col. C. S. MacInnes.
C.M.G. Col. D. W. McPherson.
C.M.G. Lieut.-Col. J. A. Hesketh, D.S.O.
C.M.G. Brig.-Gen. R. Rennie, D.S.O., M.V.O.
C.M.G. Brig.-Gen. H. D. B. Ketchen.
C.M.G. Brig.-Gen. G. B. Hughes, D.S.O.
C.M.G. Brig.-Gen. E.W.B.Morrison, D.S.O.
C.M.G. Lieut.-Col. E. C. Hart.
C.M.G. Lieut.-Col. C. C. Van Straubenzie.
C.B. Brig.-Gen. G. S. Tuxford, C.M.G.
C.B. Brig.-Gen. A. C. Macdonell, C.M.G. D.S.O.
C.B. Col. H. S. Birkett.
C.B. Col. J. A. Roberts.
C.B. Brig.-Gen. A. C. Joly de Lotbinière, C.S.I., C.I.E.
C.B. Brig.-Gen. A. D. McRae.
C.B. Brig.-Gen. P. E. Thacker, C.M.G.

FOREIGN DECORATIONS

Commander Order of Leopold....Belgium.....Maj.-Gen. David Watson.
Order of Danilo (3rd Class).....Montenegro..Brig.-Gen. Victor W. Odlum.
Order of St. Anne.....Russia.....Maj.-Gen. H. C. Uniacke.
Order of Stanislas (2nd Class)..Russia.....Brig.-Gen. H. E. Burstall, C.B.
Order of Stanislas (3rd Class)...Russia.....Lieut.-Col. J. J. Creelman.
Cavalier, Order of St. Maurice and St. Lazarus.....Italy.....Lieut.Col. R. Brutinel, D.S.O.
Order of White Eagle (4th Class).Serbia.....Major J. H. Parks, D.S.O.
LEGION OF HONOUR:
Croix d'Officier.....France.....Lieut.-Col. D. S. MacInnes, C.M.G., D.S.O.
Croix de Commandeur.....France.....Surg.-Gen. Eugene Fiset, C.M.G.
Croix de Commandeur.....France.....Lieut.-Col. Albert E. LeBel, M.D.

Croix de Chevalier	France	Capt. the Rev. C. V. Doyon.
Croix de Chevalier	France	Major G. P. Vanier, M.C.
Croix de Chevalier	France	Major R. L. H. Ewing, M.C.
Croix de Chevalier	France	Major H. L. Keegan.
Croix de Chevalier	France	Major J. M. Rolston.
Croix de Chevalier	France	Lieut.-Col. H. W. Blaylock.
Croix de Chevalier	France	Lieut.-Col. Arthur Mignault.
Croix de Chevalier	France	Major C. F. Constantine, D.S.O.
Croix de Chevalier	France	Major A. E. Dubuc, D.S.O.
Croix de Chevalier	France	Major L. R. Lafleche.
Order of Danilo (4th Class)	Montenegro	Major P. F. Villiers.
Chevalier, Order of Leopold	Belgium	Major R. T. Young.
Officier, Order of Leopold	Belgium	Lieut.-Col. W. B. M. King, D.S.O.
Croix d'Officier	France	Brig.-Gen. H. D. B. Ketchen, C.M.G.
Croix d'Officier	France	Lieut.-Col. T. L. Tremblay, D.S.O.
Croix de Commandeur	France	Maj.-Gen. R. E. W. Turner, V.C.
Croix de Commandeur	France	Maj.-Gen. David Watson, C.B.

COMPLETE LIST OF CANADIAN WINNERS OF THE V.C.

Lieut. Ronald Neil Stuart, D.S.O.	Royal Naval Reserve	P.E. Island.
Lieut. Henry Strachan, M.C.	Fort Garry Horse	Winnipeg.
Lce.-Corp. Frederick Fisher (K)	13th Battalion	Westmount.
Capt. Okill Massey Learmonth, M.C. (K)	Canadian Infantry	Quebec.
Pte. Robert Hanna	Canadian Infantry	Vancouver.
Pte. Michael James O'Rourke	Canadian Infantry	New Westminster.
Sgt. Fred. Hobson	Canadian Infantry	Toronto.
Pte. Harry Brown	Canadian Infantry	East Emily, Ont.
Major Wm. Avery Bishop, M.C., D.S.O.	Royal Flying Corps and Cavalry	Owen Sound.
Cpl. Filip Konowal	Canadian Infantry	Vancouver.
Lieut. Robert Grierson Combe	Canadian Infantry	Melville, Sask.
Pte. John George Pattison	Canadian Infantry	Calgary.
Capt. Francis Alex. Caron Scrimger	Med. Officer 14th Batt'n	Montreal
Pte. Fred. Wm. Hall (K)	8th Battalion	Winnipeg.
Lieut. Fred. Wm. Campbell (K)	1st Canadian Battalion	Mount Forest
Lieut.-Col. Thain Wendell MacDowell, B.A., D.S.O.	Canadian Infantry	Maitland, Ont.
Lieut. Fred. Maurice Watson Harvey	Canadian Infantry	Medicine Hat.
L. Sgt. Ellis Wellwood Sifton (K)	Canadian Infantry	Wallacetown.
Pte. Wm. Johnstone Milne (K)	Canadian Infantry	Moose Jaw.
Pte. Robert Shankland	Canadian Infantry	Winnipeg.
Major Fred. Lumsden	Marine Artillery	
Pte. John Chipman Kerr	Canadian Infantry	Fox River, N.S.
Lieut. Thomas Orde Lawder Wilkinson	North Lancashire Regt.	
Pte. Leo Clarke (K)	Canadian Infantry	Winnipeg.



The Hon. Martin Burrell, M.P.,
Secretary of State and Minister of Mines.



The Hon. A. K. Maclean, K.C., M.P.,
Minister without Portfolio.

The Union Government of 1917.

FORMATION OF THE UNION GOVERNMENT

The Popular Movement Toward Union Government.

The ideal of united or national Government, in face of a great crisis, or in days of a vast war struggle such as this of 1914-17, was a natural, instinctive impulse. It had long been a fact in Britain—though not always in name; it was practically a reality in France except for a small Socialist minority; it became one in New Zealand in 1916 and in Australia during 1917; all parties in South Africa were united—excepting the incorrigible Hertzog following. At the beginning of the War the Liberals of Canada stood instantly and loyally behind the Borden Government; after a time rifts appeared in the co-operation and political differences developed; then came greater problems evolved by the pressure of war—the failure of Recruiting, the situation in Quebec, the Conscription issue and enforcement when passed, the complications of Western thought and policy. At this stage Sir Wilfrid Laurier appeared to have abandoned his co-operative attitude. He refused to join the Government in a Recruiting appeal, he was understood from the first to be opposed to Conscription and finally fought it to the end, he keenly contested the War-times Election Act and refused to support a further extension of the Parliamentary term. While these events were transpiring public opinion was slowly being formed and consolidated.

Sir Robert Borden, as the head of the Government since War began—the only original War Premier left in the world except M. Radislavoff of Bulgaria—was the target of attack, and also the rallying point of action. The Liberal press, in an increasing degree during 1916 and then 1917, denounced him as slow in thought and policy, lacking in all initiative, devoid of personal or political strength. The very keenness and continuous character of this criticism proved the Premier to be a bigger man than his opponents would admit; at the same time the Opposition could not, or did not, suggest anyone who could take his place in party leadership and war-action —except, of course, their own Leader. As a matter of logical argument, if Sir Robert Borden was responsible for all the inevitable faults and weaknesses of a War Government in a nation of pacifists and of unpreparedness, he was also responsible for what was accomplished by that Government—for cabling and pledging Canadian co-operation two days before the War began, for having 30,000 men ready to ship abroad in six weeks, for enlisting 420,000 men and sending 325,000 Overseas in three years, for keeping the industries of Canada going and building up a vast munition business of $1,000,000,000, for trebling Canada's trade in the years of war, for the establishment of pensions and a great Hospital system, for organizing a Soldiers' land settlement scheme, for large revenues, for taxation of varied interests. The fact was that many others shared with

him in these actual accomplishments just as others were responsible for delays and mistakes in his Administration during these stormy years. He was, in fact, a careful, earnest, sincere leader of his party and people in a most difficult period; anxious to do the best for Empire and country, conscious of the greatness of the task before all rulers in these years, knowing much of the difficult and divergent temperaments of the Canadian public and the national danger of going too fast, as well as the international danger of going too slow. That he was a leader in fact as well as name his Cabinet and Parliamentary management showed; that he had lots of political courage was proven by the fact of Conscription and the policy of Alien disfranchisement.

Tributes to Sir Robert Borden also grew with the year and despite criticism he gradually became the one man in whom vital interests could centre and with whom nearly all leaders could work. History, which goes deeper than surface thought, can see the reasons for this and one of them was personality—conciliatory and rarely aggressive, firm rather than arbitrary, persistent rather than vigorous, patient and far-seeing rather than sensational or popular. To E. W. Thomson, the Canadian correspondent of the Boston *Transcript* the Premier's action regarding General Hughes had proved him a strong man; to observers of Parliamentary life his unfailing good humour and courtesy, knowledge and debating ability, were obvious proofs of personal capacity as was the manner in which he bore the continuous strain of war-work and duty; the St. John *Standard*, in a friendly review of his work on Sept. 1, declared that he possessed "temperament, experience, ability and mastery of the science of government to fit him for the mighty tasks which have fallen to his lot, and no other Canadian is equally fitted to guide the country's destinies to the end of the War and beyond." The Premier's statement in the Commons on July 17 embodied his own feelings in this time of crisis: "During the past three years the responsibilities and burdens imposed upon those to whom is entrusted the administration of public affairs have been greater than can possibly be realized by any one who has not been called upon to grapple with and fulfil them. We have discharged those responsibilities to the best of our ability; we have not spared ourselves in the effort to achieve their just accomplishment. In all our endeavours there has been no regard for any consideration but the conscientious performance of our duty; otherwise we should have been entirely unworthy of the trust reposed in us."

Sir Wilfrid Laurier faced the problems of 1917 without the personal vigour and ambition which middle life still affords; with an inborn and ineradicable hatred of war and its conditions and necessities; with a devotion to Canada as he saw and felt the pulse of its national life which made him greatly fear the current complications of Imperial development and the responsibilities arising from this veritable "vortex of militarism"; with a natural love for his own race which made him understand and appreciate the causes of their aloofness from the War and made him hesitate to force their hands. At the beginning of 1917 he was still a power in the country. Quebec

was supposed to be his whenever he called the stakes unless too great a handicap were given Bourassa; the West was full of war-restlessness, aversion to Tariffs, anxiety for the free trade which seemed to mean wider markets and for which the Liberal leader stood; Ontario and the Maritime Provinces had very many to whom the Laurier personality and record of 1896-1911 greatly appealed. Like Sir Robert Borden the Liberal leader, in these later years, was a "safe" man; he too was cautious—much more so than the Premier. He did not like the many changes of the War period and expressed his general attitude in this reference to Imperialism (Commons, May 18): "I cannot imagine that under present circumstances, so long as there is the disparity of population between the United Kingdom and the dependencies, any system can be organized or planned which will work more satisfactorily than the plan which we now have and upon which the Empire has grown up to its present solidity." There was no fear or doubt, however, of the United States in his Ottawa interview of Apr. 5 regarding its War decision: "It means that the people of the North American continent will fight shoulder to shoulder in a common cause and from that we may naturally expect closer friendship and sympathies and all the benefits that will flow therefrom." Sir Wilfrid was consistent during this year in opposing Railway nationalization as was the Premier in accepting it; both leaders were inconsistent in the Referendum proposal compared with their 1910 Naval Bill record. As to War-action he issued a strongly worded Message in the January (1917) *Liberal Monthly* which reviewed the war obligations and work of the Allies and declared "it no vain national boast that the Canadian people have far exceeded the expectations laid down at the outset"; and emphasized the need for greater Canadian effort and unity:

> Let the young and healthy enlist, and those who cannot enlist will serve the country by work in the fields, in the forest, in the mines, on the sea and in the shops. Every individual in the nation can work; every hour of toil is conducive to victory, and work should be specifically directed to that end. All public construction, unless necessary, and immediately indispensable, should be deferred till more auspicious times; all available funds and labour devoted to the production of munitions, food and war necessities and their prompt conveyance where needed. . . . While we claim, and with just cause claim, to have done much, our efforts pale almost to nothing when compared with the exertions, the almost inconceivable exertions, of Great Britain, of France, of Russia and of Italy. . . . Let us imitate this noble example. Let us here and now sink passions, prejudices, vain and idle recriminations. Let us, when criticism is needed, criticize without bitterness, only by appeals to reason, and above all let us bend all our energies towards making Canada an effective factor in the struggle. The heart of the nation must beat with one accord and one desire.

The Conservative press, at the beginning of 1917, looked askance at the idea of Union or National Government and regarded its advocacy by such Liberal journals as the Toronto *Star* with open suspicion—increased by the continuous attacks of that paper upon the Government's financial policy, the more than vigorous onslaughts of *The Globe* upon Mr Rogers, the vehement Government criticisms of the Regina *Leader* or Edmonton *Bulletin*. The tendency was to ask (1) what could or should a National Government do which the Borden Government had not done; (2) what could such a Govern-

ment have done up to date which the Borden Government had not done; (3) how was such a Government, if created, to represent the varied masses, classes, races and interests of the Dominion without the War-election which should be avoided if possible; (4) how could Sir Wilfrid Laurier consistently join such a Government and what would be its value without him; (5) if purely professional and financial men such as Sir T. Shaughnessy, Sir W. Mackenzie or Sir Vincent Meredith were included, as suggested, how could they, or would they, handle such questions as Government ownership of railways? It was pointed out that in the United Kingdom the leaders of both great parties were in favour of coalition and, according to the Toronto *News* of Mar. 28, that in Canada they were not; it was contended that the demand was merely a cry arising out of the discomforts of war conditions or the wishes of an Opposition out of office; the men who at this time commenced to advocate the policy were looked upon with suspicion as to party motives and, of course, the motives of some of them, then and afterwards, were clouded by this ever-present influence; it was urged by such vigorous Conservative journals as the Winnipeg *Telegram* that the Conservative Government had subordinated party to national war-purposes and was, therefore, a National Government; it was claimed that if Sir W. Laurier would not join in such a simple national object as a united appeal for enlistment and war service it would be quite impossible to obtain union upon all the complex issues dividing the two parties. The Toronto *News* of Jan. 26 put the current Conservative sentiment regarding the proposal as follows:

> There is no need in this country for such an Administration, as there was in Great Britain, where philosophic Pacifists had to be got rid of before the full weight of the nation could be thrown into the War. . . . Too many genuine patriots have been subject to war-time hysteria. They have been carried away by the crafty whisperings of insinuating politicians, working first for a Liberal Administration, then for a Coalition Cabinet, and lastly for a National Government. . . . It is self-evident that many advocates of a National Government are sincere and high-minded in their intention. It is also true that all those who are indifferent or hostile to the War and to the Empire are against the (Borden) Government. We know, also, that certain powerful corporations which are inimical to the nationalization of public services are active in their advocacy of a National Government. Western Liberals, who cannot follow Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and yet feel strongly on the tariff, will find if they examine themselves closely, that they have more in common with the present progressive Government than with the Opposition, or with any Administration dominated by present Oppositionists.

There was, inevitably, a good deal of partisanship in the matter at all stages. If Sir Robert Borden could be re-placed as leader in a Coalition Cabinet by a colourless Conservative or a leading Liberal it would obviously be a triumph for the Opposition, and in such a whispering gallery as Ottawa during the Session, or in the political correspondence of the press from Ottawa, there was no way of keeping party feeling out of the subject. Coalition had been, up to this time, almost exclusively a Liberal propaganda so far as the press was concerned, though with support from the Toronto *World* and W. F. Maclean, M.P., from Sir Clifford Sifton and the Manitoba *Free Press*, from the Rev. Dr. C. W. Gordon and other elements

not firmly partisan in war matters. The Premier's personal view was favourable but his policy obviously was to await the expression of national opinion and, with attendance at the Imperial Conference looming up for some months, he left the subject for public consideration and the development of some crisis which would make political union imperative and therefore possible. His last words to Parliament before leaving for London (Feb. 7) were significant: "I hope that we may all unite to throw the full strength of this country into the contest. I most earnestly invite the co-operation of gentlemen opposite and the co-operation of all the people in this country, regardless of political opinions, regardless of race or of creed, to make this cause triumphant and to throw into this war the greatest effort of a united people." Public opinion at this stage was absolutely nebulous. Party glasses obscured vision except in a few outstanding cases. J. G. Turriff, M.P. (Lib.) thought a National Government spelled control by the "big interests"; Western Grain Growers wondered how far it would advance or retard freer trade and lower tariff movements; Conservative declarations at party meetings that it was all a scheme of the Liberals to get into office still evoked cheers; those who wanted to "get together" still held vague views as to what form the policy would take—should it be a Coalition of political parties as they stood, or an attempt to combine such apparently opposing interests as the French-Canadians and Orangemen, the Manufacturers and Western agricultural elements in a Union Government for special war-effort, or the bringing of financial, industrial and other leaders into what would be a National as distinct from a political Government.

Liberal politicians continued to attack Sir R. Borden while others were urging some kind of coalition. W. M. German, M.P., at Hamilton (Apr. 10) declared that the Premier had "lamentably failed to carry on a war-time Government, and that he should long since have called a meeting of party leaders and formed a National administration"; while *The Globe* as late as May 5 declared "that the failure of the Borden Administration was due to the absence of statesmanship and the lack of moral stamina and that in everything that affects the successful prosecution of the War and the welfare of the people the Borden Government has signally failed to express the national mind." Obviously there was a good way to go before Party union under Sir Robert Borden could be achieved! Meantime, however, the call in many Liberal quarters for union of some kind increased and then spread in other directions. The Ottawa *Free Press*, under the editorship of E. Norman Smith, was probably the first conspicuous Liberal advocate of the policy. On July 10, 1915, after arguing the principle and the necessity at length, it had declared that "the formation of a Dominion Coalition Government, under Sir Robert Borden, if it is so desired, would be the truly patriotic thing for Canada's leading statesmen to bring about —patriotic for the Empire and patriotic for Canada."* Then came the 1916 advocacy of the Toronto *Star* and its statement on Jan. 4,

* Mr. Norman Smith told the Author, May 1917, that at this time Sir W. Laurier expressed to him "doubt as to both the wisdom and feasibility of Coalition."

1917: "There should be no party in office at this time. The Prime Minister should not have a political party on his back. The country should have a non-partisan War Administration. If Sir Robert Borden brought that about it would be the end of his troubles and the beginning of his usefulness." The influential *Free Press* of Winnipeg—Liberal and controlled by Sir Clifford Sifton—declared on Jan. 6 that: "A united National Government is important; united action by the whole country is more important. The former is fundamental because it is the only way of effecting the latter." On the other hand official Liberalism was cool and the *Liberal Monthly* for March said: "The Liberal Party must be true to itself; it must look to the future of the Dominion. It has cheerfully given its co-operation to the Administration, as an Opposition in Parliament, but the great problem is yet to come and the Liberal party must keep itself free to deal with that problem. When the battle flags are furled and the troops come marching home—what then?" The Toronto *Star*, though it urged Coalition almost daily during the early months of 1917, yet denounced the Premier and the Government continually for weakness, inefficiency, incapacity; at the same time it declared (May 16) that if Sir Robert would, upon return from England, lead along certain lines of food and price control, put the Militia Act in force and organize ship-building, the country would follow him. But the greatest need (May 18) was a non-partisan Government:

> (1) Such a Government would commit, not one party, but both, to the policy adopted, and this would do away with the excuse for inaction, the fear as to what the other party would do; (2) such a Government would not be hobbled by its past record and policies and political debts owed to interests and persons, but, being a special Administration for the period of the War, would be free to deal with all matters in the light of war; (3) such a Government might be criticized and opposed by some newspapers, and supported and defended by others, but this would have to be for reasons, and not as now, in sheer unreason and from partisan prejudice.

Meanwhile, N. W. Rowell, K.C., M.L.A., the Ontario Liberal leader, had continued the earnest war speeches which in 1915 and 1916 made him conspicuous in Canada as a whole. He entered upon consideration of these problems with a basis indicated in an Empire Club address at Toronto on Jan. 18: "It is the chief, moving, outstanding, compelling fact in this great war that the Dominions unhesitatingly say in this struggle for justice, for liberty, for free democracy, that now and for ever we are one and inseparable, Britain and her sons across the sea." He moved slowly in succeeding months toward the ideal of coalition or union. At Drumbo (Feb. 2) he dealt with the sources and hardships of the soldiers: "They are sacrificing everything for Canada. Have they not the right to expect that those who remain at home, leaders and people alike, will make corresponding sacrifices?" His speeches dealt with the progress of democracy and the greatness of Britain's war effort, the need for more Canadian exertion and economy, a greater contribution of men and money and production. On May 8, at a Toronto Liberal meeting, he denounced the Government's C.D.F. scheme, urged the enforcement of the Militia Act, and asked the Government

"to either lead the people or get out of the way." At Woodstock on May 13 he was explicit as to recruiting: "The time is too critical not to speak out plainly; we cannot meet the situation any longer by voluntary enlistment," and at North Bay, before the Canadian Club, on May 16, he came out definitely for Coalition of some kind: "Do you see any hope of our moving forward as a united nation, exerting our utmost efforts to win the War, and grappling courageously with our own domestic problems, unless we create a War Government? Do we not need a Government which will command the confidence of the whole people, which will have the moral authority to adopt the measures necessary to meet the present critical situation, and which will move courageously and quickly along the path of duty, irrespective of personal or party consideration?"

While political leaders were rather academically arguing for or against Coalition of some kind the public was discussing the subject much more seriously. The Winnipeg Ministerial Association (Jan. 15) passed, unanimously, a Resolution demanding a Government "representing as far as possible the geographical divisions, races, classes and main interests of Canada, and the highest administrative and scientific talent of the nation." It was supported by Rev. Dr. S. G. Bland, a vigorous Liberal, and followed by a motion in favour of Conscription—the two very often going together in public expressions of opinion during these months. On Jan. 25 and other dates the Toronto *Star* contained whole pages of telegraphed answers to the question of whether or not the time had arrived for "the Prime Minister to bring into his Cabinet representatives of all parties and of the ablest business men available, thus organizing a truly National Canadian Government." Of the first 304 replies received 211 or 70% were wholly favourable to National Government; of the others 82 were opposed and 11 indecisive. Those concerned were Reeves, Mayors, Presidents of Canadian Clubs and Boards of Trade throughout the Dominion and were thoroughly representative men. From the West a batch of 65 replies were published on Feb. 3 and showed 80% of an affirmative nature. On Jan. 24 the Winnipeg Canadian Club voted unanimously for the following Resolution:

> That the Club respectfully urges the Prime Minister: (1) To re-organize the Administration along national lines by including men of recognized organizing capacity wherever they may be found, irrespective of party affiliations or Parliamentary experience; (2) to give adequate representation in such re-organization to all classes of the nation who are contributing to the desired result; (3) following the example of Great Britain to concentrate executive authority in a War Council of few members —such re-organization to be carried out without appeal to the electors.

The Toronto Canadian Club endorsed the same Resolution by a postal vote of 749 to 106. The Winnipeg Board of Trade (Jan. 25) declared in favour of War Government under the lead of Sir R. Borden who "should assign any work directly connected with the prosecution of our share in the War to men whose executive and business capacity is recognized throughout the Dominion; that these men should be chosen solely on account of that capacity and without regard to territorial, racial, religious, political or other ordinary or traditional considerations; that they should constitute

a war council and proceed along the same general lines as the corresponding organization in Great Britain, and that re-organization should be carried out without an appeal to the electors." The Rotary Club of Winnipeg followed (Jan. 24) with a Resolution calling for the "entrusting of war-time administration to a broadly national Cabinet made up of men individually qualified for the emergent task, and together representative of all important classes of the community, irrespective of pre-war party distinctions." The Vancouver Board of Trade (Mar. 2) urged a Coalition of the two Parties and the British Columbia Methodist Conference (May 23) called for a National Government. Meanwhile, a Win-the-War movement had originated in Toronto at a meeting called and presided over by J. M. Godfrey of *Bonne Entente* effort in 1916. It was attended by Sir Douglas Cameron of Winnipeg, Archbishop McNeil of Toronto, S. R. Parsons, Sir Wm. Mulock, Lieut.-Colonels R. W. Leonard and Kelly Evans, Rev. Dr. W. H. Hincks and a number of others. The immediate objects were described as a National Convention at Montreal for the purpose of backing up the Borden, or any other, Government, in the one great purpose of energetic war-action. Lieut.-Col. Lorne Mulloy, Kelly Evans and B. A. Gould—an American author and publicist who had recently become a British subject—were the chief speakers and organizers of the movement. Many Win-the-War meetings were held throughout the country and delegates appointed to go to Montreal; re-organization of the Government or a Coalition was kept out of the speeches and resolutions but not out of the private discussions surrounding the announced objects. The National Unity Convention, as it was finally termed, met at Montreal on May 23-5 with 500 delegates present including Hon. J. A. Mathieson, Premier of P.E. Island, Archbishop Worrell, Halifax, Sir W. Mulock, J. M. Godfrey and Frank Wise, Toronto, Mr. Justice Russell and Chief Justice McLeod, Fredericton, Mrs. H. C. Harrington, L. S. Klinck and Hon. A. C. Flumerfelt, Victoria, Lieut.-Col. L. W. A. Mulloy, Dr. W. H. Atherton, Montreal, L'Abbé D'Amour, Quebec, and Lieut.-Col. R. O'Leary, Richibucto, N.B. Horace J. Gagne presided with Mr. Flumerfelt as joint Chairman. Resolutions were passed in favour of a Food Controller, of French and English-Canadian co-operation in War effort, of regulation in the importation and manufacture of luxuries and more ample provision for soldiers and dependants. A Win-the-War and Canadian Unity League was formed with H. J. Gagne, Montreal, as President, and Frank Wise, Toronto, Secretary-Treasurer. The final and chief Resolution was as follows:

> That, in order that Canada may do its utmost towards winning the War, it is essential that the country be thoroughly organized along non-partisan lines for all branches of national service developed through local Boards so as to ensure:
>
> (1) The provision of necessary re-inforcements for the army.
>
> (2) The maximum production of food, munitions and other necessaries.
>
> (3) The necessary diversion of man-power and woman-power from their pursuits to be carried out with the least possible derangement of agricultural, industrial and economic efficiency.
>
> (4) The Government to requisition and restrict, when necessary, public utilities, factories, industries or other businesses, and require them to be operated by or for the Government with such a provision for remuneration as the Government shall consider just.

Sir Robert Borden's First Efforts for Union Government.

The discussion, so far, had been tentative and preparatory for conditions which far-seeing men felt were inevitable; yet it was lacking in leadership and light upon the basic issues involved. It remained for the Prime Minister, on his return from England and presentation to the country of the imperative need for Conscription and united effort, to give the vital impetus which the somewhat sluggish movement required. No hint was given in the Premier's speech of May 18 as to coalition; nor was much said about it for some days except as to the difficulties of enforcing Conscription by a party Government with the overhanging prospect, also, of a general election. Then, on May 27, it became suddenly clear that a re-organization of the Government, in order to face the new issues involved, was on the *tapis*. Sir Robert Borden (May 28) asked the Opposition Leader to meet him on the following day and then explained fully the War situation as he had been advised in detail during recent meetings of the Imperial War Cabinet and in the freest possible discussions with British leaders; stated the conclusion he had come to that compulsory military service was essential to carry on Canada's military work and duty and explained the provisions of the proposed Bill; suggested the formation of a Coalition Government and asked the co-operation of Sir Wilfrid Laurier upon the basis that outside of the Prime Minister, each of the two political parties should have an equal representation in the Cabinet; urged the importance of avoiding, if possible, a war-time Election.

The Liberal leader replied* with an expression of regret that he had not been consulted prior to the announcement as to Conscription; with the statement that he "dreaded very serious difficulties" if such a law were passed by the existing Parliament; with advice against holding any Caucus meeting during negotiations and the statement that he would consult Sir Lomer Gouin and other friends. He also intimated that Conscription should not be enforced until approved at a Referendum or general election. At the same time the Premier formulated his proposals in writing as follows: "That a Coalition Government should be formed; that the Military Service Bill should be passed; that a pledge should be given not to enforce it until after a general election; and that Parliament should be dissolved and the Coalition Government should seek a mandate from the people." Further conferences of the leaders followed on June 1st and on the 4th, with the *personnel* of the proposed Government under consideration and no insuperable difficulties anticipated —according to Sir Wilfrid Laurier's letter of June 6 following. Meanwhile, the whole country was interested and political circles greatly disturbed, perplexed and, in Ottawa, excited. The press teemed with rumours, all manner of public men and prominent personages were represented as possible or impossible Cabinet figures. Amongst Liberal guesses Hon. G. P. Graham, F. F. Pardee and Michael Clark were favourites; amongst non-political names

* Narrative given in a letter to the Prime Minister dated June 6 and made public on the 7th.

those of Lord Shaughnessy, J. W. Flavelle, Z. A. Lash, Sir Adam Beck, were mentioned; it was generally asserted in Liberal papers that Messrs. Crothers, Cochrane, Hazen, Roche, and Burrell would retire in any serious re-organization. There was a tendency in the Liberal press to support Coalition and the Ottawa correspondent of the Toronto *Globe*, as early as May 27, wrote that Liberals had a "sincere desire to do what is considered best for the national interest in securing stability of government and all possible unity of national action towards winning the War."

That paper, however, continued its editorial attacks upon the Government and on May 29 declared that: "Sir Robert Borden has forfeited the confidence of the Canadian people. It is a dangerous experiment to force an extension of the life of the Borden *régime* by any scheme of reconstruction that does not rest on the consent of the two historic parties in Parliament." The Toronto *Star* (May 28), however, urged the Premier to call on Sir W. Laurier for help—which he had done on that very day. The Conservative press, some of it grudgingly, swung into line behind the Premier; Sir Wilfrid Laurier and F. F. Pardee, Chief Liberal Whip, went to Montreal on the 30th and consulted Sir Lomer Gouin, Hon. R. Lemieux, Hon. J. L. Décarie, Provincial Secretary, S. Létourneau, M.L.A., Montreal district organizer; on the same day the Toronto *News* correspondent wired that "a Union Government now seems certain and imminent and it is understood will not include Sir Wilfrid Laurier, but have his approval"; on the following day Sir Wilfrid Laurier was in Ottawa again and the press declared the result of the negotiations uncertain. It was generally believed at this stage that Gouin of Quebec, Rowell of Ontario and Murray of Nova Scotia had been invited to join a Coalition Government. At a Halifax function (May 30) the Premier, Hon. G. H. Murray, declared that this "is a time when the very best should be given the country, when Liberals and Conservatives should lay aside their party feelings and unite for the one great object of presenting a united and unanimous front to the world." A. K. Maclean, M.P., a former member of the Nova Scotia Government, was understood to have charge of negotiations in Nova Scotia and left Ottawa at this time for Halifax; G. E. McCraney, M.P., figured in the later negotiations in the West, F. B. Carvell in New Brunswick, and F. F. Pardee in Quebec and Ontario. Hon. Arthur Meighen was stated to have an active place in preliminary and subsequent discussions. On June 2 an Opposition Caucus took place and on the 4th the two leaders held brief conference—a matter of information to Sir Wilfrid on certain points, the Premier stated—with indications along the line of a favourable settlement.

Then something happened. Up to this date, according to Sir Wilfrid's letter of June 6, no impassable or serious divergence existed and only questions affecting *personnel* were under discussion. Yet on the 6th a final conference was held and to quote his own words to the Premier Sir Wilfrid said: "I answered that I had not seen my way clear to join the Government on the terms proposed. I asked you at the same time if Conscription was the only basis, to

which you replied in the affirmative." The reason advanced for the refusal was, therefore, Conscription; but that issue was the same on May 28 and June 1 or 4, as it was on the 6th! Difficulties within both parties were obvious. The French-Canadians were almost a unit against the Compulsion Act and any Coalition aimed at its passage and enforcement; Western Liberal leaders, though they did not come into this stage of the discussion, were not, outside of Manitoba, inclined to be favourable; many active Liberals, everywhere, believed at this time that a general election would return Sir Wilfrid to power, solve the Quebec issue, give the West freer trade and Reciprocity, promote recruiting by new and more united effort. Moreover, the continued retention of Hon. R. Rogers in the Cabinet was a Liberal stumbling-block and probably the chief personal difficulty involved. The Premier, also, had no easy task in his own party. Leading Conservative members and men on the back-benches, alike, were suspicious of Liberal aims and policy; resentful of the continuous attacks upon Sir R. Borden himself; angry at the extreme bitterness of the onslaughts upon Mr. Rogers by *The Globe;* scornful as to Quebec and the Laurier or Nationalist attitude and sceptical as to the West and its free-trade Grain Growers. Sir Edmund Osler, whose political acumen was much respected, was more than doubtful (June 1): "Unless you could get men absolutely to sink their party differences, I don't see how they could possibly work together. It would be almost impossible that this could be." He did not oppose Coalition; he did appreciate the obstacles in the way: "I do not think there is much to be gained by bringing in outsiders—business men without experience in office. They have too much to learn." Others frankly wanted a personally-strengthened Conservative Government to appeal to the country and believed it would win.

A new situation opened up as the result of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's refusal to join a Coalition Government. The letters between the Leaders were made public on June 7, told the story of negotiations concisely and showed clearly that whatever the cause of the breakdown between June 4th and 6th, the present and coming issue was between Borden and Conscription and Laurier and no-Conscription, with a general election as essential to the settlement of the question. As Sir Robert put it in his reply: "I was convinced that compulsory service was necessary, and must be included in the policy of the proposed Coalition. You, on the other hand, decided that you could not accept such a policy, and that you could not join a Government which adopted it." Both leaders met their Parties in caucus and explained the situation. and it looked for the moment as if the Union project were killed. Several things, however, emerged out of what the Liberal press called a muddle, or a mess, and what the Conservative press was inclined to regard as good political strategy on the Premier's part as well as sound patriotism. His followers believed that he had put the Opposition in a difficult position—one which involved the certain disruption of the Liberal party with a loss to the Conservatives of only a few seats in Quebec. Many of them hoped the issue would be left at that and a distinct

party gain scored. But Sir Robert Borden was not playing politics; he had entered upon a course which was difficult and perhaps in the end politically dangerous; he intended to see it through for patriotic and war reasons and the courage, patience and persistence which he showed in the next few months fill a conspicuous page in Canada's history. His speech in Caucus (June 7) was a stirring appeal to meet the war-crisis, to realize the sufferings of the soldiers, to support and strengthen the Government which was determined to support the men at the Front. In presenting the Conscription Bill to Parliament on June 11 the Premier was explicit as to the need of unity:

> It was my strong desire to bring about a union of all parties for the purpose of preventing any such disunion or strife as is apprehended. That effort was an absolutely sincere one, and I do not regret that it was made, although the delay which it occasioned may have given opportunity for increased agitation (in Quebec) and for excitement arising from misunderstanding. I went so far as to agree that this Bill should not become effective until after a general election, in the hope that by this means all apprehension would be allayed, and that there might be a united effort to fulfil the great national purpose of winning this war. What may be necessary or expedient in that regard, I am yet willing to consider, for ever since this war began I have had one constant aim and it was this: to throw the full power and effort of Canada into the scale of right, liberty and justice for the winning of this war, and to maintain the unity of the Canadian people in that effort.

This desire had been the cause of delay in presenting the Bill; this was the reason for that period of waiting which followed the Premier's announcement of May 18 and which the Liberal press so resented. He wanted to have it dealt with by a reasonably united Parliament and not a party-divided one. It soon became clear, after this event, that Sir Robert intended to continue his effort to form a non-party or Union Government; that consultations would continue with the secondary Liberal leaders and groups; that every possible condition would be admitted and a willingness to compromise shown on any point except the fundamental one of war-action. This effort at political unity lasted through the vital debates in Parliament on Conscription; and the Liberal leader's refusal to extend the Parliamentary term. During this stage in the Union Government movement one after another of the active working leaders of Liberalism found it imperative to vote against Sir Wilfrid Laurier and his negative policy or Referendum plan. Each of those votes made Coalition easier and the Premier more determined. To a mere party man, bent upon winning an ensuing Election, these evidences of Opposition disintegration would have been satisfactory; but to the Premier they were only finger-posts pointing the way to union. Meantime the outside opinion of his Conscription policy, which grew in strength day by day during the Session, was not at first hopeful of Coalition except, perhaps, by inference. In Toronto on June 10 a mass-meeting was held with the evident aim of influencing Parliamentary action on Conscription and addressed by Sir W. H. Hearst, Premier of Ontario, and N. W. Rowell, Opposition Leader, by Hon. T. W. McGarry (Cons.) and Michael Clark, M.P. (Lib.), Hon. W. D. McPherson (Cons.), and W. H. Shaw (Lib.), Mayor T. L. Church (Cons.), and G. G. S.

Lindsey, K.C. (Lib.) There were others also and the speeches were all for Conscription and War support, but with no reference to Coalition. At Winnipeg on the 21st 300 Conservatives from all parts of Manitoba gathered in Convention and endorsed the Government policy, and Sir R. Borden, without reference, however, to the question of party union. As, however, Liberal after Liberal in the Commons declared themselves in favour of the Military Service Act, as men like Graham, Pardee, Carvell, Maclean, Guthrie, Buchanan, MacNutt, McCraney, Turriff, separated themselves on this vital issue from their historic party allegiance, the country wakened up to a renewed belief in the practicability and necessity of Coalition in some form. Hugh Guthrie, on the 18th, declared in Parliament for coalition; a Liberal meeting in Treherne, Manitoba, demanded (June 20) a National Government; the Toronto *Star* of June 23rd declared that if a Coalition was impossible Sir Robert Borden should, in any case, "set up a new Government, bringing in new men with new minds and fresh enthusiasms"; the Rev. Dr. S. G. Bland, a vehement, fighting Liberal, declared at Winnipeg (June 24) that "the passionate desire of Canada for a National Government should be met and Sir Robert Borden should re-construct his Government"; a month later F. F. Pardee in the House (July 24) declared that "the affairs of this country to-day demand a National Government, if it can be formed on a proper basis, for the proper administration of those affairs"; J. G. Turriff, on the same day, added the belief that "until the end of the War it would be much better if we had a national Government—a mighty good thing for Canada if the two parties could bury their differences for the time and unite."

At this stage an important incident occurred. The Manitoba *Free Press*, which had been a steady supporter of Coalition, reviewed the situation on July 12 and made this suggestion: "An organized Liberal group, if one were in existence, could receive a proposition if Sir Robert chose to make one, and they could accept it or reject it, taking in each case the responsibility of justifying their action to the people." On the 16th the 26 dissentient Liberals at Ottawa, supporting Conscription, met in caucus for the first time with A. K. Maclean in the chair and constituted themselves a new force in politics and in the events which followed. Meanwhile, the West had decided to discuss this question in a big way and to thresh out its details and issues in a Western Convention which should meet apart from Federal party leaders and eastern influences. At the time when the call went out (July 6) the Hon. J. A. Calder, the strong man of Saskatchewan Liberals for so many years, Hon. A. B. Hudson, Attorney-General of Manitoba, J. W. Dafoe, Editor of the *Free Press* and a vigorous Unionist worker, Hon. A. L. Sifton, Premier of Alberta, and a brother of Sir C. Sifton, were in Ottawa. They discussed matters with Sir Wilfrid Laurier and some of them with the Premier, or his friends. Then came Sir Clifford Sifton's intervention backed up by his Winnipeg journal's continued advocacy of Coalition and Conscription. In a letter to Senator Bostock, Liberal leader in the Senate, this one-time Minister of the Interior

in a Laurier Government and a public man whose ability was widely recognized, on July 3 reviewed briefly and forcibly the war-situation and Canada's policy, with the declaration that nothing mattered now except: (1) to put every possible ounce of force into our striking power with men, guns and munitions, in order to help the Allies to win the victory for liberty; (2) to stand by our men at the Front and give them abundant re-inforcements and reserves to admit of rest and recuperation; (3) to maintain the honour of Canada and redeem our pledge to see the War through to the limit of our capacity. He added the hope, shared with many others, that if Sir W. Laurier could not join a Union Government he at least would agree to an extension of Parliament and thus avert a general election. Quebec, it was declared, would be the cause of a refusal and its result involve "no more men, no more money"; if the Opposition Chief were returned to power two-thirds of his followers would be pledged against Conscription and to anything but "a perfunctory and ineffective participation in the War." Then:

> (1) There will be no Conscription in Quebec; (2) there will be no recruiting in Quebec; (3) under these circumstances it will be obviously impossible to raise troops in the other portions of Canada. Imagine a Laurier Government trying to raise troops in the other Provinces while Quebec scornfully refuses either to submit to Conscription or to recruit; (4) our regiments at the Front will be left stranded and will dwindle and disappear in effective fighting force; (5) the predominating and controlling element behind Sir Wilfrid Laurier will not allow him to prosecute the War. . . . If anything in this troubled world can be absolutely clear, it is clear to-day that we can grapple with this situation in one way, and in one way only, by the formation of a Union War Government, administered on non-partisan lines, which will straightway appeal for a mandate to the people of Canada and can consistently be supported by every element in the population that is loyal to the cause.

On July 20 a Conference of Ontario Liberal members and leaders and candidates in the coming Elections was held in Toronto and *The Globe* of the next day declared its conclusions to be that winning the War was the first consideration, that under Sir W. Laurier's leadership the next campaign would be fought and won, and there should be no extension of the Parliamentary term, that Coalition with the Borden Government was impracticable and that there should be another voluntary effort before Conscription was enforced. It was afterwards stated by some of those present that these conclusions were not unanimous, but no exact detail was made public. Meanwhile, the Premier still was holding the gate open to Union and Mr. Rowell, who was universally supposed to be considering the matter, said at Hickson in N. Oxford (July 26) to his constituents: "Strongly as I differ from the manner in which this grave issue of Compulsory service was presented to the country, wise as I believe it would have been to consult with labour, agriculture and other interests vitally affected, before the proposal was submitted to Parliament, firmly as I believe it should have been presented by a National Government rather than by a party government, these considerations would not excuse me for now failing to support a measure which I am convinced is essential to meet the War conditions we are now facing." That Ontario opinion was behind him in this view there was little doubt, and the uncertain attitude of

Hon. G. P. Graham, Sir W. Laurier's chief colleague from Ontario, in the negotiations, in Parliament, and in his public speeches, helped to prove this fact. A more assured proof was a meeting of Liberal editors from all parts of the Province in Toronto on July 26 and including T. H. Preston, Brantford *Expositor;* W. J. Taylor, Woodstock *Sentinel-Review;* J. I. McIntosh, Guelph *Mercury;* W. M. O'Beirne, Stratford *Beacon;* J. M. Elson, St. Catharines *Journal;* Hal. B. Donly, Simcoe *Reformer;* J. G. Elliott, Kingston *Whig;* with Wm. Banks, Jr., for the Toronto *Globe*, and J. T. Clark and J. R. Bone for the Toronto *Star.* The following Resolution was passed with one dissentient:

(1) Canada's task is to organize her man-power and resources for the winning of the War, including compulsory military service, conscription of wealth, progressive income tax, increased food production, control of profiteering, nationalization of munition plants, national and personal thrift and economy, etc.

(2) It is essential that our troops be backed up by the needed re-inforcements, and that the Liberal party in Ontario should stand squarely for compulsory military service, and that no candidate should be supported who will not support this.

(3) Sir Robert Borden and his Government have proved themselves unequal to these tasks. No other purely party Government at the present time could deal with them. A war Cabinet and Government representing both parties and the strong forces of the nation working for the winning of the War is, therefore, necessary.

The reference to Sir Robert Borden was resented by *The News* and other Conservative papers and was, in fact, followed on the 27th by a vigorous attack in *The Star* upon the Premier and his Government, while *The Globe* of the same date declared that: "The question of a union Administration cannot be considered apart from its *personnel.* Some members of the present Government are impossible because of incompetence or worse. Some Liberals may be named for office who would be equally unacceptable." The attitude of this journal had not, as yet, been favourable to Union Government; even when the general idea became acceptable it did not want Borden leadership and expressed continued hostility to certain members of the Cabinet. Meantime, the *Bonne Entente* movement of 1916, the National Unity plan of earlier in 1917, had developed into a Win-the-War and National Government advocacy with J. M. Godfrey, B. A. Gould, Frank Wise and others as the promoters of a new Convention to be held in Toronto on Aug. 2-3. The call to attend this gathering was signed by prominent men in various centres of the Province, such as A. E. Ames, Col. A. E. Gooderham, R. S. Hudson, Hugh Blain, Col. G. T. Denison, Toronto; C. A. Birge, G. C. Coppley, J. P. Bell, C. R. McCullough, Hamilton; J. C. Norsworthy, Ingersoll, and H. Cockshutt, Brantford; it declared that every resource must be devoted to war-effort and urged that "a national non-partisan Government be established for the vigorous prosecution of the War." The Convention opened on Aug. 2 with J. M. Godfrey (Lib.) in the chair. He urged that both political machines should be "scrapped," declared that Sir Wilfrid Laurier had forfeited his leadership of Canadians and urged a new war-party behind a new National War Government: "I earnestly believe that Sir Robert Borden will form the very best Government he can. Official Liberalism will no doubt be offered a strong repre-

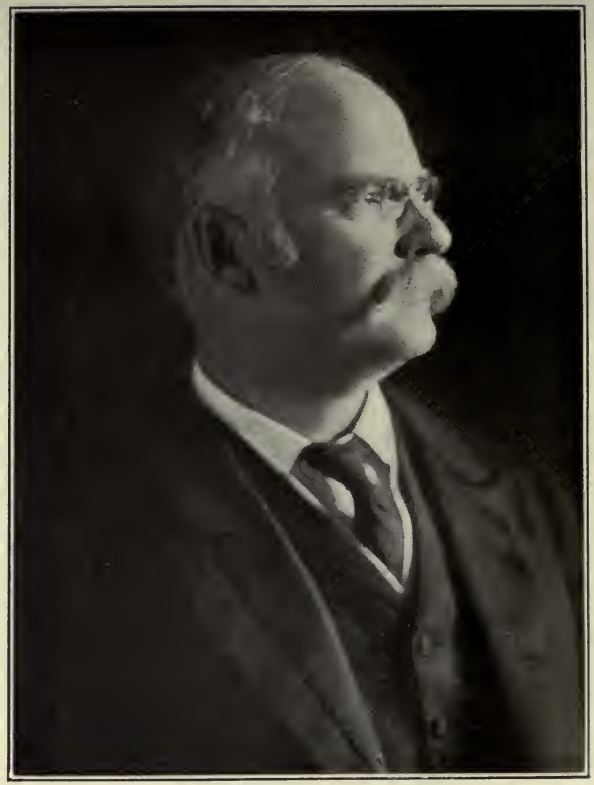
sentation. The invitation has already been extended." Hon. W. D. McPherson (Lib.) followed in a non-partisan speech. In the evening Hugh Guthrie, M.P., expressed another Liberal opinion as to the Premiership by declaring that no other man than Sir R. Borden should be entrusted with the formation of a National Government. Sir W. H. Hearst and Mr. Rowell also spoke—the latter declaring that he saw "no prospect of any satisfactory solution of our present difficulties apart from the creation of a real National or War-Government." Such a Government must be composed of men who commanded public confidence and it should fairly represent all the strong forces of the nation with, also, a Parliamentary majority. "Such a Government, whenever formed, will have my most cordial support."

The Convention included 800 delegates and Resolutions were passed expressing loyalty to the King, paying tribute to the soldiers, and greeting the Allies. To Gen. Sir Arthur Currie was sent a despatch declaring that: "A great Win-the-War Convention is demanding that party politics be dropped, that a national, non-partisan, Win-the-War Government be established, that all Win-the-War elements in Canada support such a National Government, and that Conscription be at once employed to re-inforce our brave soldiers battling on the field of honour." The following Resolution, on motion of Col. R. W. Leonard, was unanimously approved: "Whereas, this Convention deeply deplores the holding of a general election during the War—Resolved (1) that the Prime Minister should without delay form a National non-partisan Government, representative of all who demand vigorous prosecution of the War, and in determining upon this its members should disregard previous party affiliation; (2) that immediately upon the formation of such a National non-partisan Government the leader of such Government should introduce a Resolution requesting the extension of the term of Parliament." Associated with the Convention were a large number of women who, on Aug. 3, with 2,000 present at the meeting, passed a Resolution in favour of Conscription and National Government and against a general election—but if it should come pledging opposition to all candidates not in favour of Conscription or following a leader opposed to it. On Aug. 4 Sir Robert Borden received a deputation from the Toronto Convention composed of J. M. Godfrey, C. R. McCullough, W. C. Mikel, K.C., W. R. P. Parker, Mrs. A. E. Gooderham, Mrs. L. A. Hamilton and others and listened to the Resolutions presented by Mr. Godfrey and his associates. To them the Premier made his first public comment upon the personal difficulties of his position and intimated that he was still working for Union:

> The responsibilities entailed upon the leader of a Government in a country such as ours, and under the conditions which have prevailed during the past three years, are extremely onerous, more so than could be realized by anyone who has not striven to fulfil them. But however severe, and even overpowering, they must be fulfilled to the full limit of one's strength and capacity. Like the men in the trenches, a Minister, under such conditions, must remain at his post until he is granted an honourable discharge. . . . It has become more and more apparent during recent months that party differences must be sunk and all forces united in the effort to win



THE HON. SIR JAMES A. LOUGHEED, K.C., K.C.M.G.,
Minister without Portfolio.



THE HON. C. J DOHERTY, K.C., M.P.,
Minister of Justice and Attorney-General.

THE UNION GOVERNMENT OF 1917.

the War. My endeavours for that end during recent weeks have not been wholly made public, but those who have an intimate knowledge of public affairs during that period are aware that no effort on my part has been wanting. It is appropriate on this occasion to make my fellow-countrymen fully acquainted with my desire and intentions. I hope that in the near future a Government may be formed, based upon a union of all persons, irrespective of party, race and creed, who believe that the struggle which we now wage is for the success of liberty and justice, who realize that it involves the destiny of our Dominion, of this Empire, and even of the world, and who, putting aside all differences of minor significance, are prepared to join in a united and determined effort to throw into the conflict the full power and strength of this Dominion.

While these movements and efforts were proceeding the Premier had been quietly working toward the same end. The Liberals generally believed to have been approached included N. W. Rowell, Toronto; Hon. G. H. Murray, Halifax; F. F. Pardee, Sarnia; Hugh Guthrie, Guelph; A. K. Maclean, Halifax; Michael Clark, Red Deer; G. E. McCraney, Saskatoon; H. A. Robson, Winnipeg; and Hon. J. A. Calder, Regina; while F. B. Carvell, Hon. G. P. Graham and others, such as Sir John Eaton, Sir Wm. Hearst, and Lord Shaughnessy were mentioned more or less seriously. Despite rumours, no further advance was made to Sir W. Laurier. On Aug. 9 the Governor-General summoned a number of prominent men to a conference at Government House. No statement of proceedings was made public but it was announced that besides H.E. the Duke of Devonshire there were present Sir Robert Borden, Sir W. Laurier, Hon. G. P. Graham, Lord Shaughnessy, Sir Lomer Gouin, Archbishop Mathieu of Regina, Sir George Foster and Sir Clifford Sifton. It was an effort to bring together those who might help in such a Coalition as the Premier was working for. That it had some good results was probable; that it would not greatly influence the Quebec leaders was obvious from Sir W. Laurier's determined position and Sir Lomer Gouin's statement in Montreal on Aug. 2: "The attitude of the Province of Quebec is sincere. To us it appears that a Government elected six years ago on a programme containing not one word pertaining to military matters is not a Government which should impose Conscription on Canada to-day. Let us have elections, and if the majority of the Canadian people declare in favour of Conscription I am convinced that our Province, like the others, will submit to the people's will." He added approval of the Laurier attitude since the beginning of the Session. This incident, the passage of Conscription and other legislation, the clear evidence of Quebec's antagonism to the Government's policy or to a Coalition, the reasonable assurance of Ontario's favourable attitude, the coming of a Western Conference which would clear the air in those four Provinces, marked the close of Sir Robert's first efforts for Union Government.

The Western Convention and Union Government Conditions.

The position of the West was a vital one in the formation of the proposed Administration as it also promised to be in a general election. Its political leaders were a vigorous, fighting group of men, second to none in ability and superior to many in concentrated purpose and aggressive beliefs. Allied with Quebec

or Sir Wilfrid Laurier against Conscription they would have made the issue more than uncertain; standing aside from both parties they would have held the balance of power against any Government under existing conditions. A Western party was, in fact, mooted at this time and had some strong support; hence the importance of the forthcoming Convention at Winnipeg. It was obvious that pending its conclusions few of the Western leaders would definitely commit themselves—and none had done so except Dr. Michael Clark and Sir Clifford Sifton who was one only in virtue of his past career and present control of the Winnipeg *Free Press;* with Frank Oliver and Hon. C. W. Cross on the other side.

Following his letter to Mr. Bostock, Sir C. Sifton went West with the expectation of (1) ascertaining the trend of feeling toward the Convention, and (2) influencing some, at least, of the leaders for Union Government. At Winnipeg on July 30 he urged upon 400 leading business men at the Canadian Club the need for thinking only of the War and its prosecution, of abandoning criticism and endorsing constructive effort: "What are we going to do, I ask? Sir Robert Borden went to Sir Wilfrid Laurier and proposed a Coalition Government, and Laurier refused. Sir Robert then proposed a Coalition with the English-speaking Liberals, supporters of the War and of Conscription, and so far as I know the offer is still standing." He pointed out the disastrous possibilities of pro-Conscriptionist Liberals and Conservatives fighting each other in the constituencies with anti-Conscriptionist Liberals running in between them, and added: "The Liberal Convention to be held in Winnipeg next week will be one of the most momentous since Confederation, and if that Convention, as I trust it will, should declare for a strong and determined war policy, for a vigorous prosecution of the War and a properly organized fight to carry those objects through, then they should be in sight of their goal." In Regina on the 31st he stated that: "Sir Robert Borden's proposals are made to the great Liberal party of Canada, in so far as it is composed of men who are for winning the War, to come in and form a Union Government, make their own stipulations as to policy, and put their shoulders under the load." At Moose Jaw (Aug. 1) he urged again a combination of Win-the-War Liberals with Sir R. Borden and the Conservatives. There could be no doubt that the tone and arguments of Sir Clifford's recent letter had considerable weight in the East, as the position long taken by the *Free Press* had in the West, and that these speeches also had popular influence; yet it was clear that political leaders of the moment in the Western Provinces somewhat resented the intervention and did not like being led, or apparently so, by a man out of active public life and who had been of late years so identified with finance and capitalism. They were forming their own opinions and wanted to do it in their own way; the tone of thought expressed a little later at the Convention showed this. It was anticipated in an interview given out by Hon. A. B. Hudson, Attorney-General of Manitoba, on July 30, that: "This is to be a Western Convention, and Western men and women are quite capable of doing their own thinking and their own acting.

We will welcome Eastern press representatives, but they are the only Easterners we expect or want to see at any stage."

Much was expected from this gathering. Unionists were curiously hopeful. The Toronto *Globe* (Aug. 1) after urging the "weighty reasons for a National Government," declared that: "It (the Convention) springs from a dissatisfaction with the posture of affairs at Ottawa, and an impulse to break through political barbed-wire entanglements into clear, open ground, with definite leadership and definite objectives." Many of the Western leaders were committed in some measure to Conscription and it was inferred that they would favour Union Government; the Regina *Leader*, though strongly and consistently attacking the Borden Government, had supported the National Government idea for months and as long ago as May 24 had declared it "the national duty of Sir Robert Borden to take immediate steps for the formation of a National Government"; the Hon. W. M. Martin, Premier of Saskatchewan, had stated on July 30 that he had "ever since the War began, favoured a National Government, but the Conservative party, up to a short time ago, never offered to any Liberal in Canada a position in one"; Vancouver and Victoria meetings in British Columbia had turned down Resolutions supporting Sir W. Laurier or denouncing the Prime Minister; Hon. T. C. Norris, Premier of Manitoba, and members of his Government such as T. H. Johnson, had supported the idea of Union Government and were earnest believers in War effort to the uttermost. On the other hand the *Grain Growers' Guide*, which represented T. A. Crerar of Winnipeg, J. A. Maharg and Hon. Geo. Langley of Saskatchewan, and the leaders of the United Farmers of Alberta, was strongly opposed to the Borden Government's policy and while favouring (May 30) "a National Government in a National crisis" desired a referendum on Conscription as in Australia; the Edmonton *Bulletin* and Hon. Frank Oliver, its owner, and Hon. C. W. Cross of the Alberta Government, were keenly opposed to Union Government and the latter took a delegation to the Convention supporting that view and Sir W. Laurier as the leader of Canadian Liberalism; there was also a strong under-current of dissatisfaction—especially amongst Manitoba Liberals—with the retention of Hon. R. Rogers in the Borden Government and the possibility of his remaining in a Union Cabinet; several members of the Saskatchewan and British Columbia Governments were inclined to be Laurier supporters. Amongst them all, in every Province, there was comprehension of the fact that in the coming Elections the West, from the Great Lakes to the Pacific, would have 57 representatives instead of 35 and possess one-third of the total membership of the Commons instead of about one-fifth. With it all there was confidence that united they could carry the West for the Federal House as they had done in Provincial contests and the feeling that the Foreign vote was safe to go against the Borden Government and Conscription. There was nothing wrong to a politician in this latter point. The votes were there, someone should poll them, they had largely gone Liberal in recent Provincial contests, it was obvious that they would be unlikely to support a war-

policy in which they felt only the burdens and none of the sentiment of national spirit.

The meeting of the Convention was preceded by the arrival of a Northern Alberta delegation with banners marked "Laurier for the West," by a private meeting addressed in the Royal Alexandra Hotel by the four Western Premiers and with the optimistic statement of Mr. Oliver of Edmonton that 95% of the delegates were in favour of Sir Wilfrid. The Convention opened on Aug. 7 with about 1,000 delegates present (including about 50 women) and representing the cream of Western Liberalism. The Hon. H. C. Brewster, Premier of British Columbia, called it to order and proposed Hon. T. C. Norris as temporary chairman. The election followed of C. M. Hamilton, McTaggart, Sask., as permanent Chairman, and Capt. C. B. Reilly of Calgary as Vice-Chairman. The speeches and Resolutions of the first day did not deal very largely with War issues, but developed along lines of Western need or advocacy. Mr. Hamilton, however, declared that "the political forces in eastern Canada have divided themselves into two hostile groups that have apparently become irreconcilable and it is up to the people in the West to help those parties"; while Mr. Premier Norris declared that "the importance of a Win-the-War policy ranks highest and above everything else." A cable of congratulation was, also, sent to Sir Douglas Haig on the achievements of the Canadian Army and pledging re-inforcements. The speeches upon the whole were not partisan and dealt with the questions raised along lines of business-like presentation and brief argument. J. G. Turriff, M.P., and T. A. Crerar, moved an important Resolution declaring that: "As the general progress and prosperity of our people depend in a very large measure upon our agricultural development, and as the obligations assumed by Canada by reason of the War and of our existing railway situation can best be taken care of by increased population and consequent increased production, it is imperative there should be inaugurated without delay a comprehensive scheme of Immigration and Land Settlement; such scheme to be evolved and carried into effect by the co-operation of Federal and Provincial authorities, and to embrace the principle of state assistance in the direction of making available for suitable settlers the vacant land now owned by speculators, railway and land companies, and located in existing well-organized communities within easy distance of railway and marketing facilities." Other Resolutions of the 1st day were as follows:

1. Declaring that the interests of Education in the West demand the transfer to Provincial control of all school lands and of the School Land Endowment Fund.

2. Urging that the Federal Homestead Act be extended to permit women to fyle a claim to 160 acres of free land and upon fulfilling specified conditions to receive their patent.

3. Stating that the Election laws of Canada should be so amended as to prohibit contributions for election purposes by corporations or officers thereof; to limit the total amount of money spent by or in behalf of any candidate in any election contest; to provide for full publicity of the source of all campaign contributions and for a more speedy and simple procedure for the trial of election petitions.

4. Declaring that the Federal Government should make provision to assist the Provinces in securing the cheapest possible long-term credits for agriculturists by

lending money to the Provinces at cost for this purpose on the security of Provincial bonds.

5. Claiming that in view of the high cost of farm machinery as a factor in the production of breadstuffs that the Dominion Government should immediately provide for an inquiry into the different factors which constitute the price to the farmer, with a view to such action as may be possible to bring about reduction.

6. Urging the Federal Government to make use of the elaborate, modern dry-dock and ship-building plant, costing 2½ millions, which for three years had been in existence at Prince Rupert, B.C.

7. Declaring that as a war measure, and with the object of utilizing to the fullest extent the food values within the Dominion, the Federal Government should take possession of all stocks of alcohol and should absolutely prohibit the manufacture, importation, exportation, storage or sale of intoxicating liquors within the Dominion of Canada.

8. Expressing opposition to the granting of all hereditary titles in Canada and to all other titles for other than Naval or Military services.

9. Asking that lands within the Provinces of Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba, still ungranted and held by the Dominion Government for the benefit of Canada, should, after July 1, 1917, be held for the benefit of the Province in which they were situated.

10. Urging that all lands, timber, water and minerals in the Peace River district and railway belt of British Columbia be transferred to that Province.

During the day speeches were made on one or more of these issues by Hon. Edward Brown, Winnipeg, Hon. T. D. Pattullo, Victoria, Hon. A. L. Sifton, Hon. H. C. Brewster, Hon. C. R. Mitchell, Edmonton, J. H. Haslam, Regina, Hon. T. H. Johnson and Mrs. Charles Robson of Winnipeg. There was unanimity and speed in business and on three occasions a passing reference to Sir W. Laurier evoked enthusiastic cheers. So obvious was the feeling of the Convention in this respect that Dr. Michael Clark left for home during the day. Various Committees had been appointed and one of 100 members prepared and submitted the various Resolutions. On the 8th the Convention took up the essential War problems which had been in the hearts and minds of every one, which had formed the topic of innumerable conversations, conferences of leaders, and caucuses of followers. The first of the Resolutions—approved by the Committee of 100—was moved by Mr. Premier Sifton and declared that the Convention "feels compelled to place on record its most severe disapproval of the War administration of the Borden Government." It was declared that the Government had sought from the outset to make a "national life and death struggle the prerogative of one political party"; had exhibited "gross incompetency and inefficiency," had allowed dissension to overcome leadership in its councils and was "no longer entitled to the confidence of the Canadian people." No direct reference was made to the Coalition matter. In his speech Mr. Sifton described the Government as "inefficient and incompetent" and surrounded by sinister influences. What was termed the Win-the-War Resolution was moved by D. B. Neely, M.P., of Saskatchewan in an eloquent speech of fighting Liberalism. In it he regretted the 1916 extension of the Parliamentary term, described Sir R. Borden's proposal of Coalition as an insult to the Opposition leader and declared that under future Liberal administration the re-inforcements would be kept up for the Front. Capt. Reilly, a returned soldier, seconded the motion and J. G. Turriff then moved an addition to the 2nd Clause in the words,

"and by compulsion if possible." Mr. Premier Sifton and Hon. T. H. Johnson declared the Resolution as it stood involved Conscription and the amendment was rejected by a large majority with part of the Manitoba delegation voting in its favour. The Resolution then passed unanimously as follows, amidst a roar of cheers and the singing of the National Anthem:

In this War for the defence of democracy against military despotism, the conditions call for the putting forth by each Allied belligerent of its full power as the only assurance of victory. In times of peril the entire resources of the country, moral and material, man-power and wealth, are justly disposable by the State for the preservation of its national liberties. The imperative duty of the people of Canada to-day in regard to the War is its continued and vigorous prosecution:

(1) By conferring with the British Government for the purpose of definitely ascertaining the scope and character of the services that can best be rendered by Canada in the conduct of the War.

(2) By the maintenance, in unimpaired strength at the Front, of our fighting forces, and the taking of all steps necessary to secure required re-inforcements for this purpose.

(3) By organizing the production of our other contributions to the War, such as food, munitions and other war necessities, upon lines of the greatest efficiency.

(4) By the complete extinction of profiteering in all business having to do with munitions and the necessaries of life, if necessary, by the nationalization of these industries, or by the adaptation of the British system of controlled establishments.

(5) By the recovery for the public treasury of undue profits obtained since the beginning of the War, through the exploitation of the interests of the people, for the present requirements of the State.

(6) By the application of a combined system of sharply graduated taxation upon incomes and excess profits which shall insure that every citizen shall bear his or her full share of the War burden, according to his or her means.

(7) By thoroughly organizing the nation and carrying out this programme by whatever means may be necessary for its accomplishment.

On the following day, upon motion of A. G. McKay, K.C., M.L.A., of Alberta and W. E. Knowles, M.P. of Moose Jaw, Sask., the Convention passed the following important Resolution with enthusiastic approval and few dissentients: "That the Convention places on record its admiration of the life and work of the greatest of all Canadians, the Rt. Hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and of his earnest endeavour to carry out his duty as he sees it in the interest of all Canada respecting our part in the great world struggle. We express the hope that his undoubted ability, his long experience and matchless statesmanship may be utilized in re-uniting the people of Canada in this great crisis, in the successful prosecution of the War and in carrying out the platforms laid down by this Convention." The Premiers of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, British Columbia and Alberta supported this motion. Mr. Norris declared that: "I have been an advocate of a National Government, and I believe the best chance we can have of a National Government in Canada is under the leadership of Sir Wilfrid Laurier. If Sir Wilfrid Laurier recognized that there was a united West desirous of a National Government he would be statesman enough not to ignore it. When Sir Wilfrid is returned to power—and Sir Robert Borden can never be returned—the thing to do is to form a national business Government." Mr. Martin asked why Sir R. Borden had not made a proposition to the Convention and declared that if Sir Wilfrid were returned to power every plank of the Convention would be carried

out. Mr. Brewster stated that "the War Resolution, as passed, means Conscription if necessary," and his endorsation of Sir Wilfrid Laurier was "on the assumption that he would carry out that Resolution in its entirety." Mr. Sifton did not "think that any National Government would win the confidence of the people previous to an Election." Then, on motion of T. A. Crerar, the Convention unanimously approved the following Resolution: "That this Convention expresses the hope and hereby declares the desire of its members that in the impending Election the discussion of issues should be kept on a plane free from all appeals to passion and prejudice in matters of race and creed and, further, that whichever party is returned to power the business of the Government of Canada should be carried on by a truly National Government composed of representatives drawn from the different elements and industries of Canada." Mr. Premier Norris supported the motion and Hon. J. A. Calder made his first speech in the Convention along the same lines. Other Resolutions passed were as follows:

1. Urging pensions to widows sufficient to keep them in comfort, increased pay to soldiers, and in the Separation Allowance, so as to do away with the Patriotic Fund collections; the placing of men and officers upon an equal basis in the matter of pensions and the provision of vocational training for all returned soldiers.
2. Approving the principle of public ownership of railways, telegraphs and express systems.
3. Suggesting, as a war measure (but without reference to details) the development of the iron and steel industry on the Pacific Coast as a national enterprise.
4. Favouring a Dominion Bankruptcy law.
5. Urging the re-organization of the Banking system of Canada along democratic lines and popular control by means of (1) a Banking Commission invested with plenary powers in all matters pertaining to banking, currency, coinage and credits, and, in particular, with power to regulate and control (a) the issue of public currency; (b) the coinage of gold and silver; (c) the purchase of bullion produced in Canada; (d) the amount of call money loaned outside of Canada; (e) interlocking directorates; (f) the supervision of credits; (g) the capitalization of banks; (h) the payment of dividends; (i) the relations of subsidiary trust and money-lending concerns to Banks, and (2) the establishment of a National Bank of Canada, as a central reserve institution, upon whose Board of Governors should also sit, amongst others, the members of the Banking Commission.
6. Declaring that the State should own and operate Cold Storage plants throughout the Dominion.
7. Stating that it is the duty of the Government of Canada to stamp out all combinations in restraint of trade or which have the effect of unduly affecting prices and that laws pertaining to the creation and operation of any and all combines and trusts should be revised, extended and strengthened with a Federal Court and Prosecutor responsible for enforcement.
8. War prohibition of the manufacture of high-grade white flour in Canada and action along the lines of tilling, in 1918, every available acre of land.
9. Favouring the immediate commencement and speedy completion of a main Highway across Canada.
10. Opposing the payment of an arbitrated price for the C.N.R.
11. Asking for an increase of 50% in the British preference, free-trade in wheat, flour, etc., free importation of farm implements and machinery, tractors and engines, and mining, milling and other machinery, rough and partly dressed lumber, various fuel oils, cement, fertilizers, fishing lines, etc., staple foods, fruits, etc. (on a reciprocal basis), substantial reductions in general tariff except on luxuries.

The Convention adjourned after references to the work of Hon. A. B. Hudson as Chairman of the Resolutions Committee and of Hon. C. A. Dunning as Secretary. The work of the Convention thus

ended was expected to unite Liberalism in the West and to hold in unity three distinct elements: (1) The aggressive natural antagonism of the Delegates to Conservative rule at Ottawa and to the Borden Government as such; (2) the strong loyalty of a large number of Western Liberals to the personality and past career of Sir Wilfrid Laurier; (3) the strenuous desire of a majority of the Delegates to get forward with war-work and re-inforcements for the Front. Like all compromises the War Resolutions were the result of much friction and discussion—chiefly in Committee. It would seem that Manitoba had stood in the main for National Government before an Election and against any recognition of the Laurier leadership and in this attitude was led by Messrs. Norris, Johnson, Brown and T. A. Crerar; that British Columbia, led by F. C. Wade, K.C. (with Mr. Premier Brewster excepted) and Alberta, led in this matter by Hon. C. W. Cross and A. G. McKay, stood for Laurier and against Conscription; that Saskatchewan was more or less divided with Messrs. Martin and Calder for re-organization at Ottawa and Hon. W. R. Motherwell for Party policy and action. The War and Laurier Resolutions were variously interpreted. According to the *Free Press* Sir Wilfrid on Aug. 9 wired to Hon. Frank Oliver that "War Resolution as understood by report at Ottawa is perfectly satisfactory and is in accord with my views and those of Eastern Liberals." On the other hand Hon. A. B. Hudson of the Manitoba Government, in an interview on the 10th, stated that this Resolution involved Conscription and that the Laurier one did not commit the Convention to his leadership. A little later the Edmonton *Bulletin*—Mr. Oliver's paper—declared on Sept. 3 that the Convention stood "for leadership by the man under whose direction, as the greatest exponent and exemplar of Liberalism in Canada, our country flourished as it never did before."

The comments upon the gathering were many and varied with undoubted disappointment in Unionist ranks and severe criticism in the Conservative press. The Toronto *Star* saw the failure to endorse Union Government as due to the pre-Convention unpopularity of Hon. R. Rogers and Sir C. Sifton; the Winnipeg *Free Press* declared that "the net results of the Convention's labours is to leave the Western Liberals an integral part of the Liberal party of Canada, of which Sir Wilfrid is the leader"—a leader opposed tooth and nail to Conscription; *Le Canada* of Montreal declared that "the Western Liberals will remain Liberal and for them Sir Wilfrid Laurier remains the venerated leader of the Liberal party"; the Toronto *Globe* (Aug. 13) came out more strongly for Union than before and favoured "the immediate formation of a Cabinet representing the very strongest, straightest and most aggressive elements in Canadian life"; the Winnipeg *Tribune* (Ind. Lib.) declared the result due to party politicians striving for office; G. E. McCraney, M.P., stated (Aug. 10) that the "Convention was not anti-Conscription, but anti-Borden and anti-Borden Government, and to that extent accurately reflected the public opinion of the West"; the Toronto *News* (Cons.) described the attitude of Saskatchewan and Alberta as due to the Alien vote; F. C. Wade, K.C., Chairman of the B.C.

Delegation, stated frankly (Vancouver *Sun*, Aug. 13) that "the selection of Sir Wilfrid Laurier as leader meant that the Liberals have chosen a man who, as an Imperial statesman has not an equal in or out of Canada." A side issue of comment was the holding of Austro-German meetings in Saskatchewan and Alberta—Vonda, Gravelburg, East Regina, Kindersley, Kaiser, etc.—and expressions of support to Liberalism as represented by the Convention—in which, by the way, a German settler at Dundurn named E. J. Meilicke, had been prominent.

Open dissatisfaction soon developed and was first expressed by a signed protest of Winnipeg Liberals, calling a public meeting, which included such well-known names as Isaac Pitblado, J. H. Ashdown, Frank O. Fowler, E. D. Martin, J. B. Coyne, Walter H. Trueman, T. A. Crerar, C. N. Bell and R. D. Waugh. *The Grain Growers' Guide* (Aug. 15) declared that "in its war policy and in its endorsation of Laurier the Convention did not represent the best thought and opinion of the Prairie Provinces"; the North Winnipeg delegates met (Aug. 17) and urged the formation at once of a National Government while D. A. Ross, M.L.A., E. A. August, M.L.A., John Graham, M.L.A., and Andrew Graham of Pomeroy—all of Manitoba—wrote expressing disapproval of the Convention in its War and Laurier motions; South Winnipeg Liberals met on Aug. 21 and 2,000 people approved a Resolution in favour of Conscription, repudiating on this account the leadership of Sir W. Laurier and declaring for a National Government—preferably under new leadership and without a War election. At this meeting Mr. Premier Norris expressed himself as being opposed to Laurier leadership under present conditions and stated that his views put before the Resolutions Committee were in favour of a Western Liberal group pledged to no leader: "I have nothing more to say except that our leader having failed us, I am now ready to support Sir Robert Borden in the formation of a National Government pledged to win the War."

Union Government: Final Stage of Formation.

Whatever the forces behind the conclusions of the Winnipeg Convention, its attitude marked the highest point of the opposition to Sir Robert Borden and his Union proposals; it showed, also, that the position of Liberalism in the West toward Coalition was divided with a very strong element against any such policy and with a strong desire for general elections and a party decision. As Eastern Liberalism also was divided with vigorous support for the Union Government ideal together with a natural desire in many quarters that such a Government should have a Liberal or non-Conservative head, the issue became complex. Against this latter desire was the feeling of a united Conservative party, outside of Quebec, which was willing to follow Sir Robert in a re-organization of his own Government but was absolutely unwilling to hand over the reins of power to any Liberal leader. The question, therefore, was clearly one of a re-organization such as the Premier had so long urged or a general election fought amid chaotic conditions with a

confused and divided Liberalism, a Conservative party without French-Canadian support, a Quebec united behind its own leader, a West with at least one certain vote—the French-Canadians and the naturalized aliens. For a short time following the Convention many Unionist Liberals declared that the Prime Minister would be unable to succeed in his efforts. The Toronto *Star* (Aug. 23) urged him to let someone else try a hand at Union Government and the Vancouver *Sun* suggested F. B. Carvell; the Hon. J. A. Calder visited Ottawa and, according to a Memorandum made public by the Regina *Leader* on Dec. 12 following, endeavoured to organize Liberal weekly newspapers to be published in Ontario and Winnipeg in opposition to the Borden Government; antagonism to the Canadian Northern policy of the Government developed and was pressed in Parliament by Liberals who on this point and some others were re-united; the violence of French-Canadian feelings as to Conscription reached a head and had to be firmly dealt with.

On the other hand public meetings at Regina, Victoria, Vancouver, Brandon, Winnipeg and other Western points called for a Union non-partisan Government and were led by such representative men as Peter McAra, Regina, and Lieut. M. Malcolm, Liberal M.L.A. for Hanley; Lindley Crease, K.C., and Hon. A. C. Flumerfelt, Victoria; Sir Augustus Nanton and Chief Justice T. G. Mathers, Rev. E. Leslie Pidgeon and John Galt, Winnipeg; Rev. Principal Vance and Nicol Thompson, Vancouver. From Prof. Arch. McMechan of Dalhousie University, Halifax, and the Rev. Dr. E. D. McLaren of Vancouver, came urgent press appeals to support Borden and Union Government. Many other meetings in August developed as the days passed—2,000 women of Vancouver, for instance, demanding National Government with similar meetings of women at Portage La Prairie, Brandon and Winnipeg. Win-the-War meetings were held at Virden and Selkirk, Manitoba; at Vancouver, addressed by E. P. Davis, K.C., and L. G. McPhillips, K.C.; at Victoria, addressed by M. B. Jackson M.L.A. (Lib.) and Chief Justice Hunter and at other points; while Resolutions were passed by such bodies as the Life Underwriters of Canada meeting at Winnipeg. At this juncture came the resignation of Mr. Rogers as Minister of Public Works and the removal of one of the chief reasons given by many Liberals for not supporting the Premier's effort; almost at the same time came the introduction to Parliament of the Military Voters Bill which ensured a large Soldiers' vote for the Government, and on Aug. 20 a gathering at Ottawa of Western Liberal public men, concerned in the Union Government proposals—Sir Clifford Sifton, his brother Hon. A. L. Sifton, Premier of Alberta; Hon. J. A. Calder, Minister of Public Works, Saskatchewan; H. W. Wood, President of the United Farmers of Alberta; T. A. Crerar, Winnipeg, President of the Grain Growers' Grain Co.; and J. G. Turriff, M.P.

With these events and following the Convention there was played at Ottawa a game of politics and patriotism so inter-mixed, so cleverly manipulated, so resourceful and varied in weapon and method as to have no precedent in Canadian history. For months Sir Robert Borden had pressed, with tact and diplomacy and honest

earnestness, his project of Union Government, his appeal to the non-partisan sentiment of Parliament and the country at a serious crisis in world affairs; his effort to avert a general election and then, when it became inevitable, to prevent it from being chaotic and unfruitful in result and to make clear, also, the delaying evils of a Referendum on Conscription; his fear that an isolated and hostile Quebec might be established in the midst of Confederation unless the Conscription issue could be taken out of politics. Now, when it became clear that Sir Wilfrid Laurier and many of his followers, both East and West, wanted a general election, the Premier used every point of political vantage which could come to him as a Party leader. Conciliation enlarged the split in Liberal ranks; he had never been a vehement disputant or shown personal feeling in politics and during this difficult Session he kept the House upon as even a keel as possible. The War-times Franchise Act brought in a large electorate of women voters who would probably be friendly to the Government, and disfranchised a large Western element which was undoubtedly hostile to both Government and war-policy. The attitude taken in presenting an Address to the King, asking for the extension of Parliament and at the same time stating that it would not be pressed unless given large Liberal support, put the onus of a war election upon Sir W. Laurier and his party. Taken altogether the Session, both before and after this last stage in his Union Government efforts, showed the Premier to be a stronger and more able man than his opponents had dreamed of and a more adroit and firmer leader than his own followers had believed him to be.

From Aug. 20 onward the negotiations at Ottawa and elsewhere assumed an active and continuous form. Much depended upon Mr. Calder. The position of Hon. A. L. Sifton, representing Alberta and accompanied to Ottawa by H. W. Wood, was known to be favourable, as was that of the Manitoba Government, as a whole, with T. A. Crerar representing the Grain Growers of that Province. But Mr. Calder was at this time the leading Liberal of the West in many respects; he was an expert organizer and had been looked upon as the Opposition's chief Western support in that connection; he was a shrewd and far-seeing politician. On the 22nd it was announced that Messrs. Calder, Sifton, Wood and Crerar had left for the West; on the 23rd they met in Winnipeg and conferred with Mr. Premier Martin and Hon. C. A. Dunning of Saskatchewan and Hon. A. B. Hudson of the Manitoba Government. Mr. Wood issued a statement that "while he favoured the formation of a Union Government, he himself would not be a member of it as he considered there were others with more experience and ability available." The Toronto *Globe* at this point (Aug. 25) interjected its view as follows: "To uphold the honour of the country all parties should be fused in a National Administration to enforce a national policy. Liberals must be concerned with the verdict of history on the part they play at this critical time." Meanwhile the issue was said, according to *The Globe* correspondent at Ottawa (Aug. 27) to turn upon leadership, while the Winnipeg *Free Press* of Aug. 29 declared

that the Western Liberals were only willing to join under Hon. L. P. Duff of the Supreme Court, Ottawa, Chief Justice Sir Wm. Mulock of Ontario, Chief Justice Sir Fred. Haultain of Saskatchewan, Sir George Foster or Sir Adam Beck.

At this juncture, on Aug. 29, the Conservative caucus met at Ottawa with J. E. Armstrong in the chair, and tendered the Prime Minister a demonstration of affection and support. Sir Robert reviewed the negotiations from his first effort to obtain Sir W. Laurier's adhesion to the present proposals for an equal representation of prominent Liberals and Conservatives; stated that three of the Western leaders had wired him from Winnipeg on Aug. 23 that* "they favoured a National Government and the formation of a War Council of six, of which Sir Robert Borden should be one, but they thought a change of leadership essential and suggested four gentlemen, of whom Sir George E. Foster was first named and added the understanding that all these gentlemen would, under another leader, be willing to serve, together with strong Eastern colleagues." Sir Robert went on to say that the question of forming a Union Government, based upon the support of all elements of the population prepared to join in an earnest effort to help in winning the War, was above personal or party consideration. He strongly emphasized his conviction that any question as to the personal status or political fortunes of any individual was utterly insignificant and expressed his absolute willingness to retire altogether, or to serve under Sir George Foster, if the result would be to unite all elements of the population and have them represented in a Union Government. Sir George Foster followed and emphasized the warm friendship and co-operation which had existed between Sir Robert and himself, his appreciation of the immensity of the task that had confronted the Prime Minister since the outbreak of hostilities and of the untiring patience and devotion that had held him to the performance of duties—during which he had acquired vast knowledge of conditions and requirements not only in Canada but Overseas as well. He was willing to serve in any capacity but firmly believed that the full strength of the country would not be available unless Sir R. Borden remained at the head of the Government. Amidst a scene of great enthusiasm the following Resolution was approved:

We, the supporters of Sir Robert Borden's Government in the Parliament of Canada, record our emphatic approval of that Government's policy and achievements during these three years of war. We endorse the earnest and patient efforts of the Prime Minister to bring about a union of all the war forces of Canada and to give to this Dominion in these days of ever-increasing stress, suffering and peril, the advantage of an Administration which would typify that union and speak to the world the unswerving resolution of our people to see this war through to victory. For the purpose of such union we are, one and all, prepared to make any personal or party sarcifice that the occasion may demand. We record unanimously our profound admiration of the great work and splendid leadership of Sir Robert Borden. We sincerely believe that no other man can discharge with like capacity the tremendous task of Prime Minister during this crisis and that now, of all times, his continuance

* Those mentioned were assumed by the press to be Messrs. Sifton, Calder, Crerar and Isaac Pitblado. The other proposed leaders were Sir W. Mulock, F. B. Carvell or Sir Adam Beck.

in the Premiership is indispensable to the nation, and to his support we pledge our unalterable devotion.

This Conservative attitude, coupled with the known aversion of many Conservatives to any Coalition and the aggressive position of many Western Liberals, apart from those who demanded another leader, appeared to kill the project and a large part of the press began to line up for the Elections and to discuss Party politics. But the patient persistence of Sir Robert Borden was not even yet fully appreciated. Elements of popular support, also, were soon shown. The Hon. Edward Brown, Provincial Treasurer, Winnipeg, was outspoken in his view (Aug. 30): "In my mind, Sir Robert Borden is acceptable as leader of a Union Government, and I am not in sympathy with any attempt to drive a hard bargain at this time. Sir Robert was the father of the Military Service Bill and he is the logical leader of a Union Government to carry it out." The women of Winnipeg, in a mass-meeting representing all the city organizations, declared unanimously in favour of a non-partisan National Government, as did Win-the-War meetings at Esquimalt, B.C., Morris and Dauphin, Manitoba—the latter addressed by Rev. E. A. Smith, President of the Manitoba Methodist Conference. Others followed at Mather, Virden, Melfort, Brandon, in Manitoba, Rossland, Vernon, Nelson, in British Columbia, and Regina, Sask.—the latter urging Sir Robert Borden to resume negotiations. This meeting was presided over by J. A. Allan, K.C., and addressed by D. B. Thom, K.C., Principal Stapleford of Regina College, G. H. Barr, L. T. McDonald and Robert Sinton, who were all well-known Liberals. Eight prominent Calgary Liberals on Aug. 31 telegraphed the Premier promising support of many Alberta colleagues; Sir C. H. Tupper, speaking at Chilliwack, B.C. (Sept. 3) declared strongly for Union Government as did Prof. W. F. Osborne in Winnipeg. On the 12th a Delegation from the Canadian Manufacturers' Association waited on Sir Robert Borden and submitted Resolutions of its Executive, pledging support to the enforcement of Conscription and urging that: "It is essential that the Cabinet be re-organized along lines that will secure the fullest possible measure of national unity and co-operation and that a larger proportion of business men than heretofore should be included."

Meanwhile the War-times Election Act had been introduced (Sept. 6) and was slowly passing through Parliament, while its electoral significance was permeating political thought. It was announced at the same time that Sir Robert intended to re-organize his Cabinet at the close of the Session and a *Globe* despatch from Ottawa on Sept. 14 mentioned Hon. A. L. Sifton, J. G. Turriff, M.P., and Hugh Guthrie as possibilities, while declaring that F. B. Carvell, J. A. Calder, G. H. Murray, N. W. Rowell, T. A. Crerar and others mentioned in the past were now definitely out of it; Parliamentary debates over the War Franchise Bill became vehement and aroused strong party feeling. On the 10th the Prime Minister had replied to an inquiry from E. P. Davis, K.C., a leading Vancouver Liberal, that: "It is both my purpose and my expectation to form a Union Government before the general election, which is now imminent.

As you are aware, I have during the past 3½ months used my best endeavours for that purpose which has been publicly announced. . . . If it should prove impossible to form a Union Government before the general election I shall certainly do so if I should be returned to power." By Sept. 24 discussions were in full swing again with Mr. Premier Sifton back in Ottawa after spending some days at Winnipeg; with N. W. Rowell, M.L.A., touring the West and meeting Mr. Calder in Winnipeg, and Hon. H. C. Brewster and Senator Bostock at Regina; with Hon. J. D. Reid taking advice in Toronto and acting for the Premier who was recuperating from a slight illness in the wilds of Labelle County, Quebec.

On the 28th it was stated in the press that Messrs. Sifton, Calder and Crerar of the West had re-considered their position and would come in and on Oct. 2 Messrs. Calder, Carvell, Ballantyne and others were at the Capital. The next day a practical step in reconstruction was taken by the swearing in of Hugh Guthrie, K.C., M.P., as Solicitor-General—a position vacant since Mr. Meighen became Secretary of State—and Lieut.-Col. C. C. Ballantyne as Minister of Public Works in place of Hon. R. Rogers. Col. Ballantyne was a well-known business man, ex-President of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, and a moderate Liberal who had never taken part in politics; Mr. Guthrie was a life-long exponent of Liberalism who had been in Parliament since 1900. Following this event Ontario began to take action. Its politicians had been more or less quiescent on this issue for a time because the feeling in Liberal ranks was well known and it was felt that if the West could be won over there would be no serious difficulty as to this part of the East. A meeting of Conscriptionist-Liberals was held in Toronto on Sept. 24, attended by such representative party men as Hume Cronyn, London; J. L. Counsell, Hamilton; Hal. B. Donly, Simcoe; Thos. Findley, A. E. Ames, H. M. Mowat, K.C., Toronto; A. R. Goldie, Galt; Lieut.-Col. W. M. Gartshore, London; Lloyd Harris and L. M. Waterous, Brantford; R. J. McLaughlin, K.C., Lindsay; H. J. Pettypiece, Forest; D. B. Simpson, K.C., Bowmanville and C. C. L. Wilson, Ingersoll. They discussed the situation and decided to hold a Convention in the near future. Mr. Rowell came again to the front early in October. On the 7th and 8th Messrs. A. L. Sifton, J. A. Calder, T. A. Crerar, W. M. Martin and A. B. Hudson were again in Ottawa while Mr. Premier Brewster was on the way from Victoria. The three Western men first mentioned held a long conference with the Premier on the 8th, while Messrs. Carvell, Pardee, Graham and E. M. Macdonald conferred with Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and a last effort was made to prevent the final rupture; Mr. Rowell also was in the capital, and there was no doubt as to his willingness to join any reasonable combination.

At this stage Sir Wilfrid Laurier took a hand in the matter and paid a visit to Toronto (Oct. 9) where he met 500 party friends and followers—including Mr. Rowell, Hon. G. P. Graham, E. M. Macdonald, F. F. Pardee, C. M. Bowman, M.L.A., A. J. Young, President of the Ontario Reform Association, P. C. Larkin, and others. There had been preceding rumours of Sir Wilfrid's retirement from the

leadership in order to facilitate a re-union of his party, but if there was any truth in them this Toronto consultation changed the situation, and the veteran Leader succeeded in winning back or holding a number of those who had differed with him on Conscription—notably Mr. Graham and Mr. Pardee. Wm. Pugsley, E. M. Macdonald, Sydney Fisher, Mackenzie King, D. D. McKenzie and Charles Murphy had stood by him from the first. Since the Winnipeg Convention there had been a swinging of the pendulum to and fro in this respect. Sir Lomer Gouin had publicly aligned himself with his old-time leader and, speaking in Montreal on Aug. 20, had described the Borden Government as "worn out, moribund and drifting," and declared that: "For my part, I will never consent to contribute to Government by a small group whose authority is expired and who wish to govern the country in spite of the wishes of the people." E. F. B. Johnston, K.C., of Toronto, stated on Sept. 6, after returning from the West, that a National Government "composed of the present Administration, with the addition of a few discontented Liberals, would not be acceptable." Wm. R. Wood, M.L.A., Manitoba, joined Messrs. Cross and Gariepy in Alberta, and Motherwell, Langley and W. F. A. Turgeon in Saskatchewan against Union Government, while the Foster Government in New Brunswick stood aloof and Mr. Premier Murray in Nova Scotia found difficulty in swinging his Government into line. The Hon. Wilfrid Gariepy, Minister of Municipal Affairs in Alberta, expressed his views on Sept. 5 as in favour of a Union Government with Sir R. Borden eliminated. Sir Wilfrid Laurier,, in a letter (Aug 21) to Frank Wise, Secretary of the Win-the-War League, Toronto, had defined his position as being a refusal to enter the Borden Government with acceptance of its ready-made policy of Conscription and not a refusal to enter "a National Government whose first duty would have been to discuss and frame a policy adapted to our national situation." Up to the last the influential Regina *Leader* fought Union Government under Sir R. Borden as vigorously as its Liberal colleague in Winnipeg. the *Free Press*, fought for it, or as the Winnipeg *Telegram* (Cons.) fought Sir Clifford Sifton and the *Free Press*. *The Leader* wanted an Election and to get rid of the Borden Government; it stood by the Winnipeg Convention and denounced the War-time franchise vigorously; its Ottawa correspondence of Oct. 8 suggested that if Sir Wilfrid Laurier "should decide that his path of duty lay in stepping aside for an English-speaking Liberal leader, then the Western Liberals would likely withdraw at once from the present negotiations."

Meantime negotiations progressed steadily at Ottawa with Hon. Arthur Meighen as a principal on behalf of the Premier. By Oct. 11th, 19 Liberal politicians—including Hon. A. Turgeon of Saskatchewan, F. B. Carvell of New Brunswick, A. K. Maclean, W. S. Fielding and Hon. G. H. Murray, of Nova Scotia, F. F. Pardee, Ontario, H. C. Brewster of British Columbia, and also Hon. J. W. de B. Farris and others already mentioned—were in Ottawa. Every phase of the complicated question had by this time been threshed out. The old-time Liberals, whose sense of duty and national

expediency had overcome their personal loyalty to a respected leader, were upon assured and convinced ground; the Conservative leaders in Saskatchewan and Alberta, who were in doubt as to their political positions—W. B. Willoughby and Edward Michener—were promised Senatorships; Conservative and Liberal Unionists who were, for a time, all at sea as to how conflicting nominations and seats were to be adjusted in the Elections, had come to some sort of understanding; the many conflicting issues between parties had been thrown into a melting-pot of discussion and, so far as the Unionists were concerned, been moulded into some kind of shape through compromise action or by postponing settlement till after the War; the Premier approached three French-Canadian Liberals with a view to having one of them in the Cabinet. On Oct. 12 an official announcement was made that success had come to the Prime Minister's prolonged efforts and that: "The delays incidental to the formation of a Union Government were no more than might have been anticipated, as the difficulties were immensely greater than those which occur in the formation of a strictly party Government. The conferences which have taken place during the past four days have been characterized by a very earnest and sincere purpose on the part of all concerned to bring about the formation of a Union or National Government." The new Ministers were announced and were to be sworn in on the 13th. The Union Government as finally constituted was as follows:

Department	Minister	Politics
Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs	Rt. Hon. Sir Robert Laird Borden	Cons.
President of the Privy Council	Hon. Newton Wesley Rowell, K.C.	Lib.
Trade & Commerce	Rt. Hon. Sir George Eulas Foster	Cons.
Public Works	Hon. Frank Bradstreet Carvell	Lib.
Interior	Hon. Arthur Meighen, K.C.	Cons.
Railways and Canals	Hon. John Dowsley Reid	Cons.
Finance	Hon. Sir Wm. Thomas White	Cons.
Postmaster-General	Lieut.-Col. Pierre Edouard Blondin	Cons.
Marine and Fisheries and Naval Service	Hon. Charles Colquhoun Ballantyne	Lib.
Justice	Hon. Charles Joseph Doherty, K.C.	Cons.
Militia and Defence	Maj.-Gen. Sydney Chilton Mewburn	Lib.
Secretary of State	Hon. Martin Burrell	Cons.
Labour	Hon. Thomas Wilson Crothers, K.C.	Cons.
Inland Revenue	Hon. J. P. Albert Sévigny	Cons.
Customs	Hon. Arthur Lewis Sifton, K.C.	Lib.
Agriculture	Hon. Thomas Alexander Crerar	Lib.
Militia—Overseas	Hon. Sir Albert Edward Kemp	Cons.
Immigration and Colonization	Hon. James Alexander Calder	Lib.
Solicitor-General	Hon. Hugh Guthrie, K.C.	Lib.
Without Portfolio	Hon. Gideon Decker Robertson	Lib.
Without Portfolio	Hon. Alexander K. Maclean, K.C.	Lib.
Without Portfolio	Hon. Frank Cochrane	Cons.
Without Portfolio	Sir James Alexander Lougheed	Cons.

The retiring Ministers, as to Departments, were Sir G. H. Perley, Hon. F. Cochrane, Hon. W. J. Roche, Hon. J. D. Hazen. Messrs. Rogers and Patenaude had gone before the re-organization took place. Of the new Ministers Mr. Carvell had long been an outstanding figure in aggressive Liberalism, fearless in criticism and comment, honest in character and political repute; Mr. Crerar was not a politician of the old type but a man of wide agricultural experience and an effective and able leader in Western public affairs and interests of a special kind; Mr. Calder was a master of political organization and detail, a keen student of Western political thought and a leader



The Hon. Arthur Meighen, K.C., M.P.,
Minister of the Interior.



The Hon. Hugh Guthrie, K.C., M.P.,
Solicitor-General of Canada

The Union Government of 1917.

of distinct initiative; Mr. Sifton was a silent, capable man who had proved that a good judge could also be a strong politician; General Mewburn was a patriotic soldier with clear organizing ability along military lines and an experience which specially fitted him for his new position; Mr. Rowell stood for social reform and what might be called higher politics—an eloquent, patriotic and forceful public man; Colonel Ballantyne as a manufacturer, business man and financier, had won prominence in the life of Montreal; Mr. Robertson had for some time been a progressive yet moderate representative of Labour in the Senate and Mr. Maclean had been for years a conspicuous figure in the public life of Nova Scotia and in Parliament was the chief Opposition critic in financial matters. Of the older Ministers, the Conservatives who continued in office, Sir George Foster was *doyen* in years and eloquence and experience; Sir Thomas White was a financial leader whose abilities and war policy had won him the respect of the whole country; Mr. Meighen was a man of great executive, rhetorical and administrative ability; Sir James Lougheed had succeeded as a politician in every task he had been given and his leadership of the Senate had been tactful and effective; Mr. Burrell had made an excellent Minister of Agriculture, Mr. Doherty a quiet and industrious Minister of Justice, Sir Edward Kemp did particularly good work in the War Purchasing Commission, Mr. Crothers had never been afraid to express his views on Labour questions and Dr. Reid had been a careful administrator in frequent charge of Railways as well as of his own Department; Colonel Blondin and Mr. Sévigny had passed through various stages of French-Canadian public life and now represented, with typical courtesy and courage, the best thought of their Province.

The press tributes to the Prime Minister upon this successful result of his long and persistent efforts were many. The Montreal *Star* (Oct. 12) declared that "the patience and patriotism of Sir Robert Borden through this prolonged crisis are beyond praise. To them is due its successful result to an extraordinary extent." The Toronto *News* went further in its eulogy: "Sir Robert Borden has apparently achieved the impossible. In a country especially given to furious political faction, he has succeeded in the formation of a strong War Administration representative of all the patriotic elements in the population. For his long patience and final triumph history will give the Prime Minister a place with Lincoln—that other statesman who, in the face of vicious opposition and heart-breaking difficulties, was able at length to consolidate his nation in the cause of humanity and freedom"; the Ottawa *Journal* pointed out that "to the initiative and patriotism, the persistence and patience of Sir Robert Borden, the achievement of Union Government is primarily due—but Sir Robert could not have accomplished anything had it not been for the unselfishness and public spirit of other Conservative leaders and the patriotism and encouragement of many leading Liberals"; the Saskatoon *Star* thought that "nothing Sir Robert Borden has done in the past, and he has done much, ranks in measure of achievement with this"; the Victoria *Colonist* (Nov. 4) declared that "the Prime Minister, because he knew how to wait,

has done a magnificent work in cementing Canadian public opinion" and eulogized his broad-mindedness and toleration. These were Conservative journals and the Liberals commented according to their politics—as Unionists or, as the public soon came to call them, Laurierites. The Toronto *Globe* approved the action of the Liberals in joining the new Government and declared that they represented a people's movement, not a politician's; the Winnipeg *Free Press* eulogized its *personnel* as disinterested and capable and believed that it would give "a united nation far-seeing, high-minded and patriotic leadership"; the Edmonton *Bulletin* described the Unionist-Liberal action as "treachery to life-long principles" and *Le Soleil* of Quebec did not believe that they represented Canadian Liberalism; the Moose Jaw *Times* (the Hon. Walter Scott's paper) expressed keen satisfaction that the Liberals "have had to make no concessions and that they control all the leading portfolios relating to war and to the economic welfare of the country". On Oct. 22 the members of the Inner or War Cabinet Committees were announced as follows:

War Committee of the Council	Reconstruction and Development Committee
Rt. Hon. Sir Robert Borden (Chairman).	Rt. Hon. Sir Robert Borden (Chairman).
Hon. N. W. Rowell (Vice-Chairman).	Hon. A. K. Maclean (Vice-Chairman).
Maj.-Gen. S. C. Mewburn.	Rt. Hon. Sir George Foster.
Hon. Sir Thomas White.	Hon. Sir Thomas White.
Hon. Charles J. Doherty.	Hon. John D. Reid, M.D.
Lieut.-Col. The Hon. C. C. Ballantyne.	Hon. J. A. Calder.
Hon. F. B. Carvell.	Hon. Arthur Meighen.
Hon. A. L. Sifton.	Hon. T. A. Crerar.
Hon. Sir Edward Kemp.	Hon. Sir James A. Lougheed.
Lieut.-Col. The Hon. P. E. Blondin.	Hon. G. D. Robertson.

The Prime Minister in his statement as to the duties of these Committees stated that the War Committee was intended: "For the purpose of co-ordinating the efforts of the several Departments of the Government in the prosecution of the War, for ensuring the maximum of effort with the minimum of expenditure and, generally, for the purpose of throwing the full power of Canada into the national endeavour." It would inquire into and report upon the status and maintenance of the military forces of Canada, the enforcement of the Military Service Act, the defence of the Canadian coasts and the patrolling of territorial and adjacent waters, the arrangements for garrisons and outposts in Canada, the training and equipping of troops, the internment of aliens, the prohibition and regulation of imports and exports and the granting of licenses therefor, the arrangements with the Government of the United Kingdom and with the Governments of the Allied nations. The Reconstruction Committee would deal with demobilization, investigate the enormous and varied resources of the Dominion and consider a scheme of immigration and colonization in order to promote further production. Land Settlement would be dealt with together with Transportation problems involved in the Government acquisition of railways and the growing need of water transport; Air Service as a national requirement and problems of revenue, taxation and thrift; so with the condition of Labour and the coming of Women into public affairs and service.

Union Government Policy and Sir Robert Borden's Campaign.

The new Government had only been formed a few days when it issued a statement of war-policy, a programme of principles and practice, which was intended to appeal to the dominant sentiment of the country and to prove that the new non-political dispensation was energetic and intended to be effective. On Oct. 18 the Prime Minister, after consultation with his colleagues, stated that: "The Union Government has been formed with a desire to give representation to all elements of the population supporting the purpose and effort of Canada in the War. Representative men of both political parties are included in its *personnel*, and it is intended forthwith to give to Labour special representation. . . . The lines of policy to be followed chiefly relate to the prosecution of the War and to the consideration and solution of problems arising during its progress or which will supervene upon the conclusion of peace." They were outlined as follows:

1. The vigorous prosecution of the War, the maintenance of Canada's effort by the provision of necessary re-inforcements, the immediate enforcement of the Military Service Act and the most thorough co-operation with the Governments of the United Kingdom and of the other Dominions in all matters relating to the War.

2. Civil Service Reform, with a view to extending the principle of the present Civil Service Act to the outside Service, and thus to abolish patronage and to make appointments, upon the sole standard of merit, with preference to returned soldiers who are duly qualified.

3. The extension of the Franchise to women, with suitable provisions for enabling married women to determine their nationality and to obtain naturalization notwithstanding marriage.

4. Adequate taxation of War Profits and increased taxation of Income as necessitated by the continuance of the War.

5. A strong and progressive policy of Immigration and Colonization, accompanied by suitable provisions to induce settlement upon the land, to encourage increased agricultural production, and to aid in the development of Agricultural resources.

6. Effective arrangements for Demobilization, for the care and vocational training of returned soldiers, for assistance in enabling them to settle upon the land, and for adequate pensions to those who have been disabled and to the dependants of those who have fallen.

7. The development of Transportation facilities, the co-operative management of the various railway systems so as to secure economy in operation, to avoid unnecessary construction and to secure the widest and most effective use of existing railway facilities; the encouragement and development of the ship-building industry and the establishment of steamship lines upon both Oceans and upon the Great Lakes; co-operation with the various Provincial Governments for the improvement of highways and the investigation of the possibilities of Air Service for important national purposes.

8. The reduction of public expenditure, the avoidance of waste and the encouragement of thrift.

9. Effective measures to prevent excessive profits, to prohibit hoarding and to prevent combinations for the increase of prices, and thus reduce the cost of living.

10. The encouragement of co-operation among those engaged in agricultural production, with a view to diminishing the cost of production and marketing so that the price paid to the producer may conform more closely to that paid by the consumer.

11. The general development of all the varied resources of Canada and their conservation and utilization to the best advantage of the people with the co-operation and assistance of the State in every reasonable way for that purpose.

12. Adequate consideration of the needs of the industrial population, the maintenance of good relations between employers and employed, and such conditions of employment as will assure suitable standards of living among the labouring classes.

With a view to the development of this policy a truer understanding between East and West would be aimed at, while to better carry out the proposals made a Portfolio of Immigration and Colonization already had been established and special Committees of the Cabinet formed. This announcement was well received and the press, with a few exceptions, praised its theories and hoped for practical results. Following this the Government proceeded to clear up a number of difficult matters which required settlement and in the course of the next month announced: (1) That there would hereafter be no patronage lists in any Department of the Government and that it was proposed to make the War Purchasing Commission a general purchasing agency for all the Departments; (2) that in future Outside Services, to which appointments in the past had been recommended by members of the Party in power, would be placed under the Civil Service Commission; (3) that Patronage Lists in the Departments under which contracts had hitherto been awarded were destroyed; (4) that such undertakings as the St. John breakwater or Toronto Harbour works, which were not thought essential to war-policy had been cut out or limited; (5) that a system of control in Cold-storage plants by which the margin of profit between the producer and consumer should be regulated, allowing the plants a profit of 7% on their investments, with a division of further profits through taxes up to 11%, the remainder above that figure going to the Treasury and no sale to produce more than 2 cents profit on the dollar, had been put in operation; (6) that the price of flour was regulated so that millers could make no higher profit than 25 cents a barrel and food supplies conserved by forbidding the use of grain, etc., in the making of Liquor; (7) that the Separation allowance of soldier dependants had been increased by $5 a month, or 20 per cent. On Oct. 31 Sir Robert Borden issued a statement pointing out that men prominent in public life, in both political parties, had unselfishly stood aside in order that Union might be achieved; that the members of the present Administration had sunk their party differences, disregarded all minor considerations, and united in an earnest effort for a supreme national purpose; that now they asked the people of Canada, of whatever party allegiance, to pursue the same course, to unite in the same spirit and thus to aid in the same purpose. He therefore urged the people of both parties, in the various ridings, to unite and nominate Union candidates. At the same time the Elections were announced for Dec. 17 with nominations on Nov. 19 and the Yukon election on Jan. 28, 1918. On Nov. 12 the Premier issued a Manifesto to the people of Canada in which he reviewed the recruiting, Conscription and general war policy of his late Government and then dealt with the immediate issue as follows:

The Administration in whose name this appeal is made is not the agent or organ of any group, section or party. There are those among its members who must assume responsibility for the conduct of the war thus far; and such members do not seek to evade that responsibility. There are those also among its members who have no such responsibility. For the Military Service Act all assume the fullest responsibility, as do all for the future conduct of the war and for future measures of policy and acts of administration. It is not suggested that the Government which held office for 6 years is immune from criticism because of the Union Government which has been organized, but only that the war is the first consideration, and that to its energetic and successful prosecution union among the people is as necessary as the coalition of political leaders.

No claim of exceptional patriotism or public virtue is made for those who have united to constitute a coalition Cabinet. But it was necessary to sink differences and overcome prejudices if that object was to be attained. If the object was great enough to justify union and co-operation of political leaders divided by old quarrels and acute differences in feeling and opinion, it is surely great enough to justify the like unity of purpose and endeavour among the electors upon whose decision the fate of the Government and the measures to be taken for the further prosecution of the war depend. In the trenches, Liberals and Conservatives fight and die for a common Canada and a common Empire. No party wall divides the wounded in the hospitals. Nor do those who minister to their wounds and ease their sufferings ask to what party the afflicted belong. Is it too much to expect that the spirit by which the Army lives and triumphs will be as active and as powerful among the people at home when they cast their ballots, and that here as there the great cause for which we contend will unify and inspire the nation?

But there are other reasons why the Union Government should be entrusted with power. It has pledged itself to the extirpation of old abuses and to a wise and bold policy of constructive reform. The system of patronage in the distribution of contracts and offices, which has prevailed in Canada for generations, has been the root of many political evils. It has fostered local and sectional interests incompatible with the national welfare and injurious to the efficiency of the national service. It has troubled representatives of the people, permitted the ascendancy of organized minorities in the constituencies, and affected the independence of Parliament itself. It may be that these evils should have been overcome long ago. Censure may lie upon successive Governments which have tolerated the system. But inveterate diseases succumb only to heroic treatment—and heroism has not distinguished Canadian parties in dealing with patronage. Generally, Governments have lived long in Canada, and when for many years distribution of patronage has been confined to the party in power there is a natural disposition to adjust the balance when at length the other party succeeds to office.

Once committed to the system, influences are recognized and interests created that are not easily resisted or dislodged. It is believed that a Government derived from both political parties and strengthened by special representation of agriculture and organized labour can act with greater freedom and independence than a Government which held office under the old conditions. Hence the resolution to abolish trading in patronage, to fill public office by merit and not by favouritism, and to establish honest and open competition in awarding contracts and buying supplies. It is not necessary to repeat in full the announcement of policy already made public. In carrying out these policies the Government engages to stop wasteful expenditure and unwise duplication of railways, and to arrange effective co-operation between the public and private railway systems. With the acquisition of the Canadian Northern Railway the State becomes one of the chief carriers of passengers and products. If public management is to be satisfactory, there must be vigour in administration and breadth and courage in outlook. Efficiency must be insured. Consideration of personal or political patronage must be sternly ignored. Accommodation equal to that which the private companies afford must be provided.

Measures must also be taken to insure adequate ocean transportation under national or international regulation if extortionate charges are attempted. For many years in Canada the railway policy was determined not so much by the needs of transportation as by the demands of rival groups of railway builders. As a result we have a great railway mileage, constructed at heavy cost, with long stretches of parallel lines, where a single system could have handled all the traffic, and at lower charges upon a smaller investment of capital. It is believed, however, that Canada

will yet develop traffic in excess of present rail facilities, and in the meantime the Government will endeavour to co-ordinate existing services and improve and protect the national railways without injustice to private companies. As old methods of railway building have to be abandoned, so old systems of taxation have to be revised. In order to meet the ever-increasing expenditure for war purposes and also to insure that all shall share in common service and sacrifice, wealth will be conscripted by adequate taxation of war profits and increased taxation of income.

There will be close inquiry into expenditures in order to protect the Treasury against purely local demands, and to eliminate undertakings of purely political origin and object. Permanent Committees of the Cabinet have been established for war and reconstruction. The very difficult and intricate problems inevitably arising out of war conditions are being considered and studied earnestly and attentively with a view to effective action with the least possible delay. Immigration and colonization will receive careful and continuous attention, always with a sympathetic regard for labour and in full recognition of the necessity for greater production. Thorough and effective co-operation among agricultural producers will be encouraged. The men by whose sacrifice and endurance the free institutions of Canada will be preserved must be re-educated where necessary and re-established on the land or in such other pursuits or vocations as they may desire to follow. The maimed and the broken will be protected; the widow and the orphan will be helped and cherished.

Duty and decency demand that those who are saving democracy shall not find democracy a house of privilege, or a school of poverty and hardship. The franchise will be extended to women, not chiefly in recognition of devoted and capable service in the war, but as a measure of justice too long delayed. If men die, women suffer; if they are wounded, women heal; if they are maimed, women labour. And since there can be no separation in suffering and sacrifice, there should be none in citizenship. The Government will strive to develop and stimulate a common patriotism in all elements of the people and all portions of the Dominion. It inherits no baneful legacies. It cherishes no grievances or animosities. East and West are equal at the Council table, and in the new Parliament all the Provinces will have equal and adequate representation. In the electoral campaign it is greatly to be desired that reticence should be observed in the treatment of all questions in which smoulder the fires of old racial and religious quarrels and contentions. Those who gave their lives for us on the far-away fields of battle cherished the vision of a united Canada. To deny the vision would be treason to their memory.

The Government thoroughly realizes that in this national emergency there is imperative necessity for fulfilment of its policies with the least possible delay. It pledges itself to prosecute the war with ceaseless vigour, to strive for national unity, to administer the public departments with economy and efficiency, to advise measures of taxation which will regard social justice, and to neglect nothing that may be required to sustain the soldiers on service or to comfort those of their households whom they have left behind. Firmly convinced that these objects can best be achieved by a Government representing all parties, classes, creeds and interests, I appeal with confidence on its behalf for the sympathy and support of the Canadian people.

Sir Robert then left for Halifax to open his campaign and during the next month made a succession of earnest appeals to the electorate in many Canadian centres. The first was at a mass-meeting in his home town (Nov. 14) and he put the war situation in plain, clear terms: "In the face of the autocratic military aggression which now seeks to dominate the world no nation can endure unless its people are prepared to fight in its defence. Under the Military Service Act the highest duty of citizenship is demanded of the people. I am entirely confident that they will not shrink from that duty. It is said that this law ought not to be put into operation without a Referendum. I consider it my imperative duty to put the Act in force immediately. That course is being pursued, and it will be unhesitatingly continued. What is the reason? The need for reinforcement is insistent, compelling, imperative. . . . The terrible need for re-inforcements can be met. But, even with the best speed

that can be made, we shall barely be in time. Yet it is seriously proposed that with Canadian Divisions depleted at the Front—and, remember, that a Division when thus depleted ceases to be an effective fighting unit until re-inforced—it is proposed that we are to wait until Parliament is summoned, until a bill for a Referendum is passed, and until the Referendum shall have been held and the verdict of the people pronounced." The enforcement of military service should not be carried on by a Party Government; hence the need and fact of Union. The Premier declined re-nomination in Halifax, which he had represented for 21 years, in favour of Hon. A. K. Maclean, one of his Liberal colleagues, and the latter followed Sir Robert Borden's speech with one in which he proclaimed himself still a Liberal, as not condoning the past but, in face of a great emergency, simply forgetting it. Much attention was given to the gravity of the War situation and the fact that Canada's destiny was at stake in France and Flanders. Senator Lynch Staunton of Hamilton slso spoke. With the same colleagues Sir Robert spoke at Sydney, N.S., on the 16th and made a vigorous attack on Sir Wilfrid Laurier, alleging (1) that he had declined to give his best assistance to voluntary recruiting in Canada; (2) that he was responsible for forcing an election in War-time; (3) that the Liberal chieftain's opposition to the Canadian Northern Bill was a negation of his attitude in 1913.

In proof of the first statement he read a letter from the Canadian Club, Hamilton, dated Feb. 20, 1917, asking Sir Wilfrid, on behalf of the Club's recruiting Committee, for a brief endorsement of their efforts to arouse new interest in the matter, telling him of the work that had been done, and declaring that a favourable reply would be of "the greatest value." The reply, dated Feb. 26, acknowledged receipt and added: "I am sorry that I cannot send you at once an affirmative answer. I will look into the matter, but will keep it under advisement." No other answer was received and, Sir Robert observed, "the matter is still under advisement." Following this meeting the Premier wrote a vigorous letter to the Conservative Association of Carlton-Victoria as to the proposed running of a candidate against Hon. F. B. Carvell who had been "reluctant to enter the Government as he had to break ties and associations of very long standing and was attached very strongly to his party and to his political associates" and who, therefore, deserved their most loyal support. Any other action he would construe as "absolute want of confidence in himself as leader of the Governmnent." He also intervened actively in Queen's-Shelburne on behalf of Hon. W. S. Fielding who was running as a Unionist and wrote to the dissentient Conservatives that: "It is my most earnest hope that, having regard to the greater issues that are involved in this Election, which concerns the future of our country and of the whole Empire, all personal or party antagonism will be laid aside." On Nov. 18 the Premier was back in Ottawa and on the 21st opened his Ontario campaign at Massey Hall, Toronto. J. R. L. Starr, K.C., presided and the other speakers were Hon. N. W. Rowell, Sir W. H. Hearst and Sir Robert Falconer, President of Toronto University. The

Premier was emphatic as to enforcement of the Military Service Act: "We intend to see that in every community, and every district, and every Province in Canada, that Act shall be enforced fully, impartially and firmly." It was passed because the compulsory features of the Militia Act did not permit of adequate selection with a view to seeing that men essential in certain public duties, functions or industries, were kept at home.

He explained the general policy of the new Government and proclaimed the sacrifice of party interests and feeling trivial in comparison with the sacrifices of the men at the Front. Mr. Rowell's appeal was an eloquent presentation of a Liberal's view in this war-emergency. He stated at once that the men with him in the Union Government, or supporting it, were the fighting back-bone of Liberalism: "What is the alternative to this Union Government? If you think Canada has done enough, and if you think of quitting the War, you have an alternative, but if you are in favour of supporting the men at the Front by the necessary re-inforcements and legislative measures in order that this war may be carried through to a victorious conclusion, then I say in all sincerity you have no alternative to Union Government." At London on the 22nd Sir Robert was accompanied by Hon. T. A. Crerar and Hon. C. C. Ballantyne, while Mrs. P. D. Crerar, of Hamilton, made an earnest, appealing address to support the boys at the Front—where her sons also were. Meetings followed at St. Mary's and Stratford on the 23rd and at Dundas and Kitchener on the 24th, at Uxbridge and Oshawa on the 26th. Mr. Rowell also spoke at these meetings and the refusal of a hearing to the Prime Minister at Kitchener—the German-Canadian centre—was a much-discussed incident—especially after the City Council on Nov. 26 declined, by 7 to 5, to offer an apology or express regret. Sir Robert was at Windsor on the 27th and received an ovation from 7,000 people when he declared that: "If the men at the Front are not sustained I do not want to remain Prime Minister of Canada." Dunnville and Simcoe were visited by the Premier and Mr. Rowell on the 28th, Milton on the 29th and Millbrook on the 30th—at the latter place Mrs. H. P. Plumptre of Toronto addressed the audience. Speeches were given at Arnprior and Renfrew on Dec. 1. During this tour the Premier addressed 19 meetings in one week and 25 altogether, with the War as the central topic and the need of re-inforcements as the vital point. On Dec. 3 Sir Robert was at St. John, accompanied by Hon. F. B. Carvell. A mass-meeting of women was addressed and the Premier, as usual, declared there was only one issue and that was the War; Mr. Carvell stated that he had no apologies to make for past criticisms of the Borden Government and none to make for joining the Coalition—"the present issue is so much bigger and so much more important than anything in the past that it is possible to bury political differences with my present leader." The Premier spoke at St. Stephen and St. Andrews on the 4th; accompanied by Mr. Carvell and Hon. E. N. Rhodes he was at Amherst, N.S., on the 5th. Meetings at Summerside, Point Borden and Charlottetown, P.E.I., followed on the 6th; the Halifax disaster ensued and Sir Robert at once aban-

doned his campaign and devoted some days to doing what he could, personally and officially, for the stricken city. From Halifax, on Dec. 11, he issued a special Message of regret to the people of British Columbia that he could not go West during this campaign:

> Whether Canada shall continue or withdraw her effort in this war, whether our troops shall be supported or abandoned, is the one supreme question. The honour and good name of Canada are vitally and eternally involved. There is no escape from this issue and upon every man and every woman lies a direct and personal responsibility for its determination. Compared with it, the fortunes of individuals and the future of parties shrink into utter insignificance. The men who hold our battle lines wait with intensest interest Canada's answer; so do the men on the other side of 'No Man's Land' who hold the trenches against them. I am supremely confident that British Columbia's answer will be worthy of the spirit which has inspired her people since the commencement of this world-wide tragedy.

The Premier spoke at Ottawa on Dec. 14 to an enthusiastic gathering which cheered especially his declaration that "you cannot win a war by a Referendum." He reviewed the Union Government's work as follows: (1) The abolition of the Patronage List; (2) the Civil Service Act applied to the outside as well as the inside service; (3) the War Purchasing Commission made permanent to do all Canadian Government buying; (4) the Income Tax to be on the same basis as in the United States; (5) the War Profits Taxation to be continued; (6) the Packers' profits severely taxed; (7) no article of food to be used for the manufacture of spirituous or intoxicating liquors. Other points in his last speech of the campaign were the declaration that "Russia took a Referendum, and the result is evident to all"; that in November infantry casualties were ten times greater than enlistments; that "it is not a two-party Government, it is a no-party Government, and we are sitting around the Council Board, not as Liberals and Conservatives, but as Canadians"; that the men at the Front "will keep faith with their fallen comrades—will you keep faith with those who have fallen and those who still live?" In all these speeches the Premier* made little reference to Quebec, to racial or religious issues or conditions, or to anything except what he considered the matter in hand—the return of a Government pledged to enforce Conscription and carry on for Canada in the War. Even a meeting billed for Montreal was cancelled in order to avoid any chance of violence or hostility being aroused. To him, on Dec. 15, came a cable from the Australian Premier—Rt. Hon. W. M. Hughes: "I earnestly hope that the electors of the Dominion will give you and your Government a triumphant majority in order that Canada may put forth her full strength in this mighty struggle between liberty and despotism."

The Liberal Policy and Sir Wilfrid Laurier's Campaign.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier had a difficult situation to meet in this Election; there was obvious disorganization in his old-time Party ranks and a continuous record of veteran followers, East and West, seceding to the other side; there was a Liberal press almost entirely opposed to him outside of one Province and a hostile combination led

* The Private Secretary of a Prime Minister in such a campaign as this has an arduous and responsible position. In October A. E. Blount, who had been with Sir R. Borden for years, resigned to accept the Clerkship of the Senate, and George W. Yates, an experienced journalist in the past and Secretary to Mr. Cochrane, was appointed in his place.

by the Toronto *Globe* was hard indeed for a Liberal leader to bear with patience; there were unpleasant conditions in Quebec to control, if possible, and to defend or explain in other parts of Canada. With it all the Liberal chieftain maintained his hopeful outlook, fought earnestly for his cherished convictions of a life-time, believed that he had a chance to win, and was convinced that if he did so the personal qualities and influence which had settled the Manitoba problem of 1896 could adjust those of 1917.. If he did not win, his supporters, combined with the Liberals behind the Unionist Government, might be strong enough to revolutionize political conditions when the War was over. As a matter of fact, his personality was the element in the Opposition most dangerous to the Union Government cause. After that there was the obvious assurance of one large Province being behind him almost unanimously; then there was the knowledge of all political leaders as to the past strength and vitality of Party feeling in Canada and the doubt as to whether any dissentient colleagues could sufficiently undermine the instinctive partisan loyalty to their Leader of large masses of the people; there was the certainty of much natural discontent as to Conscription all through Canada and the belief that many Conservatives as well as Liberals were dissatisfied with the past record of the Borden Government.

In all his speeches of this year Sir Wilfrid was emphatic in assertion that (1) Canada was in the War to the end, and (2) that whatever the verdict of the Elections, all Canadians would submit to the decision and the law. In *The Canadian Liberal Monthly*—the official Party journal—for January, 1917, he had published an earnest analysis of what Canada had done and an appeal to Canadians to do still more: "There is every probability that we are still far from the end, and so long as more has to be done, we have not done enough. Only the all-possible will suffice. Industry should be organized with the sole view to victory, with all idea of profit carefully eliminated. For let it ever be remembered that industry is public service. Let the young and healthy enlist, and those who cannot enlist will serve the country by work in the fields, in the forest, in the mines, on the sea and in the shops. Every individual in the nation can work; every hour of toil is conducive to victory, and work should be specifically directed to that end; all available funds and labour devoted to the production of munitions, food and war necessities and their prompt conveyance where needed." A warm tribute was paid to the fallen: "The rest of us owe it to them that we also make sacrifice, sacrifice of feelings, of prejudice, of comfort, of leisure, of gains. . . . Let us here and now sink passions, prejudices, vain and idle recriminations. Let us, when criticism is needed, criticize without bitterness, only by appeals to reason, and above all let us bend all our energies towards making Canada an effective factor in the struggle. The heart of the nation must beat with one accord and one desire." This journal for August defined his policy as follows: "(1) That Canada will remain in the War to the end; that (2) Canada shall, by a systematic and thorough national war organization make a supreme effort to secure by vol-

untary enlistment the necessary number of recruits; that (3) if this national war organization fails to secure the required number of soldiers by voluntary enlistment the electors of Canada will be asked to vote on a Conscription Referendum; that (4) if the result of the Referendum favours Conscription Sir Wilfrid Laurier pledges his word that the verdict will be accepted in every part of Canada, even in the Province of Quebec; that (5) if the result of the Referendum is against Conscription, then the national war organization will be continued and vigorously prosecuted and every effort made to secure by voluntary enlistment the number of soldiers needed; that (6) information will be secured from the British authorities as to which is most needed from Canada, men or food." To Frank Wise, Secretary of the Win-the-War League, Toronto, Sir Wilfrid wrote on Aug. 21, in reply to an inquiry as to his war position, that the Borden Government had hopelessly blundered in not long ago ascertaining the character of war service which Canada could best render; that a general election was imperative because (1) the Western Provinces were entitled to 22 more members by Census returns and (2) because there were 24 constituencies unrepresented. He defined the duty of the Majority leader in the next Parliament as follows:

(1) To confer immediately with Great Britain and her Allies, with a view to ascertaining how, and to what extent, the participation can be utilized to the greatest advantage in the prosecution of the War, regard being had, on the one hand, to the necessities of the Allies for men, and, on the other hand, to our population, resources, industries, geographical and other essential considerations.

(2) To bring into being a Government composed, as far as possible, of the ablest men in all classes, whose immediate task would be the effective and non-partisan organization of the whole nation on the lines determined upon.

(3) To organize a vigorous and compact system of voluntary enlistment, conceived and carried out on strictly non-partisan and broadly national methods.

(4) To devise and apply ways and means so that the full duty of Canada be generously performed toward our returned soldiers and their dependants; the wealth of Canada compelled to contribute its just and proper share of our burdens; and the mass of the people efficiently safeguarded form the greed of war profiteers.

The League in reply asked Sir Wilfrid: "(1) To place a definite time limit on the period you would allow for recruiting; (2) to state that if voluntary effort failed to produce the necessary re-inforcements, you would resort to Conscription." No answer was given to this. Meanwhile the Quebec issue had developed and attracted wide attention with an under-current in Canada—even in the Liberal party—hostile to Sir Wilfrid Laurier as the natural leader of French Canadians. Many followers of the Liberal leader in English-speaking Canada claimed that if he had come out in favour of Conscription his native Province would have gone over to Bourassa and the Nationalists; that the benefit of his moderate patriotic leadership would thus have been lost to Canada; that the end would have been disaster and disunion. In the Commons on Aug. 1 Sir Wilfrid dealt with Sir Clifford Sifton's statements in this connection: "Neither on this occasion, nor any occasion in my public life, did I ever take an attitude in deference to one Province alone. The politics which I have opposed were not opposed from the point of

view of one Province but from the point of view of Liberal principles and with respect to all the Provinces of Canada and irrespective of race or creed. This is my position to-day. . . . I am in this War to the end, but I am in this War not upon compulsion, but upon the voluntary principle of enlistment." There was talk in these months of Sir Wilfrid retiring in favour of someone who could lead a united party in the Elections and there was evidence of his desire to make way if any good purpose could be served. But the Western Convention indirectly endorsed his leadership; so with directness did an Ontario Conference held in Toronto on July 20, at the call of F. F. Pardee, Chief Liberal Whip.*

At this latter meeting of Ontario Federal members (Liberal) and candidates W. A. Charlton, M.P., presided and Hon. G. P. Graham delivered an address, stating that the dissentient or Conscriptionist Liberals had acted conscientiously on that issue. An official statement of proceedings (*Globe*, July 21) claimed the purpose of the meeting to be a frank and free interchange of opinion, stated that this was carried out with cordiality, that Mr. Graham took the census of the gathering as to the unanimous opinions reached, and that these were summarized and unanimously endorsed, as follows: "(1) That the putting forth of Canada's whole effort towards winning the War is the first consideration of party policy and party effort; (2) that the patriotism, integrity of purpose and statesmanship of Sir Wilfrid Laurier are unquestioned, and that under his Dominion leadership the coming campaign will be fought and won; (3) that there should be no extension of the present Parliament, but that an appeal should be made to the people for a new Parliament and a new Administration; (4) that the War administration of the Borden Government does not warrant any further trust by the people of Canada; (5) that at the present time and under the ægis of the present Government a Coalition or Union Government of Liberals and Conservatives is impracticable and undesirable; (6) that before attempting an enforcement of the present Conscription measure and having regard to all national conditions, there should be a united and whole-hearted effort under the voluntary system." As there were some Liberals present who were supposed to be favourable to Union Government, and were known Conscriptionists —Pardee, Ross, Guthrie, for instance—these announced conclusions were disputed and *The Globe* of July 24 stated that "some who attended have made the definite statement that they declared themselves frankly and positively in favour of Conscription." Mr. Rowell was not present.

There followed the decision and action of the Liberal leader as to Extension of Parliament and Union Government; his consultation with Liberal leaders and supporters in Montreal on Oct. 1, with Sir Lomer Gouin, Hon. S. A. Fisher, Senators F. L. Beique, J. P. B. Casgrain, J. M. Wilson and R. Dandurand, Hon. R. Lemieux, Hon. W. Mitchell and many Liberal candidates of the Province, present at a Reform Club luncheon; the rumours of his retirement stated

NOTE.—*La Soliel*, of Quebec, on Oct. 6th declared this to be a fact, and reported Sir Wilfrid as so saying.

in such papers as *The Globe* and the Ottawa *Citizen*; his visit to Toronto on Oct. 9-10 and consultation with leading Ontario Liberals, a Reception at the King Edward attended by 1,200 of his admirers and followers with another for women which, also, was largely attended. Nothing further was heard of retirement and on Nov. 4 Sir Wilfrid issued his Election Address to the Canadian people. It was a long and elaborate document. Of the Union Government he said: "Six members of the Liberal party, some of them close personal friends, have consented to become members of the Administration, and in the programme which they intend to follow, no trace is to be found that the Liberal members of the Administration have succeeded in influencing their colleagues to the adoption of measures which they deemed essential not only to win the War, but for the welfare of the country at all times." The hope of increased Immigration after the War was, he asserted, greatly impaired by the War-times Election Act, which had broken faith with naturalized Canadian citizens; the C.N.R. arrangement was denounced as paying for a stock property which the Government experts had declared absolutely without value; the high cost of living was said to be due to excessive profits, hoardings and combinations which the Government had not checked, and that "no measure to reduce the cost could be effective unless and until the tariff is reformed and its pressure removed from commodities" affected by the above causes. The War-times Election Act was strongly denounced:

> A blot upon every instinct of justice, honesty and fair play. It takes away the franchise from certain denominations whose members from ancient times in English history have been exempt from military service, and who in Great Britain never were, and are not now, denied their rights of citizenship. It takes away the franchise from men whom we invited to this country, to whom we promised all the rights and privileges of our citizenship, who trusted in our promises and who became, under our laws, British subjects and Canadian citizens. They are thus humiliated and treated with comtempt under the pretence that being born in enemy countries, in Germany and Austria, they might be biased in favour of their native country and against their adopted country. The assumption is false in theory and might easily be so demonstrated. It is sufficient to observe that it is also false in fact. There has not been any current of emigration from Germany to Canada during the last 20 years, and as to Austria, almost the total number, perhaps nine-tenths of the emigrants from that country, were not from Austria proper, but from those Slav provinces held by force by Austria, and whose sympathies are strong and deep against her, and for the Allies. It gives the franchise to some women and denies it to others. All those whose privilege it is to have near relatives amongst the soldiers will be voters. The right will be refused to all those not so privileged, though their hearts are just as strong in the cause, and though they have worked incessantly for it. Moreover, in five Provinces of the Dominion, namely, Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia, women have been admitted to the franchise. According to the terms of the Dominion law, which no sophistry can blur, being electors in the Province, women are electors in the Dominion. The Act of last Session snatches away that right from them. The Act is vicious in principle, and is equally vicious in its enacting dispositions. . . . It has for its object and for its effect to discourage and to stifle the free expression of the will of the people, and to make Parliamentary government a mere name without the reality.

As to the War, Sir Wilfrid declared that the Allies could not avoid it and pointed out that "at the very beginning, penetrated of the immensity of the struggle and of the necessity of bending all our efforts to the winning of the War, we of the Opposition gave to the

Government every possible assistance. We assented to all their War-measures, except when convinced that these measures would be detrimental rather than helpful." This year, however, Conscription had been proposed. "With this policy I found it impossible to agree. If it be asked how this view is consistent with my oft-expressed determination to assist in winning the War, I answer, without any hesitation, that this sudden departure from the voluntary system was bound more to hinder than to help the War." It was opposed to all past British principles and practice; it came as a surprise in Canada and not, as it eventually was carried out in Britain, after a careful preparation of public opinion. As to himself, in the campaigns of 1910-11 he had to meet the Nationalist assertions in Quebec that his Naval policy involved Conscription: "I gave the public frequent assurance that under no circumstances would Conscription follow the adoption of our policy. Again and again after the outbreak of the present War I insisted that Conscription should not be introduced in Canada. Such was my position when the Government reversed its attitude and, without warning, introduced the Military Service Act. To force such a drastic measure upon a people thus unprepared and against repeated assurances to the contrary, was neither wise nor prudent, nor effective. It may bring men to the ranks but it will not infuse into the whole body of the nation that spirit of enthusiasm and determination which is more than half the battle. It will create and intensify division where unity of purpose is essential. I am only too well aware that the views which I here present have not met with universal acceptance, even in the party to which I belong, but even yet I hold that to coerce when persuasion has not been attempted is not sound policy, and in this I appeal to the impartial judgment of all Canadians." Of his own policy he proceeded to treat as follows:

> In combatting the policy of Conscription, all that I asked was that a measure of such moment should not be enforced by Parliament without an appeal to the people. I supported a Referendum for the reason that the Referendum is the most advanced and the most modern method of consultation of the people, without the complications inseparable from a general election. . . . A fundamental objection to the Government's policy of Conscription is that it conscripts human life only, and that it does not attempt to conscript wealth, resources, or the services of any persons other than those who come within the age limit prescribed by the Military Service Act. This is manifestly unjust. A policy which will accord first place to the soldier and the sailor in the concern of the State will, I believe, bring forth all the men necessary to fight its battles without the need of recourse to Conscription. If returned to power, I should adopt such a policy. My first duty will be to seek out the ablest men of the country, men of organizing capacity as well as men representative of all classes in the community, and invite them, irrespective of what it may involve in the way of sacrifice of their personal interests, to join with me in the formation of a Cabinet whose first object will be to find the men, money and resources necessary to ensure the fullest measure of support to our heroic soldiers at the Front, and to enable Canada to continue to do her splendid part to win the War.
>
> As to the present Military Service Act my policy will be not to proceed further under its provisions until the people have an opportunity to pronounce upon it by way of a Referendum. I pledge myself to forthwith submit the Act to the people and with my followers to carry out the wishes of the majority of the nation as thus expressed. I would at the same time organize and carry out a strong appeal for voluntary recruiting. It is a fact that cannot be denied that the voluntary system, especially in Quebec, did not get a fair trial, and a fair trial would receive from a

generous people a ready response which would bring men to the ranks, with good-will and enthusiasm, and which would eliminate from our political life one of its most harrowing problems, as no loyal Canadian can view, without the gravest apprehension, a disunited Canada at this critical hour of our history. To these views it is no answer to say as is now often said, that we must have Conscription or 'quit.' This statement is falsified by a recent and conclusive example. Australia rejected Conscription and Australia did not 'quit.' Australia is still in the fight under the voluntary system. . . . To-day, under the exhaustion the War has caused in the Old World, Great Britain and her Allies are appealing as never before for more food, more ships and more coal. No country has vaster resources than Canada to supply these imperative requirements. What is needed is vigorous efforts to further an unlimited production. To meet this existing need, I am prepared, in addition to the measures already outlined, to take what further steps may be necessary to increase, double and quadruple the output of all that may be necessary for marching and fighting armies.

To Quebec he devoted a brief space and claimed that dilatory enlistment there was due to the Borden Government's alleged supporters, the Nationalists, whose policy was "no participation in Imperial wars," and whose doctrine had been emphasized in 1910-11 and never repudiated by their Conservative allies. Of minor items of policy he declared for (1) greater agricultural production facilitated by Government assistance and removal of disabilities; (2) the lifting of duties on agricultural implements and other essentials as demanded by Western farmers and others; (3) the removal of 7½% war-tax imposed in 1915 on all except enemy countries and the 5% war-tax imposed in 1915 against British goods; (4) reduction of the high cost of living by bringing under Government control all food-producing factories as in Great Britain; (5) organization of Government shops to manufacture war material, ships, etc.; (6) control. if necessary, of all establishments manufacturing war material in order to immediately stop profiteering; (7) generous assistance on the part of the State to replace returned soldiers in comfortable positions in civil life; (8) more effective measures by the State for maintenance, care and comfort of the soldiers' dependants and families; (9) a strong and progressive Immigration policy, unhampered by any disfranchisement Act; (10) C.N.R. legislation to be reopened and adjudicated upon by the new Parliament; (11) a system of purchases in Government supplies direct from the producer without the intermediary or middleman. Finally he declared that:

Should I be called upon to form a Government I would hope to include in it representatives of business, of labour and of agriculture, of the men whose sole object in dealing with the affairs of the country will be to devote the whole resources, wealth and energy of the country to the winning of the War. It can only be done by honest agreement amongst all the different elements and interests of the country. I would hope to have a Government representative of the masses of the people—the common people—whose guiding principle should be to defend them against organized privilege which has heretofore had far too much control over the Government of the country. . . . In this Election the supreme end is to assist in the tremendous struggle in which we are engaged, to maintain the unity of the nation, to avoid the divisions and discords which, for many years kept in check, are now unfortunately again looming up dangerous and threatening, to resolutely face the economic situation with the view of avoiding and lessening privations and sufferings, which should not exist in a country so richly endowed by nature as our country.

This Manifesto was variously received. Liberal Unionist papers like the Regina *Leader* eulogized its general fairness toward those

who had left their leader and toward the Party he was chiefly opposing; this journal described it (Nov. 5) as "a clear, logical, unimpassioned statement of the political situation as Sir Wilfrid sees it"; all, however, joined with the Conservative journals in declaring that the question of more men for the Front was the vital issue and was not fully met. The Brantford *Expositor*, a veteran Liberal paper, described it as follows: "An able, but disingenuous and subtle appeal intended to reach the disaffected voters of whatever class. It will please the Province of Quebec and it is an alluring bid for the Western vote, but for those who have loved Laurier yet think the winning of the War to be the one great issue, it is a heart-breaking disappointment." It did not win back any of the Unionist press though it did solidify the fighting Liberal elements already behind the Chieftain. As the campaign proceeded Sir Wilfrid Laurier made a limited number of speeches and wrote some letters. Of the latter, one addressed to a correspondent at Windsor, Ontario, in respect to the views of an approved candidate was decidedly enigmatic*: "At a meeting of Liberal candidates in Eastern Ontario three weeks ago I declared that there were three alternatives to take—for many of them had declared for Conscription. I did not desire to make this a party question, for that would have been very compromising. Each of these alternatives is acceptable: (1) To present himself against Union and against Conscription; (2) against Union, but for Conscription; (3) as an independent Liberal." The Liberal leader's first election meeting was at Quebec on Nov. 9; it was crowded, wildly enthusiastic, vigorously anti-Conscriptionist. His speech was along the lines of his Manifesto with this main point: "We began with the voluntary system; it is our duty to continue with it." He declared that the Government had manufactured a new electorate with which to win the Elections: "I believe that our first and pressing duty is to share in the fight. I believe that it is our immediate duty to help our armies who have covered themselves with glory. We must support them with men."

Sir Lomer Gouin followed in what the Toronto *Globe* report described as "a passionate speech"; eulogized Sir Wilfrid Laurier as "the great exemplar of the real democratic idea in the new world"; described the Union Government as merely a combination of individuals who did not represent the national spirit of Canada. As to the effort to isolate Quebec: "No man or union of men is strong enough to violate the will of the overwhelming mass of the people. We cannot be frightened by the threat of isolation. Nobody is our guardian. In Canada we are the deans. This is our home, our native land, and here our people will remain as the companions and equals of their fellow-Canadians." The Provincial Premier earnestly endorsed Sir Wilfrid's appeal to the people to serve and serve voluntarily. At Ottawa on Nov. 27 Sir Wilfrid addressed a great mass-meeting accompanied by Hon. C. Murphy and H. H. Dewart, M.L.A. He referred to the Recruiting appeal of the Canadian Club, Hamilton, and stated "that it was his policy not to endorse anything unless he knew the parties who made the application"; declared that

* Published editorially in Victoria *Colonist*, Dec. 13, 1917.

the invitation to support a National Service Board appeal for recruiting was refused because the Board had been bedevilled by partisanship; noted that Conscription had been defeated in Australia though there was no Quebec or "racialism" there; proclaimed his devotion to "free speech" and his regret that the Premier had not been heard at Kitchener—even in a bad cause; stated that he would not repeal the Conscription Act until the people had passed upon it by Referendum. He denounced the C.N.R. legislation, described the War-times Franchise Act as iniquitous, criticized the Food Controller for giving good advice, only, while prices of food continued to soar, referred to the number of recruiting speeches he had made.* A meeting at Arnprior was addressed on Dec. 3 and here, as at Ottawa, he denied any alliance with the Nationalists: "Mr. Bourassa and I are at variance upon many questions as he has set forth in his paper, *Le Devoir*. He says, for instance, that we have done enough in the War. I am in the war to the end." As to the rest: "If we are to win this war, if we are to get men to go to the fighting-line, the proper way is by appealing to the soul, not to coercion of the conscience."

A week later Sir Wilfrid started for the West and made a tour which was triumphant in its great meetings, careful attention of large crowds, respectful interest and evidences of personal *prestige*. At Winnipeg on Dec. 10 he spoke to 8,000 people, described the Union Government as simply the old Borden Government—a political crazyquilt; admitted that Quebec had not done its duty in enlisting, but laid the blame on the alleged Nationalist-Conservative alliance of 1910-11; denounced Sir Clifford Sifton as laying a snare for the Unionist Liberals and declared that, if the Government won, "the rent between the races in Canada will be worse than it was, and the work of making this a united country will have received a very bad shock"; claimed that 150,000 Canadians were in England as reserves and that there was no hurry for re-inforcements and no danger. As to German and Austrian settlers, he said: "It is said that they have a prejudice against Great Britain and for their native country. That is not so." H. H. Dewart, M.L.A., of Toronto, and Hon. A. G. McKay, M.L.A., of Edmonton, also spoke. At Regina on the 11th great throngs sought to hear the Liberal leader. He reiterated his statement that his object had always been to win the War; declared that returned soldiers should be cared for by the Government as a debt and not as a charity; stated that war revenue should be secured by direct taxation on properties; deplored the Borden Government method of raising the revenue by increasing the tariff. "While a small rivulet of the money received under the present fiscal policy goes to the Government, the bulk goes to the privileged classes," he declared. "As to Quebec, I have to admit that Quebec has not given according to its numbers, compared with Ontario and the other Provinces." He once more placed the responsibility on the Borden-Bourassa relations of 1911.

* *The Liberal Monthly* of Nov. 27 gave a list of 16 recruiting speeches delivered by him in 1914-15-16.

Mr. Dewart and Hon. W. G. Mitchell, Treasurer of Quebec, Hon. G. Langley and Hon. W. R. Motherwell of the Saskatchewan Government, also spoke. Mr. Langley described Sir Wilfrid as "the greatest of all living Canadians"; Mr. Motherwell believed that his former colleague, Mr. Calder, had been "duped by appearances at Ottawa" and claimed that under the Franchise Act "the Government chose the voters instead of the voters choosing the Government." In Calgary on the 12th Sir Wilfrid addressed four large meetings aided by Messrs. MacKay and Dewart, accompanied by Patrick Burns of Alberta cattle fame, and supported in several speeches by Rev. Wm. Irvine, local Liberal candidate, who reiterated the claim that food and production were more needed in the War than men. At Vancouver on Dec. 14 the Liberal leader addressed five meetings. The speeches followed preceding lines, excepting that he explained his inability to aid recruiting in Quebec: "I have not done it because I am not in a position to do it. I was not in the Government, or I would have done it. If I had been in office I would not have been stupid enough to take the methods taken by this Government." Nationalism, supported by a Government alliance, had created the situation in that Province and the Government was suffering the consequences. As to the rest: "If we win I will take my share. I will take the responsibility incumbent on victory. I will try to form a strong Government with all the elements of the country represented, but if I fail then I shall continue the work as a simple private in the grand army of freedom." Other speakers at these meetings were Hon. W. G. Mitchell, H. H. Dewart and Hon. J. W. de B. Farris, of the Provincial Government. This concluded the Laurier meetings of the campaign and Sir Wilfrid returned Eastward to hear the results.

The Unionist Campaign—Eastern Provinces and Quebec.

Meantime the Conservatives and their Liberal allies had been working out the difficult task of nominations — in Ontario particularly, where the large majority of seats were held by the Conservative party, and in the West where Liberals were a dominating influence—soothing old animosities, controlling instinctive rivalries, meeting personal ambitions, and evading party prejudices. Many Liberal supporters of Conscription in Ontario were endorsed by Sir W. Laurier and this also created an obvious complication. The press, however, was almost unanimously Unionist and, as the campaign developed, Liberals constantly announced a change of allegiance, spoke or presided at Unionist meetings and illustrated the changing current of public opinion. In Ontario G. D. Conant and F. L. Fowke of Oshawa, F. H. Chrysler, K.C., Ottawa, Hon. E. H. Bronson and A. W. Fleck, Ottawa, Stewart Lyon and J. D. Allan, Toronto, R. J. McLaughlin, K.C., Oshawa, W. E. Raney, K.C., Toronto, E. B. Brown, K.C., a nephew of the late George Brown, Principal D. Bruce Macdonald, J. A. Paterson, K.C., and Robert Jaffray, Toronto; W. E. Smallfield, Renfrew, and Robert Meek, Kingston, were interesting instances. A further illustration was the formal appeal issued on Dec. 15 by 64

Liberals, urging the Electors "as you value the honour of your country, the security and independence of the Empire, and the cause of freedom, to use your influence, as we are doing, and cast your ballots, as we will do, in behalf of the Union Government." This was signed by such men as A. E. Dyment, President of the Toronto Reform Association, and:

James Ryrie.	Lt.-Col. F. H. Deacon.	J. M. Clark, K.C.
J. E. Atkinson.	W. D. Matthews.	G. T. Somers.
D. E. Thomson, K.C.	J. F. MacKay.	Thomas Findley.
J. H. Gundy.	W. E. Rundle.	J. T. Eby.
C. J. Holman, K.C.	A. T. Reid.	A. F. Rutter.
Prof. A. C. McKay.	D. A. Dunlap.	R. A. Reeve, M.D.
John Firstbrook.	Jos. T. Clark.	Chester D. Massey.
E. R. Wood.	Frank Sanderson.	Hugh Blain.
Bert H. McCreath.	E. T. Malone.	S. J. Moore.
Mark Bredin.	S. Casey Wood.	John A. Tory.
John B. Holden.	G. A. Morrow.	Joseph Oliver.

There were difficulties as to candidates in North Essex, in Hamilton, where Col. J. I. McLaren (Lib.) and T. J. Stewart (Cons.) and C. R. McCullough (Cons.) were candidates, and in West Kent. But there was a strong official desire to avoid such difficulties and to give Liberal-Unionists every possible chance. H. M. Mowat, K.C., was given a Toronto nomination; F. F. Pardee was supported in West Lambton. The latter declared at Sarnia on Oct. 24 that: "I am for a war-union Government. I have been since the War was declared. . . . I am a Liberal by faith and conviction, Liberal to the core. But I believe the momentary fate of political parties little in comparison with the supreme obligations of the struggle which Canada shares. I support the platform of the Government." Hon. F. B. Carvell delivered a vigorous speech in his favour on this occasion. Durham County Conservatives met on Nov. 12 and ratified the nomination of Hon. N. W. Rowell—Col. R. A. Mulholland retiring. In North Oxford Sir R. Borden asked support for E. W. Nesbitt, a Liberal-Unionist, over Col. D. M. Sutherland (Cons.). Eventually most of the asperities of a new combination were removed with Welland where W. M. German and Evan Fraser were candidates, Kent with A. B. McCoig and J. W. Plewes in the field, North Wellington with two Conservatives and a Laurierite as the candidates, as the exceptions. In none of these three was there a ratified Government candidate. The Toronto *Globe* had put it on Nov. 9 as follows: "There should be no factious opposition from Conservatives to the group of Liberals who voted for the Military Service Act in the House of Commons and who favour Union Government. . . . They have had a harder road to travel than their Conservative fellow-members. In Parliament they were under the painful necessity of breaking the ties with their leader and with the majority of their colleagues. In their constituencies they must face the hostility of many of their former supporters." This, in the end, was generously and fully recognized.

The 400 Liberal-Conscriptionists from all parts of Ontario who met at Hamilton on Nov. 2nd had no doubt of their position. G. G. S. Lindsey, K.C., presided; H. M. Mowat, K.C., past-President of the Ontario Reform Association, was an active ffigure; addresses were delivered by General Mewburn, Hon F. B. Carvell, Hon N. W.

Rowell, Lloyd Harris. Other prominent Liberals present besides the most of those signing the call* were: D. R. Ross, Embro; T. R. Mayberry, Ingersoll; J. O. McCarthy and F. G. Inwood, Toronto; D. Williams and E. C. Drury, Simcoe; J. H. Crow, Welland, Sam. Carter, M.L.A., Guelph; Kirwan Martin, Hamilton. Resolutions were passed (1) in favour of enforcement of the Military Service Act, conscription of the wealth and productive forces of Canada, and organization of all its natural resources to help the forces in the field; (2) pledging support to Union Government candidates who were the nominees of a joint or fusion Convention; (3) endorsing the Liberal leaders who had joined the new Government. General Mewburn, in his speech, declared that "we are in this war, or should be, not with one, two or three hundred thousand, but to the very limit of our resources," and added, "I did not want to get into public life, and I will not get into politics." Mr. Rowell stated that if the Government met disaster in the Elections "it will not be because of the strength of the Opposition, but because of the prejudice of friends who will not get together." Mr. Carvell announced that "if this Government is returned to power I promise you that so far as I am concerned the rich man will pay much more than he has done in the past." As to the Tariff: "When the War is over I will have something to say about it and I shall say it emphatically."

There could be no question as to the influence of Mr. Rowell in the Ontario campaign. A son of the Province, a man of eloquence and force along moral and patriotic lines, an earnest supporter of recruiting since the beginning of the War, he had won his way in public opinion before joining the Union Government. Then, he appealed with special influence. His share in the Premier's tour has been referred to; besides that he delivered a series of educative addresses which did much to swing Liberal feeling toward the Government. He spoke at Bowmanville on Nov. 20; with Sir George Foster and Gen. Mewburn he was at Hamilton on the 22nd and declared that "if we had been no part of the British Empire at all, but an independent democratic power on the north half of this continent, we would have been compelled to enter this struggle just as the United States has done." After a number of Borden meetings he was at Port Dover on Dec. 3 and at Midland on the 4th. A New Liskeard meeting on the 7th marked the close of a tour in Northern Ontario with Sir Wm. Hearst, in which they had, together, addressed four meetings. At Toronto on the 8th he touched a very practical point: "Suppose Canada says to the United States, 'We're going to leave it to you to carry the burden.' 'All right, then,' says the United States, 'if we've got to carry the burden and there is a shortage of available materials, we'll keep them at home so that we can carry the burden.' If the United States took that attitude it would paralyze industrial operations in Canada. Men who talk of shifting burdens to the United States know not whereof they speak." On the 10th Mr. Rowell was at Brampton and dealt with the argument as to reserves in England. He pointed out that the fighting strength

* See page 582 of this volume.

of the Army turned on Infantry and stated that the available resources in England and France, back of the front lines, was only 31,000 and probably would be exhausted by April, 1918. A trip through Durham County followed with a number of speeches and the support of Hon. W. D. McPherson of the Ontario Government; he was at Whitby and Galt on the 12th and at Clinton on the 13th —speaking also at Mitchell and Seaforth—with unity of the national forces as his motto and with, also, stern deprecation of the attitude of Quebec. At Lakefield and Peterborough on the 14th he delivered several passionate appeals for war effort and united action. On the 15th he closed his campaign at Newtonville, Newcastle and Bowmanville, and ended a three-weeks' tour of continuous speech-making.

With Mr. Rowell in part, and at many points alone, Sir Wm. Hearst, Premier of Ontario, aided the campaign with earnestness and force. He spoke at Aurora on Dec. 4, Sault Ste. Marie on the 5th, North Bay on the 6th, Haileybury and New Liskeard on the 7th, Georgetown on the 12th, Petrolea on the 13th, Orillia on the 14th. The Petrolea meeting was notable for a declaration that: "As Prime Minister of Ontario and as representative of its people, I will see that Sir Robert Borden and Mr. Rowell keep their promises to Ontario and that the people of Quebec are compelled to do their share before further sacrifices are demanded from Ontario." Everywhere his speeches rang with the appeal to stand by the flag and the Empire. Incidents of the Ontario campaign included a Manifesto of 27 Ottawa Liberals issued on Dec. 10, appealing for support to Union Government; a statement (Dec. 15) by G. A. Warburton as the Liberal chairman of the Citizens' Union Committee, Toronto, that "it is far safer to trust the country to Union Government than it would be to trust it to Sir Wilfrid Laurier, whose chief strength is in a solid body of French-Canadians"; a Message from John R. Rathom of the Providence (R.I.) *Journal* declaring that "it is inconceivable that Canada, which during the past three years has given to the world such splendid proof of her loyalty to all the highest ideals of civilization, should, at this moment, recede from those ideals by declaring herself on the side of the slacker, the coward, the materialist, and of those to whom loyalty and honour are but sounds signifying nothing"; the point raised by Hon. J. D. Reid in a speech (Nov. 5) that Sir W. Laurier was Premier when the Militia Act, involving military compulsion without selection, became law; a forcible appeal at London on Nov. 29 by Sir Adam Beck, based on what he had seen at the Front—"miles of graves, fields of crosses, your own Canadian flesh and blood lying there under the sod of France and Flanders"; the extremist declaration of the Toronto *News* on Dec. 5 that the Liberal leader, as he appeared before the country, was "nothing more than a play-actor, a demagogue, a charlatan, and a mountebank"; the addresses of Hon. T. W. McGarry and Hon. I. B. Lucas of the Ontario Government at various points.

In New Brunswick and Nova Scotia the Government campaign encountered difficulty in the personal rivalries and political feelings of these long-settled communities. Eventually Win-the-War senti-

ment and Conventions evoked unity. In New Brunswick the nomination of Maj.-Gen. H. H. McLean (Lib.) for the County of Kings, with strong support from Dr. D. H. McAllister, late Liberal M.P., illustrated one side of the shield. In St. John the Conservatives refused to support Hon. Wm. Pugsley, the late member, because of his past hostility to Conscription and Union and despite his announced leaning toward Union Government as expressed in a long statement, published on Oct. 22, declaring that he had urged Mr. Carvell to join the Coalition and that "Liberals who support Mr. Carvell as a Minister in the Union Government will not thereby cease to be Liberals, any more than Mr. Carvell will cease to be a Liberal and a valiant and fearless champion of Liberal principles." The situation was relieved by his appointment as Lieut.-Governor and the Unionist nomination of R. W. Wigmore (Cons) and S. E. Elkin (Lib.) for the two seats. In Westmoreland two Unionist Conservatives insisted, however, on running and made the election of A. B. Copp (Lib.) probable, while the chances of F. J. Robidoux, ex-M.P. and an Acadian supporter of Conscription, were very doubtful. The Hon. F. B. Carvell was the chief factor in the New Brunswick campaign, ably supported by Hon. J. A. Murray and Hon. J. B. M. Baxter, members of the late Conservative Government of the Province and by dissentient Liberals such as A. O. Skinner, T. H. Bullock, T. H. Estabrooks, R. T. Hayes, George McAvity, J. Fraser Gregory and Michael McDade. An address by Mr. Carvell to his constituency of Victoria-Albert was widely circulated with the following as the chief clauses:

> The real question before the electors of Canada to-day is whether or not this Dominion will do its full duty, not only to itself, the Empire at large, and the civilization of the world, but to the soldiers who have already gone forward, many of whom have made the supreme sacrifice. When the Military Service Act was introduced in Parliament by the present Premier in the month of May last, a sharp cleavage arose, not only in Parliament, but throughout Canada at large, and, in voting upon this all-important measure, unfortunately, 25 of my colleagues and myself found ourselves at variance with our Leader as to the advisability of supporting Selective Conscription. . . . For four long months my colleagues and myself attempted to find some common ground with our Leader on this great issue, on which we could appeal to the country, but unfortunately we failed; and, believing as I do, that the first duty of every citizen is to do his utmost, and see that his country does its utmost, to the successful prosecution of this war, after many long and weary negotiations I decided to accept the position in the Union Government, which I now occupy. This Government has been formed by a union of both Conservatives and Liberals for the express purpose of carrying on the affairs of the country, if elected, until the close of the War and a reasonable time thereafter in which to demobilize the army and place the country again upon a peace footing. When that has been accomplished our agreement ceases, and every member of the Government, whether Liberal or Conservative, is at perfect liberty to pursue any course which in his conscience he may deem right and proper. We have allowed all matters of local and political interest to Canada to remain in abeyance until peace has been declared, and to devote our whole attention to the energetic prosecution of the War.

A series of speeches followed at Woodstock, Bath, Andover, Plaster Rock, Centreville and other points in his constituency, as well as St. Stephen, St. George, Fredericton and other centres in the Province. His last word was a brief appeal to the Electors published on Dec. 17: "Do your duty. The vote you will cast to-day is the most

important of your life-time. You are deciding whether or not Canada shall stand by the men at the Front and the Empire. Vote for the Union candidates." In Nova Scotia Halifax was the chief difficulty. Sir Robert Borden, after 21 years as its representative, retired to run in Kings so that Hon. A. K. Maclean could be one of the Government candidates. Party feeling ran high, however, and the Laurier Liberals nominated two straight party men and declined all negotiations. Eventually Mayor P. F. Martin was nominated with Mr. Maclean. A gathering of 100 leading Provincial Conservatives met in Halifax on Nov. 2, proclaimed its strong adhesion to Union Government and decided to join the Unionist Liberals in a Provincial Association. This was arranged, later on, with Sir Frederick Fraser as President and a Committee composed of prominent Conservatives and Liberals. On Dec. 12 an Appeal was issued, including the following statements: "Which do the fighting sons of Nova Scotia in Flanders trenches want—Re-inforcements or Referendum? They are calling to us for bread. Shall we give them a stone? And a clarion message of warning and appeal goes out to every Nova Scotian from the ravaged community of Halifax. The call is to every man and woman to stand shoulder to shoulder in the great crisis that confronts us. In Union is Strength. In Union is Security. In Union is Victory." Meantime, Hon. G. H. Murray, for 30 years Liberal Premier of the Province, came out in support of the Union Government and of his former colleague, A. K. Maclean; his published statement of Oct. 24, declared that he had "unhesitatingly offered the co-operation of the Provincial Government of Nova Scotia to any representative National Government organized." The Hon. W. S. Fielding, so long Liberal Finance Minister at Ottawa, on the same day expressed his adhesion in these terms: "I see no reason why the Liberals of the Maritime Provinces should not be willing to support the new Government in measures for the prosecution of the War while reserving their freedom of action" —on other issues. He also approved Mr. Maclean's action. His endorsation was considered satisfactory by the Premier and as he had, meanwhile, received the Liberal nomination in Queens-Shelburne Sir Robert wrote personally to the local Conservative leaders, asking them not to oppose Mr. Fielding. The Halifax *Chronicle* also came out in support of the Government. A great meeting on the 4th was addressed by Mr. Carvell, with Hon. G. E. Faulkner (Lib.) in the chair. As to P. E. Island, Hon. A. E. Arsenault, the Premier, stated that: "There is a strong element and silent vote in the Liberal party which is for the Union candidates. . . . There is a very large representation of Island boys at the Front and their relatives will not see them abandoned, and the same sentiment is expressed by everybody."

The Quebec situation was a vital centre of this contest. It was not important so far as the number of seats which the Government might hope to hold or carry was concerned; they had few illusions as to success beyond hoping for the return of Hon. C. J. Doherty, Sir H. B. Ames, Mr. Ballantyne, Mr. Sévigny and Colonel Blondin, and the barely possible election of a few others who could be affected

by the turn-over of English-speaking Liberals in the Eastern Townships. There were many of these, also, in Westmount and Montreal led by such Liberals as W. D. Lighthall, K.C., J. S. Brierley and Wm. Rutherford. But the expressed views of Quebec candidates, the policy of Quebec Nationalism, the support given by Mr. Bourassa to Sir W. Laurier, the anti-Conscription and Government riots, strongly influenced the rest of Canada and undoubtedly did much to affect the final result. The viewpoint of local Conservatives was expressed by Hon. Albert Sévigny at Quebec on Oct. 21 when he stated in an interview that: "Sir Wilfrid Laurier committed a crime in refusing to unite the two great races that live in Canada. By his attitude and that of his supporters, the French-Canadians, who are a brave people, have been made to appear a race of cowards. If Laurier had accepted Union there would have been prompt settlement of the Ontario and Manitoba School difficulties." In the Montreal district J. H. Rainville, candidate in Chambly-Verchères, managed the Conservative campaign and a Union Government organization of Liberals and Conservatives was formed on Oct. 29, with English and French Sections and a speech from Mr. Doherty declaring that "when the Homeland is attacked, the whole Empire is attacked, and within that Empire Canada is attacked," and one from Mr. Sévigny. The latter declared that: "For five months unscrupulous men, most of them irresponsible men, have thought it their duty to protest against the Military Service Act by attacking the Government, public men and the other Provinces of Canada. The most scandalous insults were bandied about by these men who have placed on my race, a race of which I am proud, a disgrace that, unfortunately, will not be removed for many years to come."

L. J. Tarte and his journal *La Patrie* supported the Government to some extent, as did *L'Evenement*, managed by Mme. Chassé who had two sons at the Front; but these were the exceptions to an almost unanimous rule in the Quebec press. Mr. Sévigny was nominated in two ridings and in his campaign of speeches had a hard time. At St. Anselme in Dorchester on Nov. 11 he was unable to speak a word to a crowd of 10,000 and his effort was interspersed with revolver shots, stones, smashed windows and other unpleasantness. Even in Westmount, where French and English were mixed, cheers for Laurier on Nov. 15 prevented most of the Minister's speech being heard, while broken windows and the burning of his effigy by Laval students further marked public opinion. On the 19th Mr. Doherty, in one part of Montreal, and Mr. Rainville, in another, were howled down by mobs; so in lesser degree with Mr. Ballantyne on the 20th. During this period the press attacks and those of public speakers upon Messrs. Blondin (who was at the Front), Sévigny and Rainville, were amongst the bitterest ever known in even Quebec's stormy politics. "Judas" and "the triumvirate of traitors" were common expressions. The Government candidates could not be heard at meetings and they had practically no press through which to reach the people; Messrs. Ballantyne, Doherty and Ames, as the campaign progressed, met with similar difficulty, so far as the French voters were concerned. In Griffintown

(Montreal) on Nov. 19 Mr. Doherty's meeting was broken up; in St. Antoine Division (Nov. 20) Sir Herbert Ames was shouted down; other meetings had the same result and the three candidates had to be escorted to and from the halls by Police who, however, made no effort to keep order and obviously sympathized with the mobs. Other Unionist meetings had be to cancelled as there was little or no protection for the speakers. Wounded soldiers were hissed or hooted and asked if they were drunk when they enlisted. Outside of Montreal Unionists were frequently terrorized into silence; Joseph Bernard of *L'Evenement*, a candidate in Quebec county, was mobbed on Nov. 25 and threatened with lynching; Mr. Sévigny was unable to return to Dorchester and his life was threatened by letter if he did so; in Laurier-Outrement Colonel Blondin's campaign was carried on for him without meetings except a few addressed by his wife; at Sherbrooke on Nov. 29 a meeting which Messrs. Doherty and Ballantyne tried to address was turned into a three-hour riot by a murderous-acting mob which wrecked the front of the theatre and afterwards flung missiles through the windows when the speakers tried to "carry on"—the Mayor being absent from the scene while the special constables sworn in were not visible. James Morris, who had supported Conscription in Parliament, had no chance in Huntingdon County and a meeting at Franklin (Nov. 30) was dissolved with revolver shots, rotten eggs and stones. Other broken-up meetings were those of P. J. Doré at Lacolle, Aimé Chassé at St. Elphege, C. H. Cahan, K.C., upon several occasions in Maisonneuve—where he was opposing Hon. R. Lemieux.* Within a couple of weeks of Election day the storm was somewhat allayed and some meetings were held without violence. On the 12th, however, a Verdun meeting of Messrs. Doherty and Ballantyne had to be given up. Sir Robert Borden's Montreal address, announced for this date, also, was cancelled.

The reflex action of these incidents was early visible in other parts of the country. Sir Wilfrid Laurier was already a target for much attack, the recruiting situation in Quebec an excuse for a fanaticism which is not confined to any one race or religion or country, the despatches appearing in Unionist papers from Montreal added fuel to any flame which existed and the following extract from one in the St. John *Standard* (Cons.) of Nov. 22 was a sample of many. After reviewing these riots the correspondent proceeded: "Nor are the French Canadians much more sympathetic toward the Victory Loan than they are to the Military Service Act. Deduct the amounts contributed by the English and it is a case of neither pay nor fight by the others. Wholesale exemptions for military service are the rule. Of 15,000 applications for exemption in this city all have been granted but about 600." The statement was unfair or inaccurate as a whole but it served its purpose. Bourassa and *Le Devoir* were widely quoted as representing French-Canadian feeling and views while pages of campaign literature appeared in the newspapers loaded with his anti-British opinions. Resentment was un-

*NOTE.—Mr. Cahan had previously retired from the St. Lawrence Division in favour of Col. Ballantyne, the new Minister of Marine.

avoidable and in a political campaign exaggeration was inevitable; yet the advantage taken of the deplorable situation in Quebec was politically natural. Advertisements teemed in the Unionist press dealing with Quebec and one from the Citizens' Union Committee, of which J. W. Lyon, Guelph, G. A. Warburton, and Dr. A. H. Abbott, Toronto, were the chief officers, said: "We believe that a united Quebec will dominate a divided Canada unless all loyal men and women forget party differences and local prejudices and unite to support British ideals and traditions; that the future of our soldiers, their wives and dependants, cannot be safely trusted to the Province of Quebec, which has conspicuously failed in all patriotic work—enlistments, Patriotic and Red Cross Funds and Victory Loan." Other separate advertisements of this Committee stated that "a solid Quebec will vote to rule all Canada and only a solid Ontario can defeat them"; that "Quebec must not rule all Canada"; that "a Laurier victory will be the first Canadian defeat"; that Canada having subscribed $410,000,000 to the Victory Loan—"of which Quebec outside of Montreal only subscribed $17,000,000—shall we hand the whole sum over to Quebec to spend?" An elaborate page advertisement in the *Monetary Times* of Dec. 14 and many other journals expressed these views:

To-day, in our national crisis, Quebec alone, among all the Provinces, stands more united than ever before. She knows what she wants:—

(1) Withdrawal from the War. (3) Weakening of the ties of British connection.
(2) Bi-lingual schools everywhere. (4) Political control of Canada.

From the Ottawa River to Labrador and the Gulf a common purpose actuates Quebec in her determination to profit by the factional divisions of Canada and to impose her will upon all the people of Canada. Within the last few weeks Quebec has mobilized all her forces to dominate Canada under the unified leadership of Bourassa and Laurier. . . . With 60 solid seats Quebec is about to accomplish her designs. Bourassa, the real master and idol of Quebec, is in sight of his goal. To attain her purpose, Quebec has not scrupled to ignore British traditions and to suppress freedom of speech. So thoroughly organized is her campaign to prevent even the discussion of the War that Unionist candidates are prevented from holding public meetings throughout that Province. The Unionist minority in Quebec are the victims of organized obstruction. To be successful in her determination to rule all Canada, Quebec has but to secure a few seats in each of the other Provinces. United in her determination to quit the War, Quebec would compel a divided Canada to do likewise. By union only can the English-speaking people prevent this calamity.

The Unionist Party Publicity Committee, of which Sir John Willison was Chairman, did strong service for its cause in advertisements spread throughout the press of Canada. Much was said about Bourassa and the French-Canadians. A reference to the Victory Loan was followed by this statement: "Is it to be handed over to Laurier and Bourassa and their adherents, who propose deferring Canada's further participation in the War?" Another advertisement declared that: "Laurier, Bourassa and Quebec think we have done enough, and are in favour of deserting our men, breaking our pledge, ruining the country's credit with our Allies, and trailing Canada's honour in the mud of world opinion. Quebec having failed to do her duty, is now trying to bend the rest of Canada to her will." A campaign leaflet issued by this Committee declared that "the French-Canadians who have shirked their duty in this war

will be the dominating force in the Government of the country. Are the English-speaking people prepared to stand for that?" An advertisement on the eve of Election declared that "your vote on Monday will return Union Government—or leave Canada to the will of Laurier, Bourassa and Quebec." From Vancouver to Halifax these advertisements ran and they certainly influenced public opinion, as did the broadcast publication of an anti-Conscription pledge signed by some of the Liberal candidates in Quebec. Speeches everywhere rang with denunciation of Quebec Nationalism, of war inaction, of Bourassa and of an alleged alliance between him and Sir W. Laurier. Edmund Bristol, K.C., (Cons.) in Toronto (Dec. 10) described Quebec as "the spoiled child of Confederation" and T. C. Robinette (Lib.) declared at the same meeting that Quebec could not rule eight other Provinces; H. C. Hocken, an Orange leader and Conservative candidate, was vehement in his denunciation of the French-Canadians, and G. W. Allan, K.C. (Lib.) in Winnipeg (Dec. 5) described Quebec as, politically, "the plague-spot of the whole Dominion"; Hon. T. C. Norris at Morden declared on Dec. 4 that if Sir Wilfrid won the election Bourassa would rule Canada; Sir Hibbert Tupper (Cons.) at Vancouver, on Oct. 20, stated that: "It seems inconceivable, under present needs, that Canada, as a whole, will submit to Quebec rule, and if Laurier wins now it means Quebec rule with a vengeance. I never doubted that our patriots in Quebec are at heart sound but the vast majority are nevertheless being led to a desperate position." Some other references follow:

Isaac Campbell, K.C., (Lib.) Winnipeg, Dec. 5:

Suppose Sir Wilfrid wins and comes into office—I don't think he will come into power. He may hold office, but not power. The backbone of the Quebec Nationalist party won't allow him a free hand on the question of winning the War. He won't hold office a day if he counters their wishes.

Hon. N. W. Rowell, K.C., (Lib.) North Bay, Dec. 6:

We might as well frankly face the issue. There is a Nationalist, clerical and reactionary movement at work in the Province of Quebec which to-day dominates the political situation in that Province, and is using this hour of grave national peril to dominate the political situation throughout the Dominion of Canada. . . . If Sir Wilfrid Laurier had been 20 years younger I believe he would have fought this sinister influence in the Province of Quebec just as he did in 1896, and would have triumphed over it. I was opposed to the Nationalist propaganda in 1911, when Canada was at peace. I am doubly opposed to it to-day, when Canada is at War. . . . Those of us who had knowledge of the situation found ourselves compelled to choose between supporting Sir Wilfrid Laurier and a policy shaped to secure Nationalist support and which we believed would take Canada out of the War, or to decline to follow him farther.

Archdeacon H. J. Cody (Cons.), Kitchener, Dec. 10:

We have to set aside the picturesque figure of Sir Wilfrid Laurier to see the powers that are behind him. Henri Bourassa is the real leader of Quebec, and I ask if that Province, led by him, shall have the domination of the rest of this free Dominion which has sacrificed and suffered; is it for him to say to the rest of Canada that 'We have done enough?'

Sir Wm. Hearst (Cons.), Georgetown, Dec. 12:

The issue to-day is: Shall Canada have a Union Government of all Provinces and parties outside of Quebec, or shall a solid Quebec control the destiny of a divided Canada? Ontario must stand by the Union of the Eight Provinces, and must do so in a manner so emphatic and conclusive that Quebec domination will never again be attempted.

The Daily News (Cons.), Toronto, Dec. 1:

Is Quebec to rule Canada? Is the one French-Canadian Province to lord it over the eight English-speaking Provinces? Are the people of Quebec, in alliance with the anti-British and pro-German elements of the population in the other Provinces, to take the Dominion out of the War? Are the French-Canadians, who have refused to fight for Canada's liberties, to prevent the re-inforcement of the gallant troops which for over three years have upheld the national honour in countless bloody encounters?

The Globe (Lib.), Toronto, Dec. 4:

How can he (Sir W. Laurier) aid in winning the War if he should attain power and be compelled to retain it by the support of a solid delegation of Quebec members, many of whom are out-spokenly hostile to any further contribution of Canada's man-power to the Allied cause? English-speaking Liberals cannot afford to vote and work for a party in which they can be no more than a tail to the Quebec Nationalist kite.

The Unionist Campaign—The Western Provinces.

Manitoba, from the first, was inclined toward Unionism; its Government led the people in this respect and aided in preventing the Western Convention from becoming more than a compromise of diverging views. None of the Provincial Ministers opposed Union and Hon. Valentine Winkler was neutral; Messrs. R. S. Thornton, Edward Brown, T. H. Johnson, J. W. Armstrong and the Premier, did pronounced service in the Elections. The inclusion of Mr. Crerar in the Cabinet, as representing the great grain-growing interests of the West, prevented the appointment of Hon. A. B. Hudson as a second Minister from Manitoba. Mr. Hudson was in the hospital during much of the contest but on Dec. 13 issued a statement declaring there was but one dominant issue: "If an elector wants Canada to do her full share toward winning the War he must support Union Government." All the Liberal members of the Legislature aided the Unionist cause except two; Isaac Pitblado, K.C., H. J. Symington, K.C., J. B. Coyne, K.C., active Liberals of Winnipeg, A. C. Fraser of Brandon and the Rev. Dr. S. G. Bland were other Liberals who took an active part in the Province, as did W. J. Tupper, K.C., a well-known Conservative. Isaac Campbell, K.C., was a veteran Liberal of high character and place in his party who also lent great influence to the Unionists and in a Winnipeg speech on Dec. 5 dealt at length with the attitude of Quebec and the Nationalists. As to the rest: "We are supporting the Union Government on its policy of helping to win the War, and on Conscription because Conscription is necessary. We must keep on and we must stay in the War because, from the most selfish viewpoint, if the Allies are defeated it will cost us more to quit than it will to keep on. We must stay because we have pledged our last available man and our last available dollar. We must stay because our honour is concerned that we do not desert our Allies."

The first great Western meeting was held at Winnipeg on Oct. 22 with Messrs. J. A. Calder, Arthur Meighen and T. A. Crerar as the speakers. Mr. Crerar, in his speech, stated that: "The Grain Growers of Western Canada have always believed in Union Government. Personally I have always believed in it. I believe we should have had it two years ago and that it would have been much better for us in Canada. . . . I think I can say that the farmers

stand whole-heartedly behind it." He took pride in the fact, as Minister of Agriculture, that his whole life had been and would be bound up in Agriculture and he believed that he understood the difficulties of the farmers. As to one leading issue he said: "My conception of the Conscription of wealth is the conscription of the earnings of wealth, of profit, of income, and I think you can rest safely assured that the new Administration will pay very careful attention to that part of the business." Mr. Meighen gave statistics to prove the need for re-inforcements and showed that the net loss to the C.E.F., after enlistments, discharges and casualties had been reviewed, was 50,927 between Jan. 1 and Sept. 30, 1917, while during that period, in the vital matter of Infantry, there were 16,329 enlistments and 48,410 casualties—to say nothing of discharges. Hence the need for Conscription and his hope that "the cry from the agony of the battlefield will be heard in sympathy and answered in honour." He addressed a number of succeeding meetings in Manitoba and others East and West.

During the ensuing campaign Mr. Premier Norris in all his speeches, dwelt upon the necessity of Union to carry on the War, declared his conviction that the new Administration was a real Union Government and that, though an admirer and supporter of Sir W. Laurier for many years, he could not endorse him now. As Mr. Norris was highly respected in the Province his opinion had weight with many old-time Liberals who might not otherwise have changed their minds. During the campaign Messrs. Norris and Meighen spoke together at Morris, Morden, Boissevain, Brandon, Minnedosa and Neepawa. Mr. Crerar and R. W. Craig, K.C., (Cons.) spoke at Roblin, Basswood and Rapid City, Crandall and Hamiota, Miniota and Birtle and Gladstone; Mr. Crerar also was at Carman, Carberry, Souris, Napinka, Manitou and Emerson with W. J. Tupper, K.C. On Sept. 6 the Manitoba *Free Press*, though standing for Union Government during many months, preceded an able campaign of advocacy in succeeding weeks with this declaration: "In order to prevent any possible misunderstanding the *Free Press* asserts that it will not take the responsibility of assisting in the election of any Liberal candidate, however high his position in the party, however emphatic his protestations as to war policy, if he seeks the suffrage of the people solely as a party candidate without the endorsement of a Union Convention. . . . For the duration of the War the *Free Press* is out of party politics." As to candidates there were complications but most of them were overcome. G. W. Allan, K.C., (Cons.) was a strong candidate in South Winnipeg from the beginning; Rev. Dr. S. G. Bland intended to run in the Centre as a Liberal supporter of the Government but eventually retired in favour of Major G. W. Andrews, D.S.O., a soldier-Liberal; after various complications in Brandon Rev. Dr. H. P. Whidden (Cons.), Principal of the Baptist College, was nominated. Mr. Crerar ran in Marquette and an incident of his contest was a letter (Dec. 5) from H. W. Wood, President of the Union of Alberta Farmers, urging support to the new Minister because of his "devotion to the ideals of the West and the Western farmers, and to

the highest ideals of Canadian Nationality as a whole." Mr. Crerar addressed several meetings in Winnipeg and on Dec. 13 told a final one that his two weeks' tour of the Province had convinced him that "rural Manitoba is solid for Union."

In Alberta Liberalism was and had been dominant for years in both Provincial and Federal affairs—while in Manitoba it had only recently won power in the Province after many years of Opposition. There had been some internal divergence of feeling at Edmonton between the sections led by Hon. C. W. Cross, Attorney-General, and Mr. Premier Sifton, but it never took active form; in these Elections Mr. Sifton carried with him a large portion of his party but Mr. Cross joined forces with Hon. Frank Oliver and some members of the Provincial Government who stood with him—notably Hon. Duncan Marshall and Hon. Wilfrid Gariepy. Mr. Sifton was, however, a reserved, astute leader and he knew his Province well. Labour interests were strong in the cities and he had one Labour man running as a Unionist supporter in Calgary side by side with T. M. M. Tweedie, an old-time Conservative opponent of his late Government; while a Soldier candidate opposed him personally in Medicine Hat he had popular Conservative officers as Unionist candidates in Major Lee Redmond at Calgary and Maj.-Gen. W. A. Griesbach, D.S.O., at Edmonton. Michael Clark put up a strong fight in Red Deer while W. A. Buchanan, another Liberal of the new light, ran again in Lethbridge; George Lane, the well-known rancher, retired as Liberal candidate in Bow River and proclaimed himself a Unionist; Victoria had a three-cornered fight with J. W. Leedy, ex-Governor of Kansas, standing as an anti-Conscriptionist, Non-partisan League candidate. Mr. Sifton and his one-time opponent, Mr. Tweedie, spoke at Lethbridge on Nov. 20, at Macleod, Calgary, Edmonton, Red Deer and other points.

Dr. Clark, who had a hard fight in his own riding against an anti-war American element, found time to deliver forcible speeches at Calgary and Edmonton; R. B. Bennett, K.C., ex-M.P., who had declined re-nomination in Calgary as a Conservative-Unionist, spoke at various points—Crossfield, Calgary, Carstairs, Acme, Didsbury. Two mass-meetings at Calgary on Nov. 22 were addressed by Hon. T. A. Crerar, Hon. A. L. Sifton, Mr. Bennett and others. Mr. Crerar was emphatic as to the tariff question not being an issue in this contest and declared that the pre-War expenditure of $135,000,000 in Canada would increase to $275,000,000 after the War. It was pointed out that Messrs. Ballantyne, Crerar, Robertson, White and General Mewburn were not politicians in the ordinary sense of the word. At Medicine Hat on Dec. 14 Mr. Sifton dealt with the charge that he had abandoned Liberalism: "A Liberal is a man who stands for progressive legislation and legislation is the test." As to Quebec he was sarcastic: "It seems a man can be a Liberal in the West only if he receives the sanction of Quebec. . . . If we want unity in Canada it can only come by satisfying Quebec. If Quebec is not satisfied then there is disunion!" An incident of the Alberta as well as Manitoba campaign,

which had weight with the farmers was the endorsation of Mr. Crerar by H. W. Wood of the U.F.A.; another was the able series of articles published by the Calgary *Herald* under the name of *Politicus*—standing for its Editor—J. H. Woods. Amongst active Unionist speakers in the campaign were F. Davis, M.L.A., and James Short, K.C., (Conservatives) with Hon. C. W. Fisher, M.L.A., A. L. Smith and Clifford Jones, K.C. (Liberals). No member of the Government of the Province shared in the Unionist fight, though Hon. C. Stewart, the new Premier, announced himself as a supporter.

In Saskatchewan it was a case of Mr. Calder as the head and front of the whole fight and the real leader of Western Canada in the Election. Like Alberta this was essentially a Liberal province and much depended upon his influence. After negotiations of some length it was announced on Oct. 25 that a National Government Association of Saskatchewan had been formed out of the two old Party organizations and a combined political machine created, which in the astute and practiced control of the new Minister of Colonization promised to be a power for Unionism. On Nov. 20 the Regina *Leader*, an important Liberal element in the formation of Western opinion, after declaring that it stood by Free-trade and Reciprocity and old-time Liberalism, and in determined opposition to the War-times Election Act, proceeded editorially as follows: "It makes absolutely no difference what question comes up for consideration and action in the next Parliament, whether it be a question of tariff or taxation, or anything else, it should be considered only in the light of its effect in winning the War. All questions should be put to the acid test of the War." Convinced of this and having confidence in the Liberal Ministers and Liberal-Unionist candidates: "The *Leader* is content until the War is won to leave Tariff as well as all other questions to be decided as they effect the one great Canadian and Empire policy of to-day—the winning of the War." Meanwhile, on Oct. 23, Messrs. Calder, Meighen and Crerar had spoken in Regina along the line of their Winnipeg speeches with a special British appeal from Mr. Meighen: "Even though Canada is not a nation of the first rank a reaction on her part would throw a cloud over the Allied front and chill the heart of Britain whose courage and deathless grit has for the second time in a century saved the world." On the 27th Mr. Calder issued a statement as to voting conditions at the Front and stated his decision to accept a Moose Jaw nomination instead of the one offered him for Regina by such prominent Liberal Unionists as R. G. McCuish, H. Y. McDonald, K.C., J. F. Frame, K.C., W. F. Kerr, Robert Martin, etc. At the end of the month the Minister left Vancouver to arrange British Columbia complications as to seats and candidates and, with Hon. Martin Burrell, addressed a local mass-meeting on the 30th and one in Victoria on the 31st.

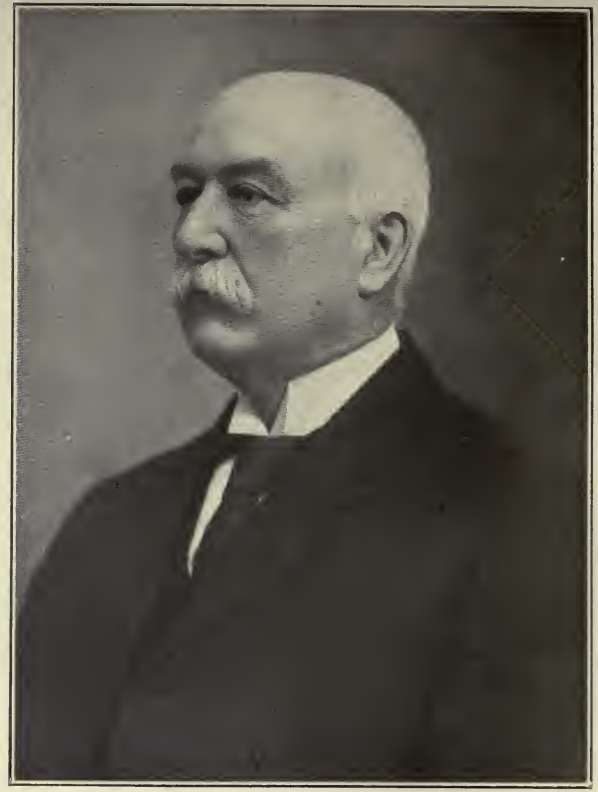
Mr. Calder, on Nov. 20, issued a Manifesto addressed to the people of Saskatchewan in which the issues were defined as simple: (1) That a combination of parties could carry on a war better than a partisan Administration and (2) that necessary re-inforcements must be obtained and could only be obtained by Conscription.

All Provincial Premiers but one were stated to be supporting the Union Government while scores of prominent Liberals were daily deserting Sir Wilfrid Laurier on this issue and he mentioned J. A. Maharg, President of the Saskatchewan Grain Growers, who had just been elected by acclamation, R. C. Henders and R. McKenzie of the Canadian Council of Agriculture. For the rest he defended his own personal attitude and believed that, as to Union Government, "the pages of Canada's future history will clearly demonstrate that the proper course was pursued, and that Liberalism in its truest and broadest sense did not suffer therefrom." A further appeal was issued on Dec. 6 for organized effort and work: "Now is the time for action. Let the call go forth in every nook and corner of the Province. Patriotic, public-spirited citizens should everywhere take the lead. Don't hold back. Act now. Otherwise it will be to late." This was followed on Dec. 10 by an elaborate statement from Hon. W. M. Martin, Provincial Premier, in which he began by saying: "I have always been in favour of the principle of the union of parties during the War; Coalition should have been offered by Sir Robert Borden and the Conservative party long before it was."

The new Government was declared to be thoroughly representative of Liberalism—with the exception of Sir. W. Laurier: "At this point let me state that Hon. J. A. Calder entered the Government after a consideration extending over a period of weeks during which time he displayed the greatest anxiety and when he finally reached a decision he did so with the utmost sincerity of which a man is capable." The new Government had already done much; much more remained to be done. He repudiated as untrue and a slander the press statements that "a vote for Sir W. Laurier is a vote to quit the War," and declared his only difference of opinion with the Liberal leader was on the question of Conscription; he described the War-times Franchise Act as "un-British and undemocratic" with machinery which might easily be dangerous to the people and demanded its repeal at the 1st Session of the new Parliament; he denounced and repudiated any campaign against Quebec in the constituencies. But these and other things were subsidiary to the vital War issue of the time and upon this he supported the Union Government. As to Quebec one of the leading Unionist campaign speakers in Saskatchewan was J. H. Haslam (Lib.) of Regina and in a speech (Dec. 8) at Elfros he dealt at length with the French-Canadian situation and described it as involving a solidified Province under the control of the Hierarchy. An incident in this connection was the fact that at the Crerar-Meighen meeting of Oct. 23, held in a Methodist Church, the audience was looked after by Catholic ushers. On Dec. 13 Hon. C. A. Dunning, Provincial Treasurer, announced his support of Union Government as had Hon. A. P. McNab upon another occasion. J. A. Maharg, President of the Grain Growers, and elected by acclamation as Unionist member for Maple Creek, issued an Address to the people on the 17th in which he made special appeal to the farmers. Referring to a certain uneasiness as to the Tribunals he said: "The sole purpose of Selective Conscription is that industries essential to the vigorous prosecution



LIEUT.-COLONEL THE HON. C. C. BALLANTYNE, M.P.,
Minister of Marine & Fisheries and of the Naval Service.



THE HON. T. W. CROTHERS, K.C., M.P.
Minister of Labour.

THE UNION GOVERNMENT OF 1917.

of the War shall not be interfered with, and as Agriculture, in so far as Canada is concerned, is the most essential industry, consequently a Government pledged to a vigorous prosecution of the War can surely be depended upon to protect this industry in every way." He declared in conclusion that the welfare of the Empire and the world was concerned in the result. Mr. Calder on the 15th issued a last word—with these final words as to the War: "We intend to stick and fight it out to a finish."

Public opinion in British Columbia and in its Government was divided during the preliminary months of this contest and the fight itself was a keen one. The Hon. H. C. Brewster had been unable to hold his delegation along Union lines at the Western Convention and he did not lead his party very energetically in the Elections—though he was a strong Conscriptionist. Indeed, his Unionist views were in some doubt for a time and on Nov. 1 he issued a formal statement with this paragraph: "Leading men of both political parties have met on the basis of mutual concessions and sacrifice, and I think Canada is disposed to make similar concessions from whatever hostility was inspired by the record of the late Government and to give the new Administration a trial for the period of the War and subject to the honest, efficient direction of Canada's war efforts. That is my personal attitude." On Nov. 9 he reiterated his view, urged unity of political action and deprecated the conflicting interests visible in the Province; on Dec. 11 he spoke for Dr. Tolmie in Victoria. As a matter of fact the constituencies in this Province were especially hard to manage in the nominations; party and personal feeling, Socialist and Labour sentiment, were rife and it required all available agencies and Mr. Calder's own intervention to meet the difficulties and fuse the rivalries involved into a working political relationship. Mr. Brewster himself was for a time one of the Cabinet possibilities at Ottawa with a seat in that event necessary for himself; his Provincial Conservative opponent, Hon. W. J. Bowser, K.C., was discussed as a candidate as well as Sir C. H. Tupper in Vancouver; eventually H. H. Stevens. ex-M.P., was re-nominated as the Conservative and S. J. Crowe as the Liberal Unionist in the Coast city with a soldier-candidate, Major R. C. Cooper.

Win-the-War and Great War Veterans' Leagues were everywhere and of influence in bringing partisans together; in Victoria Dr. Simon F. Tolmie (Lib.) was nominated and carried on an earnest and much-discussed campaign. Many Liberals came into the Unionist ranks and amongst them Nicol Thompson, J. A. Cunningham, J. H. Senkler, K.C., and J. N. Ellis of Vancouver, Dr. Ernest Hall, F. A. McDiarmid, F. J. Stackpoole, K.C., of Victoria, while Joshua Kingham of Victoria was Chairman of the Unionist Federal Committee. A Labour candidate was J. H. McVety, Chairman of the Vancouver Labour Council; H. Bell-Irving, Vancouver, head of the famous military family, made an earnest appeal through the press on Dec. 13 for support to the Government "because everything we hold dear in life is at stake." Sir Herbert Tupper took a forceful part in the Election. At Victoria on Dec. 4 he

declared it a disgrace, an infamy, that a contest had to be fought at all and described the Referendum as a vote by the men who did not want to go to the Front as to whether or not they should be compelled to go! At Vancouver on the 7th he made a slashing attack upon F. C. Wade and other Laurier supporters. At another meeting (Dec. 11) he denounced Bourassa as "steeped to the lips in treason." On the 12th he charged Sir W. Laurier with trying "to open the portals of office with a bloody key." The Hon. Martin Burrell made a number of speeches in the Province—notably at Victoria, Oct. 31, and Vancouver, Dec. 6; Hon. Mr. Calder also spoke in these centres. Hon Mr. Meighen was at Vancouver on Dec. 16 and made this eloquent reference:

> What of Britain! Incomparable Britain! The mainstay, the forefront of embattled democracy. Groaning under a burden that might stagger half the world, she borrows $5,000,000 more and sends it to bind the wounds and restore the homes of your sister city (Halifax), smitten in the holocaust of war. Britain, the hope, the reliance, of the *Entente*, faithful to the last to every ally. United around Britain they will win and they all know that come what may, though the world may crash, Britain will stand true, undismayed, unconquerable.

The Laurier Campaign as a Whole; Issues in Ontario, Quebec and the West.

The followers of Sir Wilfrid Laurier had a difficult fight to wage in this campaign. Outside of Quebec, where practically the whole press was theirs—except two daily papers—they had a united press against them with the London *Advertiser*, Edmonton *Bulletin* and Calgary *News-Telegram* as the chief exceptions. All the Provincial Premiers were for Union Government except Sir Lomer Gouin, though the Western Liberal Governments were somewhat divided in their allegiance. The soldier vote was a strong Unionist probability. On the other hand the French-Canadian vote in Ontario, Saskatchewan and Alberta was relied upon for support and a still considerable foreign vote which naturally resented the War-times Franchise Act. There were a good many Labour-Liberal candidates who were expected to show good results and there was a restlessness East and West as to the Conscription of farmers which was hopeful. The chief issues raised were the cost of living and alleged power of the profiteers; past political patronage and charges of corruption against Hon. R. Rogers and the Borden Government; faulty Militia administration, the Ross Rifle and alleged failure to educate and interest Quebec in a recruiting sense; the alleged autocratic, anti-Liberal, anti-Canadian, anti-British plan of Conscription. In Quebec the whole issue was Conscription and the personality of Sir W. Laurier. The Publicity element was poor in comparison with that of the Unionists—in a few of the papers of British Columbia and Alberta, chiefly, advertisements appeared describing the whole issue as one of "The People *vs.* The Big Interests" with the Flavelle matter as the basic principle of attack and the C.N.R. policy as a secondary one; the changes also were rung upon an alleged Memorandum prepared by Hon. J. A. Calder in July, which reviewed the sins and weaknesses of the Borden Administration as he saw them at that time; Sir C. Sifton was freely denounced as a capitalistic leader of the Union forces.

In Ontario H. H. Dewart, K.C., M.L.A., for one of the Toronto seats, was a leader in the Provincial fight; Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King was a candidate in North York but took little outside part; Sir Allen Aylesworth made a number of speeches for his old-time Leader at Ottawa; Hon. Charles Murphy kept largely to his constituency. The Hon. G. P. Graham supported Conscription but proclaimed himself an out-and-out admirer of Sir Wilfrid Laurier and the combination caused his supporters in South Renfrew to give the nomination to a straight Laurier, anti-Conscription candidate, and prevented, also, his receipt of a Unionist nomination. At a Conference called by Sir Wilfrid in Ottawa on Oct. 20 Eastern Ontario Liberals, including Mr. Graham, pledged themselves (1) to support "every effort needed to sustain Canada's part in the War" and (2) recorded "admiration of the life and work of the greatest of all Canadians, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and desire to express the hope that he will long continue as leader of the great Liberal party." On Oct. 24 Mr. Graham was in conferences with Sir Wilfrid, Mr. Lemieux and others at Montreal. On Nov. 2 he telegraphed regret at not being able to attend the Hamilton meeting of Unionist Liberals: "I do not recede one iota from the position I took up in the House of Commons. The platform of the new Government shows the infusion of Liberal principle; if that programme is adhered to I will support it. Our boys at the front have to be supported and the quickest and the fairest way to accomplish this is by Compulsory service." During the ensuing Elections he supported Dr. Rankin, Laurier candidate, at Stratford (Nov. 29) and declared that Union Government should have been formed in 1914; at Ingersoll (Nov. 30) he said that: "Union Government should not be forced down the throats of the people, but formed after the people have expressed themselves at the polls"; in Toronto (Dec. 4) he spoke for A. J. Young, a Laurier candidate, and described himself as a Conscriptionist follower of Sir W. Laurier; at Dundas on Dec. 10 he denounced the War-times Franchise Act and stated that he had refused to join the Union Government because it was intended to stifle the voice and wishes of the people, and should not be formed till after the Elections. He made other strong Liberal speeches during the contest.

Mr. Dewart's view as presented at various places in the Province centred in this statement at Toronto (Oct. 18): "The issue is one between the people and the monopolies. There never has been a time in the history of Canada when the real issue between the Liberal party and whatever party it may have to face was so apparent. The question to be decided at the coming Election is whether the people shall rule or whether the vested interests and moneyed people shall continue to lead the Government. The man who goes into this Union Government puts himself in line with the corporate interests and against the interests of the people." At a Montreal Liberal function on Nov. 28 he declared that "the Liberal party of Ontario stands behind Quebec, because we believe Quebec will do her part." To a Toronto audience (Dec. 3) he stated that: "The Liberal party of to-day is just as truly fighting the battle of

democracy in Canada as are the Allied armies on the fields of Europe. The struggle in Canada is between autocratic and self-constituted power and the authority of the people." At Beaverton (Dec. 5) he declared that Unionist advertising prevented the press from publishing honest statements; at Brockville and elsewhere he denounced the C.N.R. agreement as a betrayal of the public treasury and interests. Sir Allen Aylesworth—whose only son was on active service—proclaimed Liberal loyalty to the War. In Toronto on Nov. 13 he declared "a politician who changed his political creed to be on the same plane as a man who forsook his religious beliefs—he was an apostate and a renegade." He denounced the Union Government as made up of hypocrisy and sham, declared Conscription not an issue as the 100,000 men would soon be Overseas, and freely condemned the Franchise Act. He spoke at Beaverton, Aylmer and other places. Mr. Mackenzie King, at Stouffville (Nov. 23) and other places, described Union Government as a fraud intended to win Elections and not the War: "Conscription might turn Canada into another Ireland."

The candidacy of A. J. Young against Sir George Foster in North Toronto attracted some attention. He had been forced to resign the Laurier candidacy in Nipissing because, though he pledged his support to Sir Wilfrid, he would not promise to support a Referendum or repeal of Conscription. In his appeal to the Toronto riding he declared the new Government and that of Sir R. Borden as the same and opposed it vigorously though saying little as to his own policy; on Dec. 4 he proclaimed himself a supporter of the Military Service Act and its enforcement. The popular personality of Sir Wilfrid Laurier was everywhere used by his friends and eulogized by many of his opponents; undoubtedly it was a factor in Ontario as elsewhere. As Hon. Mr. Murphy was reported to have said at Vars (Oct. 29), so said others: "War or no war, I will not desert Sir Wilfrid Laurier, no matter what policy he pursues. I am a supporter of Sir Wilfrid Laurier through thick and thin, although all others may desert him." Outside of the cities the influence of the Ontario United Farmers' organization was not asserted except through its organ the *Weekly Sun*. This journal was an offshoot of the late Goldwin Smith's influence and support and inherited his views upon many subjects—with Gordon Waldron, W. D. Gregory and W. L. Smith as from time to time in control of its policy. The two former were Laurier candidates in the campaign while James McEwing, ex-M.L.A., a leader of the organized farmers and a believer in Free-trade, etc., was also in the field—though unlike those of the West he supported the Opposition. To the *Sun* "the validity and legality of the so-called Union Government" (Oct. 17) was a matter for consideration—it would be a "government by usurpers for two or three months"; "the appeals and denunciations of the Laurier manifesto, we should think, put the claims of Union Government aside and elevate the preservation of popular government in this country to first place among the issues of the coming election" (Nov. 7); there was "no mistaking the temper of the farmers, who march in procession and pass resolutions protesting

against the taking of their help." Some meetings of farmers were held to protest against Conscription of their sons—notably at Perth where 500 paraded and met on Nov. 15 but, upon the whole, they did not take fire from either side. The Bracebridge *Gazette* of Nov. 12 made this appeal to them:

> Every man taken from a Canadian farm destroys the power of Canada to feed the men at the Front.
>
> Every man taken from a Canadian farm makes more terrible the cry of starving women and children for whom our men are fighting.
>
> Your neighbour did not send your man to war. Will you force your neighbour's man to go to war?
>
> Your man had his choice of what branch of war work he wished to do. Conscription gives no choice. Conscripts must use rifle, bomb, and bayonet.
>
> Your man went forth in honour. Your neighbour honoured him. Will you force your neighbour's man to go in dishonour as a Conscript?
>
> Italy has been over-run by Germany because Italy stripped her fields of men for the Front and left too few men on the farms to feed them.
>
> Conscription and the Union Government is a conspiracy of the rich and powerful against the lowly.
>
> Do you wish to enslave Canada's manhood to help the titled aristocrats?

Mr. Waldron went further and charged (Toronto, Dec. 3) that the Canadian casualties were excessive and that the conduct of the Army should be inquired into; *The Sun* had already declared (Nov. 28) that "many will maintain that these losses must not continue"; on Sept. 26 it asserted that "we cannot hope to exert our full strength in the War, if the soldiers are not assured that they will be ably led." Upon the whole, however, the Liberal campaign in Ontario was a personal one without such press or platform aid as the party was accustomed to. The best of a difficult situation was made with the candidacy of Sir Wilfrid Laurier in Ottawa, G. S. Gibbons as Liberal-Labour candidate in London, A. C. Hardy in Leeds against Sir Thomas White, as amongst the more interesting contests.

The Liberal campaign in Quebec was an easy one. Sympathetic and enthusiastic crowds, admiration and respect for the Leader, belief in his cause and advocacy, made the lot of speakers and candidates politically pleasant. The Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux, formerly Postmaster-General, was Sir Wilfrid's chief lieutenant and he had stated his personal view to the Canadian Club, New York, on Jan. 27 as follows: "There is one question which in my judgment is paramount—it is the great war now raging beyond the seas; it is the participation of Canada in that stupendous struggle—it is, above all, the determination we share in common that our Empire and her gallant Allies shall ultimately triumph." During the elections he stood upon Sir W. Laurier's platform, claimed that there were 25,000 French-Canadians abroad, pointed with pride to the gallant record of these troops, and keenly resented the term of "slacker" as applied to his people in campaign speeches elsewhere. As he put it at Longueuil on Oct. 22: "I am pleased to see my only son take up arms to fight for ideals of justice but I would have regretted to see the hand of a sergeant laid on the boy to compel him to fight." He dealt largely in this speech, as in others, with the personality of the Liberal leader: "Laurier is a Liberal, a Canadian patriot; above all, he is Laurier." He stated that he bore a message from Sir

Wilfrid asking all to obey the Military Service Act. As to the rest he "believed Conscription to be a *camouflage*, under which Rule Britannia could be sung and Quebec insulted as a Province of shirkers and slackers." At Nicolet on Oct. 28 he declared that the French-Canadian did not differ greatly from the English-Canadian in his opinion of Conscription, except that he was more outspoken. Noted in past years as a vigorous exponent and admirer of British connection he now expressed resentment at the action of: "Those supporters of Imperialism who direct the policy of the Government and wish to substitute compulsory for voluntary service. That means to renounce our traditions, to return to colonialism. As a Canadian and a Liberal I rise in revolt against this violation of our rights." As the campaign developed this view was amplified and at Maisonneuve on Nov. 10 he labelled Milner, Northcliffe, Atholstan, Beaverbrook and Flavelle as Imperialistic conspirators who must be dealt with by ballots, compared the Jingoes of London and Canada with the Junkers of Prussia, and declared that Sir W. Laurier had once refused a Peerage. Mr. Lemieux had the Montreal district as his special charge and, speaking at Hochelaga (Nov. 22),* was quoted in the press throughout Canada as follows: "Why have the Tories imposed Conscription upon Canada? To create a precedent, in order that Canada may become for England a reservoir of men for the wars of the future. That is the basis of Imperialism. I say that before doing more—and we have already done enough—we ought to wait until the United States has furnished at least 1,500,000 men."

The Provincial Premier made several speeches in support of his Federal leader. At Quebec on Nov. 9 he vigorously denounced Conscription and declared that: "The year 1911 was the end of an era of happiness in Canada. . . . 'Through the aid of Sir Clifford Sifton the Government have been able to get control of the newspapers and chloroform the journalists from the Atlantic to the Pacific." As to the rest: "There is no power here, there is no power in the world, that is able to impose Conscription on the Canadian people against their will. There is no man strong enough to impose this measure upon us if we do not want it." He did not fear the threat of isolation for Quebec: "We are on this land by right of discovery, the right of first settlers, of courage, of constancy, of a special decree of Providence, and we will remain on it." Sir Lomer Gouin also addressed a Montreal mass-meeting on Dec. 7 with Mr. Lemieux, Hon. W. G. Mitchell, Provincial Treasurer, and Hon. S. A. Fisher, with Mayor Martin in the chair. In speaking, the Premier described the work which had been accomplished "by every city, town and village in the Province in subscribing to the Victory Loan, the Red Cross, the Sailors' Fund and many other funds, the object of which was to succour the war-worn heroes in Flanders and in France—especially the Belgians, those glorious martyrs." He denounced the C.N.R. purchase and, as to Conscription, claimed that food, not men, was the vital need of the moment; he severely criticized the Food Controller and Sir Joseph Flavelle. "Our

* *Le Canada* report afterwards quoted by *Le Devoir*.

people have been here for 300 years," concluded Sir Lomer, "and no one can possibly treat us as strangers. It is our right to cultivate and preserve intact our ancestral traditions and we intend to do so with as much firmness as piety. Is there any place where the minority have been treated with more justice and respect than in the Province of Quebec?" Fair-play, tolerance and justice was declared to be his motto and that of Sir W. Laurier. At Sherbrooke (Dec. 11) Sir Lomer pointed out that in the Province there were only 5 counties having a majority of English-speaking people, yet 15 English-speaking Liberals had been elected by a majority of the French vote. He feared that Conscription and 100,000 men would not be the limit of call if the Unionists were returned to power. Besides Mr. Mitchell the Hon. J. L. Décarie and L. A. Taschereau also made some speeches on behalf of the Liberals but the Provincial Government, as a whole, took no active part.

The picturesque figure of M. Martin, Mayor of Montreal, was active in the campaign. On Nov. 7 he was reported as saying "the United States will be given Quebec after the War, if not the whole of Canada, as recompense for that country assisting Great Britain"; on the 6th he described the Masonic Lodge of England as responsible, through Sir R. Borden, for the Conscription Act; on Dec. 4 he told a Westmount meeting that "if Sévigny, Ballantyne, Blondin and Doherty are elected by the votes of soldiers it will mean nothing more nor less than revolt." Meanwhile, *Le Canada* was putting up a vigorous campaign. It claimed that French-Canadians were no longer properly represented in Ottawa Departments or Government appointments; that Sir Robert Borden's methods of rule were as truly Prussian as the Kaiser's. With it and *La Presse* the main issue was Conscription and they fought earnestly along that line—as did English-speaking candidates such as Hon. S. A. Fisher, A. R. McMaster, K.C., James Robb, A. B. Hunt, S. W. Jacobs, K.C., Capt. C. G. Power, F. N. McCrea, Dr. J. J. Guerin, N. K. Baldwin, W. C. Nunn, E. B. Devlin. There was no racialism in this respect. Of subsidiary issues there were many. Attacks upon England and the English were inevitable features of the campaign—illustrated by one statement that the English took to their heels at Mons and Ypres—and they were almost excusable in view of such reprehensible speeches as that of Prof. John MacNaughton of McGill University, in Montreal on Dec. 4, when he made a reference* to the French-Canadians which can only be mentioned here as an illustration, on the other side, of extreme racialism. Another regrettable statement which, also, circulated throughout Canada and arose out of General Currie's appeals for support to Conscription was that the General had been recalled to England on account of incompetence. Bishop Fallon's support of Union Government was keenly resented and *La Presse* became especially vehement in this respect while *Le Canada* described him as forming an alliance with Orange fanatics to suppress the French language. An important incident of the contest was the issue, under Nationalist auspices, of a pledge as to

* "If Laurier were to win he would win leading the cockroaches of the kitchen of Canada to victory."

Conscription which was signed by Lucien Cannon, Liberal candidate in Dorchester,* and others throughout the Province, as follows:

> I, the undersigned candidate for the Federal deputation, by these presents, agree, if I am elected, to exact the immediate suspension of the Military Service Act of 1917, and all of its effects, until the Canadian electors have been consulted by a plebiscite, and, should the majority of the people condemn Conscription in this Referendum, I agree to require that it (the Military Act) be considered as void and without effect from its very origin, and that in consequence the conscripts be liberated from service and discharged. I also agree to vote against any Government that should refuse to adopt the above-mentioned policy.

What the Nationalist support amounted to in the contest did not appear clearly as there, practically, was no division in the Opposition ranks and all were against Conscription. In the 1911 contest the Nationalists had won a number of seats and most of their members had given a general support to the Government until the development of the Conscription issue. In this 1917 Election there were no Nationalist candidates except T. Marsil, who ran as a Liberal and signed the above pledge, L. O. Maille, who appeared as an Independent, and A. Lavergne, who ran against a Liberal and a Unionist in Montmagny. From his intellectual but narrow watch-tower in *Le Devoir* Mr. Bourassa watched the contest and his utterances were so freely and widely quoted as to form one of the lesser issues of the campaign. On Nov. 8 he made a statement† after conference with "a great number" of his followers and friends as to what attitude they should take in the contest, which proceeded, in part, as follows: "The Unionist programme is the antithesis of all we admire, of all we believe and all we desire, while it is the synthesis of all we detest, of all we despise, both in men, ideas and tendencies in both parties. . . . We are at one with Laurier in contesting the right of the Tories to seek to cover up their crimes and misdeeds of the past six years. Adversaries of the Coalition Ministry, of all its platform and of its *personnel*, we accept M. Laurier's programme insofar as it approaches our principles and our ideas, and we reject it wherever it agrees virtually with that of the Ministry. We ask nothing better than to assist Laurier to throw out of power the Government which has proved itself a traitor to the nation." On the following day appeared a bitter attack on England along lines common with *Le Devoir* and stating that 4,000,000 men of military age were being deliberately kept in the factories and shops so as to evade service! On the 10th Nationalists were urged "to exact pledges from the Liberal candidates that they would not only oppose Conscription but would put themselves on record as against any and all additional efforts to prosecute the War."

Meantime, the result in the Maritime Provinces hung in doubt. Party feeling ran high and the members of the Provincial Governments took no active part in the contest on either side, though the Premiers were understood to favour Unionism. The retirement of E. M. Macdonald from the representation of Pictou, N.S., was a distinct loss to Liberalism as was the moderate support of Unionism

*A detailed despatch from Quebec in the Toronto *Globe* of Nov. 12.

† Despatch and translation in Toronto *Globe*, Nov. 9. Elaborate Report in Montreal *Star*.

given by Hon. W. S. Fielding though Hon. R. M. MacGregor of the Provincial Government supported the Liberal in Pictou. Much was expected and a strong support received from the Acadian vote in New Brunswick where *L'Acadien*, said to be the organ of Hon. P. J. Veniot, Minister of Public Works, was opposed to Conscription. These Provinces, however, had little outside aid in speakers and the Laurier organization was poor while the more influential Liberal press supported the Government. In the West things were different and, despite the acceptance of Union Government by the leaders of the Grain Growers, much was hoped from dissentient farmers who would refuse to put aside their Free trade and other convictions for any cause whatever. For a time the attitude of the Farmers' candidates, of whom there were seven and including J. A. Maharg, President, Saskatchewan Grain Growers, R. C. Henders, President of the Manitoba body, and J. S. Wood, Vice-President, R. McKenzie, Secretary, Canadian Council of Agriculture, Thomas Beveridge, P. Proudfoot, W. J. Ford—all but two running in Manitoba—was in doubt. On Oct. 4 they issued a statement declaring that "there is necessity for complete organization of the nation's forces for the winning of the War, including not only the conscription of men for fighting but also, and simultaneously, the control of industry and the mobilization of wealth." They admitted Sir Robert Borden's honesty of purpose but deprecated his alleged desire to organize a mere political combination; to them this would not be a real Coalition of the kind required. So with the failure to adequately conscript wealth and control industry. They stood for the national Free trade platform of the Council of Agriculture but were prepared "to forego the immediate discussion of Tariff amendments, if given full assurance that an adequate measure of excess profits and income taxation would be put in operation at the earliest moment." Eventually the adhesion of T. A. Crerar to the new Government settled this issue and on Oct. 31 the *Grain Growers' Guide* expressed its approval and support, Mr. Henders came out for the Government, Mr. Maharg was elected by acclamation as a Government supporter, Mr. Wood gave way for Hon. Mr. Meighen in Portage La Prairie and Messrs. Beveridge, Proudfoot, McKenzie in Manitoba, and Ford in British Columbia, retired.

This disposed of one Liberal hope but there were varied forms of Western feeling from which much support still was assured. Much was made, for instance, of the danger to farms and farmers of any further depletion of man-power but the assurance of Gen. Mewburn that "farmer's sons who are honestly engaged in the production of food will be exempt from military service," coupled with Mr. Justice Duff's decision that competent agricultural labour should not be withdrawn from the farms, were largely accepted as a pledge of policy. On the other hand Sir W. Laurier's promise of free agricultural implements and lower tariff duties was popular in the West. In Winnipeg S. J. Farmer, R. A. Rigg, and F. J. Dixon were vigorous Liberal workers and, on Oct. 19, a Provincial Liberal Association was formed with Alex. Dunlop, Neepawa, as President and the support of Senator R. Watson, H. Chevrier, ex-M.L.A., etc,

In Saskatchewan Messrs. W. R. Motherwell, Geo. Langley, G. A. Bell and W. F. A. Turgeon of the Provincial Government, remained Laurier supporters; the attitude of Hon. S. J. Latta was doubtful and the Premier and Hon. A. P. McNab were Unionists; G. A. Scott was actively Liberal and many other members of the Legislature stayed with their leader. Mr. Calder, however, controlled the Party organization and took it over to the Government. On Dec. 3rd Mr. Langley addressed a letter to Sir W. Laurier which was made public. In it he specified his support because: "(1) I am fully persuaded that the resources of this Dominion will be placed more completely at the disposal of the Empire in this critical time under your strong leadership"; because (2) the leadership of Sir R. Borden, Mr. Rogers, Mr. Meighen and Sir T. White represented to him "class selfishness and reactionary political thought"; because (3) the War-times Election Act disgusted him and the alleged appeals to race and religious fanaticism alarmed him.

Alberta was led by Hon. C. W. Cross, Attorney-General, in this matter and his influence was widely exerted for Laurier Liberalism. He had the support of Hon. J. R. Boyle, Hon. W. Gariepy and Hon. G. P. Smith of the Provincial Government, while A. G. McKay, M.L.A., J. L. Coté, M.L.A., and other members of the Legislature helped with speech and influence. Hon. Frank Oliver was the centre of the fighting in Edmonton where, despite his large former majorities and the work of his paper, *The Bulletin*, he had a powerful opponent in General Griesbach who was still at the Front. His newspaper, on Sept. 13, declared that: "To the Liberal West Laurier stands impersonally as the embodiment of an ideal created by years of service, distinguished by achievement when in power and by steadfastness to principle in defeat. In the mind of the West, Laurier and Progress are intimately associated." This personal issue was steadily urged and had its weight. In Red Deer Dr. Michael Clark was turned down by a Liberal Convention and W. F. Puffer nominated; eventually he ran as a Unionist. On Nov. 1 Alex. Allan of Calgary, President of the Provincial Liberal Association, called a Convention of "Liberals opposed to the Borden Government" to meet at Edmonton on Nov. 10 in order to discuss the situation and 500 representatives attended, including Messrs. Oliver, McKay and Gariepy with Martin Woolf, S. G. Tobin, H. P. Atkins and W. A. Rae, members of the Legislature. The Resolutions were ten in number and unanimously approved the platform adopted by the Liberal Convention at Winnipeg; condemned Messrs. Sifton, Calder and Crerar for entering the Union Government and substituting expediency for consistency, political intrigue and manoeuvring for statesmanship; re-affirmed confidence in Sir Wilfrid Laurier, his judgment and leadership; expressed its appreciation of the services of Labour in the War and regretted that its rightful claim to representation in the Government had been ignored; condemned the Military Service Act and the War-time Elections Act, because of manifest unfairness and the disfranchisement of a large percentage of the population; deplored the disfranchisement of all but a few women in five Provinces of Canada and declared for

the enfranchisement of all women on an equal basis with men; demanded that agricultural implements be placed on the free list and that the Agricultural resources of Canada be effectively organized to aid in winning the War; condemned Sir Robert Borden for failing to restore control of their natural resources to the Western Provinces and demanded immediate action; asked for increased pay for the soldier, increased allowances to dependants and the revision and enlargement of the Pension list to the end that every soldier and his family should be properly and fully cared for.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier was the keynote of the Convention and a despatch of endorsation was sent during the proceedings. Mr. Allan presided and Hon. F. Oliver spoke at length. Mr. Cross sent a telegram as to :"The intriguing cabal of profiteers at present in control at Ottawa and the so-called Win-the-War movement; I know of no one who can do more toward consolidating Canada's efforts in that behalf than our honoured leader, Sir Wilfrid Laurier." The Laurier Resolution expressed special confidence in Sir Wilfrid to realize the Convention policy: "We recognize that it is only by levying its fair contribution on the accumulated wealth of the country; the elimination of profiteering, the proper regulation of food prices to reduce the cost of living, and the rational utilization of the man-power of the nation, that Canada can hope to do her full share in the War." Mr. Cross took an active part in the ensuing campaign from Vancouver to Winnipeg and appeared to be really hopeful as to the result of the contest; Hon. A. G. McKay (one-time Liberal leader in Ontario) spoke at many points—Red Deer on Nov. 21, Edmonton on the 23rd and 24th, Battleford on the 28th. Mr. Oliver spent much time speaking in the North and at Morinville on the 30th developed a new point for his side in admitting that Compulsory military service was recognized in the Militia Act and declaring that: "The question is as to the application of this principle, whether it is wise or prudent to apply it at the present time and whether the measure is wisely framed; upon this I and my Leader took issue with the Government of the day." Supported by Hon. G. P. Smith, Provincial Secretary, he spoke at length in Edmonton on Dec. 7 while W. W. B. McInnes, lately a British Columbia County Court Judge, delivered in Calgary on Nov. 29 two of his characteristic orations in denunciation of the Borden Government, the "big interests," the profiteers, the "purchased venal press of Canada" and the evils of Conscription and the War-times Franchise Act while also eulogizing Laurier and Liberalism. This was the text of practically all the Western Liberal speeches in the campaign.

Other incidents included the activities of James Weir, M.L.A., a Vice-President of the United Farmers of Alberta and prominent in a United States organization, the Non-Partisan League, which had won place and influence in Saskatchewan and Alberta. He campaigned against Mr. Crerar in Manitoba and spoke at Winnipeg and many points in Alberta; urged the platform of the League, including a demand that 10% of accumulated capital be conscripted; was repudiated by H. W. Wood, President of the U.F.A., so far as representation of that organization was involved; described

Quebec as "the gem of Confederation" in a Winnipeg speech; met Mr. Crerar in joint debate at Minnedosa on Dec. 12 where he claimed, on Lord Rhondda's alleged authority, that Britain's needs were in this order—food, munitions, money, men; alleged in a letter to the *Grain Growers' Guide* that Mr. Crerar stultified the whole farmers' movement by joining a Government of the capitalist class. Mr. Weir spoke in Calgary on Nov. 29 in support of Rev. Wm. Irvine, Labour candidate in that city and also a Non-Partisan League promoter.

In British Columbia the Liberal campaign was led by W. W. B. McInnes and F. C. Wade, K.C., and organized by Hon. J. H. King of the Provincial Government—supported also by Hon. J. W. de B. Farris, K.C., Attorney-General, Hon. J. W. Weart, Speaker of the Legislature, J. S. Cowper, M.L.A., G. G. McGeer, M.L.A., Jos. Watters, M.L.A., of Yale, and M. A. Macdonald, M.L.A., late Attorney-General. Hon. T. D. Pattullo, Minister of Lands took no actual part but was a Laurier supporter at the Western Convention. Charles Macdonald, Gordon Grant and Joseph Martin, K.C., of Vancouver, and Stuart Henderson, Victoria, were active figures in the campaign. Mr. McInnes, who was an ex-M.P., after resigning as County Court Judge, accepted nomination in Comox-Alberni as well as Vancouver and spoke almost continuously for two weeks—mostly in Vancouver and once in Calgary. He took the ground that the advocacy of Conscription throughout the Dominion was an artificial cry worked up for political purposes, that Canada had men enough in England to supply re-inforcements for the next two years, and that the voluntary system was capable of maintaining Canada's quota at the Front. He issued a Manifesto on Sept. 15 which covered a whole newspaper page. In it he accepted the War as the vital issue and elaborated the above views; described the Canadian Patriotic Fund management as affected by snobbery and favouritism and denounced the Borden Government up to the hilt; wanted the Army democratized and the "vultures' feast of corruption" eliminated; urged greater production and the establishment of one language in the country. In this Province, as everywhere outside of Quebec, the Liberal campaign was complicated by the split in the party which took away so many leaders of Liberal work and opinion and turned them into opponents. There were, also, in British Columbia, 7 Labour or Socialist candidates—4 of them dividing the Liberal vote. Three of the Liberal candidates were former soldiers.

The Churches in the Election; Attitude of Labour and the Women.

There was no doubt about the position of the Churches in this election—except as to the rather clouded situation in Quebec. The Union Government Publicity Committee recognized this in a press appeal and advertisement on Dec. 13 which declared that "Onward! Christian Soldiers!" should be the battle-cry of every sane man and woman in the country; the Methodist Church openly took the lead in this connection. Officially the *Christian Guardian*, week after week, impressed upon its people

that there was only one issue—that of the War. On Dec. 12 it finally urged that neither party politics nor the position of Quebec should be allowed to separate Canada from that one consideration. The Rev. Dr. S. D. Chown, General Superintendent of the Church, through this journal on the above date and in the press throughout Canada, stated the situation with earnest frankness. He supported Conscription as essential and the Union Government as necessary for its enforcement; he deprecated the dominating attitude of Quebec and referred to the "grave danger lest one type of religion should obtain a preponderating influence in the counsels of the Government of Canada." He declared that: "This is a redemptive war, and its success depends entirely upon the height of sacrifice to which our people can ascend. It is under this conviction that ministers of the gospel feel in duty bound to enter the political arena. We shall fail, and fail lamentably, as Christian people unless we catch the martyr spirit of true Christianity and do our sacrificial duty between now and the 17th of December." Equally emphatic was the Manifesto of the General Board of Social Service, addressed to the Methodist people and signed by Rev. Dr. T. Albert Moore (Dec. 7). It urged support of the Union Government: (1) In order to adequately re-inforce the troops, (2) to prevent internal division and ensure enforcement of the Act, (3) as a duty to the soldiers and in order to properly aid in defeating Germany. The Toronto Methodist Ministerial Association, the Methodist Churches of St. John (N.B.) District, the Methodist Conference of Saskatchewan, passed earnest Resolutions along this line; countless preachers of this Church throughout Canada urged the same view.

The Church of England was not far behind. Archdeacon H. J. Cody, Toronto, was an outspoken supporter of the Government; Bishop David Williams of Huron issued a statement (Dec. 6) declaring that "the only course for us, consistent with our self-respect, independence and freedom, whether as Canadians, British subjects or as Christians, is to support the Union Government"; Bishop J. C. Farthing of Montreal issued a Pastoral (Dec. 6) describing the emergency and the policy of the Government, and appealing to his people to "close up our ranks and unite the country behind our Union Government for God and country"; Bishop J. A. Newnham of Saskatchewan declared in an interview (Dec. 12) that he was "heart and soul for the Union Government, believing that its policy is the wise one and its pledges and intentions are honest and tend to the real welfare of the country"; Bishop C. D. Schofield of Columbia, B.C., presided at a Unionist meeting in Victoria on Dec. 15 and urged support to the Union Government because it was "pledged to see that everything is done to forward the cause that the British Empire has taken in hand as from God Himself"; Bishop A. J. Doull of Kootenay, B.C., stated in a Pastoral (Nov. 30) that "the duty of supporting the Union Government is a sacred one" owing to the British need for men; Bishops J. A. Richardson of Fredericton and L. W. Williams of Quebec, at St. John on Dec. 16, urged support of the Government and the War; the Synod of Calgary Diocese by Resolution (Dec. 13) declared it "the duty of every

churchman, setting aside all thought of party politics, to support the present Government"; Archbishop S. P. Matheson, Primate of all Canada, in a Pastoral on Dec. 8, urged all voters to support the Government and active prosecution of the War; Bishop J. F. Sweeny of Toronto, in a Pastoral of Nov. 29, gave the following reasons for supporting the Government.

(1) Because it is non-partisan—being composed of the best men on both sides of politics.
(2) Because its *raison d'etre* is to 'win the War.'
(3) Because it pledges both sides equally to any policy or action that in their combined wisdom they may adopt toward this end.
(4) Because its determination is to keep full faith with the Motherland, in the matter of Canada's pledges, and thus with Canada's sons at the Front.
(5) Because to do otherwise at this time of stress for the Empire would be to emphasize division, the consequences of which might lead to disasters greater than can be estimated.

So far as this subject was concerned Bishop M. F. Fallon of London was the one outspoken representative of Catholicism and his manifesto of Dec. 6 was published and circulated all over Canada. In it he paid high personal tribute to Sir Wilfrid Laurier but declared that "every element opposed from the beginning to Canada's participation in the War, every element desirous that Canada should now withdraw from the War, as well as all those who hold it as a principle that Canada is not concerned in the War, are united in their opposition to Union Government and in their desire to bring back to power, for their own unworthy purposes, the great leader who disclaims all sympathy with the principles they profess." He described what Catholics in the United States and in Canada were doing for the War, denounced any slackening in Canada's purpose, described Conscription as absolutely necessary, declared the isolation of Quebec to be a danger, but one of her own choosing, and added that there was a still "graver danger in needlessly confusing religion with a question purely racial." As to the rest he urged all to support the Union Government. There was no official utterance from the Presbyterian Church—except the Toronto Presbytery—but the Rev. Dr. D. M. Gordon, Principal of Queen's University, Major the Rev. Dr. C. W. Gordon back from the Front, the Rev. Prof. Robert Law of Knox College, and the Rev. Dr. A. S. Grant, made strong personal appeals. The *Maritime Baptist* of St. John urged the greatness of the War issue; Rabbi S. Jacobs of Toronto asked the Jews to support the Government and British justice and liberty; a large body of Toronto clergy of every Protestant denomination met on Dec. 4 and urged support to Union principles, as did a similar meeting at St. Stephen, N.B. So it was all over Canada with countless sermons along this line from pulpits of all denominations as Dec. 17 approached, with also, Unionist meetings held in many church buildings.

The position of the Women in this Election was an interesting one. They were earnestly appealed to by the Government, the press, the pulpit and the platform and received a vote if qualified by age and allegiance and the fact of being a wife, widow, mother, sister, or daughter, of any person, male or female, living or dead, who was

serving or had served without Canada in any of the military forces, or within or without Canada in any of the naval forces of Canada or of Great Britain in the current war. The Prime Minister, in his Manifesto, stated that this war-franchise was granted because "if men die women suffer; if they are wounded women heal; if they are maimed women labour," and promised extension after the War. The estimated number of possible women voters under current conditions ran up to 1,000,000 with half that as the probable total. Union Government had the public support of Mrs. A. E. Gooderham, President I.O.D.E.; Mrs. A. B. Ormsby, President, Ontario Women's Citizenship Association; Mrs. E. A. Stevens, President, W.C.T.U. of Ontario, and Mrs. L. A. Hamilton, Chairman, Women's Section of Win-the-War League. On Dec. 14 Maj.-Gen. S. C. Mewburn, Minister of Militia, issued an Appeal to "Mothers of Canadian Soldiers" of which an extract follows:

> Is there not cause for just and solemn pride that your sons were not found wanting when the testing time came, but were foremost among men of valour and high spirit, eager to bear their part in the most momentous struggle in the history of the world? These men who left the shores of Canada were your sons; bone of your bone, and flesh of your flesh. Their sacrifice is your sacrifice, their suffering has been your suffering, and their honour is your honour. To you the nation offers its homage, gratitude and respect. The War is not yet over, though we have cause to be thankful for battles won and for many signs that the enemy is weakening under our blows. The end is certain, but the only path to victory is that of fortitude and patience. To weaken now is to lose all.

They were told in many directions that the War was made upon women by Germany to an atrocious extent and much was said of the Cavell murder; daughters of the late Edward Blake, Sir Oliver Mowat, Principal Caven and the widow of Dr. Carman appealed publicly for support to Unionism; Sir Robert Borden on Dec. 13 declared that in addressing over 50 meetings he had found women everywhere to be "strong of purpose, earnest and active in endeavour, clearly realizing that the issue is infinitely above all party or personal consideration." For the first time in Canadian history women shared in political Conventions, presided at political meetings, spoke, with men, from platforms to large and small crowds. Women organized in separate Associations in many centres and took their full share in the work of canvassing. On Dec. 6 the wives of leaders in the great Protestant denominations signed an appeal to all women to pray and vote for the best support of the soldiers; the Victoria (B.C.) *Colonist* on Dec. 16 had a full-page appeal to the women to vote against "a Bolsheviki intoxicated with the hope of power"; a Winnipeg Committee of 500 women aided the Unionists in that City and were backed up by a meeting of 2,000 women on Dec. 13, which was addressed by Hon. T. A. Crerar and others; in many Western places they had their own Committee rooms and paid their own expenses and took part in the parades when victory came; the Union Government Association of Quebec Province had a French-Canadian Ladies' Section, headed by Lady Angers, Mme. P. E. Blondin and Mme. L. J. Tarte with Mesdames P. B. Mignault, C. P. Beaubien, L. P. Rodier, H. Duverger and H. de Salaberry

upon the Committee. Amongst the women who did active service as speakers in the campaign were the following Unionists:

Mrs. H. P. Plumptre	Toronto.	Mrs. R. F. McWilliams	Winnipeg
Mrs. L. A. Hamilton	Toronto.	Mrs. Edward Brown	Winnipeg.
Mrs. G. G. S. Lindsey	Toronto.	Mrs. Harold Riley	Calgary.
Miss Constance Boulton	Toronto.	Capt. Julia Henshaw	Vancouver.
Lady Eaton	Toronto.	Mrs. Irene Moody	Vancouver
Mrs. A. B. Ormsby	Toronto.	Mrs. John Scott	Montreal.
Mrs. N. W. Rowell	Toronto.	Miss Helen R. Y. Reid	Montreal.
Mrs. P. D. Crerar	Hamilton.	Mrs. Grace McLeod Rogers	Amherst
Mrs. Charles Robson	Winnipeg.	Mrs. Colin H. Campbell	Winnipeg.

The Laurier Liberals did not have much publicity for their meetings and it, also, was difficult to find any large number of women supporters along public lines. In Toronto Mrs. Hector Prenter was active and in Vancouver Mrs. Ralph Smith; in Montreal Dr. Grace Ritchie England spoke for Sir Wilfrid, as did Mme. J. P. B. Casgrain, and in Winnipeg Mrs. George Armstrong.

Labour took an organized form in the Elections but was not actively hostile to the Union Government, despite the attitude of its leaders toward Conscription. The Government recognition of Parties for the polling of the soldiers created the opportunity and a distinct party was formed with Walter R. Rollo of Hamilton as the titular leader of 37 candidates. He ran against T. J. Stewart, and other candidates who may be mentioned were D. A. Carey in Toronto South who was, practically a Unionist supporter, A. Verville in Montreal who was a Laurier advocate, H. J. McVety in Vancouver, a long-time leader in Labour circles, R. S. Ward and R. A. Rigg, the latter resigning from the Legislature in Winnipeg and both running as opponents of Conscription and Union; Andrew McBeth in Regina who called himself a Liberal-Labour candidate and supported the Opposition. The tendency amongst most of these candidates was towards Socialism—in the West a rather extreme form and with two of the Ontario men calling themselves Social Democrats. There were three Labour candidates in Montreal who would not acknowledge the Rollo leadership, an Independent in S. Vancouver (Edward Gold), and 4 candidates in Alberta and Saskatchewan of the Non-Partisan League, including J. W. Leedy who supported the Opposition and D. H. Galbraith of Unionist tendencies. G. S. Gibbons (Lib.) in London received, also, the nomination of the local Trades and Labour Council as a supporter of Sir Wilfrid Laurier. In Montreal on Nov. 3 the Independent Labour Party of Canada, Quebec Branch, was formed with Joseph Ainey as President, and under the auspices of J. C. Watters, President of the Dominion Trades and Labour Congress, who, however, intimated that the Congress was taking no part in the Elections. The Federal programme of the new organization included free State insurance against sickness, old age and accident; abolition of prison labour in competition with free labour, a State bank to take the place of the existing system, free speech and a free press, abolition of the Senate, a fixed date for Federal Elections to prevent surprise contests. A Manitoba Branch was organized on Nov. 8. As the Election developed, however, it was clear that Labour would not be a serious issue; the War was too big a matter to admit of any third Party successes.

The Soldiers and the Election: Results of the Contest.

The Unionists made the Soldiers and their re-inforcement the vital issue of the Elections; at the same time every care was taken to see that their votes were polled whether in England, in France, in the United States, in the Navy, or elsewhere, as well as those of their dependants in Canada. The terms and arrangements were clearly defined in the Military Voters' Act;* the Prime Minister and the Leader of the Opposition each nominated 22 special returning officers and clerks for Overseas or elsewhere outside of Canada; each of the 300,000 soldiers, nurses, etc., abroad was allowed to vote only for a candidate upon his Party affiliation —Government, Opposition, Labour, or Independent—and not by his name, which caused some complications; arrangements for military voting within Canada and naval voting at sea, covering an estimated 40,000 men, were elaborated with special polls. Lieut.-Col. W. P. Purney, Overseas Clerk of the Crown in Chancery, was appointed to superintend the voting and the Government Scrutineer in France was Lieut.-Col. F. Manley Sims, C.M.G., D.S.O.; in England, Lieut.-Col. A. T. Thompson; those for the Opposition were respectively, Godefroi Langlois and W. T. R. Preston. Presiding Officers in charge were appointed for England as follows: Maj.-Gen. G. B. Hughes, Brig.-Gen. F. S. Meighen, Col. Charles A. Smart, Col. S. D. Gardner, Lieut.-Col. F. L. Armstrong, Major J. T. Hill. In France, and Europe generally, Col. Frank Reid was in charge. Those in Canada and for the Naval posts were as follows:

Major G. J. Dawson Edmonton.	Lieut.-Col. G. W. Marriott...Quebec.
Lieut.-Col. J. H. D. Hulme...Vancouver.	Lieut.-Col. A. B. Gillis.....Whitewood
Lt.-Col. A. L. Bonnycastle...Winnipeg.	Capt. F. C. C. Pascoe.....Halifax.
Col. Frank B. Black.....St. John.	Lt.-Com. C. J. Stuart.....Sydney.
Col. W. E. Thompson.....Halifax.	Vice-Adm. Wm. O. Storey...Esquimalt
Lieut.-Col. G. H. Gillespie..Kingston.	Col. Charles F. Winter.....Ottawa.
Capt. H. F. Reid.....Windsor.	Lieut.-Col. H. A. C. Machin.Ottawa.
Major N. M. Young.....Toronto.	Lieut. Col. G. A. Carruthers..Ottawa.
Major F. B. McRae.....Charlottetown.	Capt. M. W. Turner.....Ottawa.
Lieut.-Col. E. T. Leprohon..Montreal.	

In Overseas camps the soldiers commenced voting on Dec. 1 and the polls closed at 8 p.m., Dec. 17. Details of voting regulations were as follows: If the elector could indicate the name of the electoral district in which he last continuously resided for at least 4 months of the 12 months preceding his enlistment or appointment—or a place in that district—his vote went to that electoral district but if he could not specify these details the vote would go to any electoral district of which he had clear recollection as a one-time resident. If, by reason of non-residence in Canada, or from any other reason, he was unable to indicate any particular constituency or place, then he might stipulate the electoral district to which his vote should apply. Union Government appeals to these troops abroad were urgent and like those addressed to the people at home were based primarily upon the failure of voluntary enlistment and the need for re-inforcement. As to this an official statement was issued from Ottawa on Dec. 12 stating that the total Infantry reserves in France and England were 31,000, with only 16,500 immediately available.

* For details see Sub-Section, "War Legislation and Parliament," Pages 330-1.

The remaining 14,500 were undergoing training in England or were men convalescing there. The total Infantry enlistments for the 11 months ending Nov. 30 were 22,487, while the total Infantry casualties for the same period were 119,541. The remainder of troops in England, about 44,000, were in training and included re-inforcements for Artillery, Cavalry, Engineers, machine-gunners, pioneers, army service and army medical corps. Another Passchendaele fight it was said would wipe out the reserves immediately available. To the soldiers at the front two formal appeals were made. That for the Government took the form of a statement from its Liberal members signed by Messrs. Rowell, Mewburn, Sifton, Calder, Crerar, Ballantyne, Maclean and Carvell. It explained the reasons for Conscription and the formation of the new Government, described the negotiations with Sir W. Laurier, indicated the public support given to the Uuionist policy and added: "We regard the winning of the War as the supreme issue, and are resolved to leave lesser matters in abeyance while the united energy of the Canadian people is directed to that end. We pledge ourselves to labour unceasingly in the cause to which you have devoted yourselves. . . . We desire to prove ourselves worthy of you by aiding in the carrying on of the Government of the Dominion in an honest, straightforward way." Meanwhile on Dec. 6 a special cable was sent from 18 Liberal newspaper Editors supporting Union Government as follows:

The undersigned desire to express to you, and through you to the members of the Dominion's Overseas forces, the assurance:

(1) That in their opinion the present Union Government is formed primarily for the purpose of securing support for the troops in the field;

(2) That the new Government includes or has the support of practically all the Liberal leaders and has the support of all the Liberal Premiers in the Dominion except in Quebec, and

(3) That it can be relied upon to deal with conditions in Canada and abroad, which have been subject to criticism in the past.

(Signed)

Stewart Lyon, Toronto *Globe*	W. J. Taylor, Woodstock *Sentinel*
J. W. Dafoe, Winnipeg, *Free Press*	J. I. McIntosh, Guelph *Mercury*
J. E. Atkinson, Toronto *Star*	W. M. Davidson, Calgary *Albertan*
G. Fred Pearson, Halifax *Chronicle*	J. G. Elliott, Kingston *Whig*
E. W. McCready, St. John *Telegraph*	W. E. Smallfield, Renfrew *Mercury*
Cal. Davis, Hamilton *Times*	H. T. Blackstone, Orillia *Times*
T. H. Preston, Brantford *Expositor*	H. J. Pettypiece, Forest *Free Press*
W. F. Kerr, Regina *Leader*	H. B. Donly, Simcoe *Reformer*
H. P. Moore, Acton *Free Press*	H. Fleming, Owen Sound *Sun*

On the other hand advertisements appeared in various English papers and special Opposition appeals were issued and signed by W. T. R. Preston "on behalf of the Liberal candidates." In them, on Nov. 17 Sir W. Laurier was described as the greatest Colonial figure of this generation, loyal to the Crown and to British interests, pledged to support the Motherland "with the full resources of the Dominion," to give honest government, to eliminate political favouritism in the Army, to take care of the soldier—if returned to power —in all kinds of personal and public ways which were specified in eight general clauses. Various political charges followed as in this

paragraph: "While you, with true British courage and amazing fortitude have faced, and are preparing to face, appalling conditions and stupendous sacrifices, political vultures at home have been fattening, and are preparing to fatten still more, upon public expenditure and public necessities. Colossal fortunes have been amassed by Government pets through exorbitant profits, who have made no personal sacrifices nor suffered any personal inconveniences. The political hangers-on at Ottawa have been raking in the gold while you and your comrades were being raked by German shells." As to Conscription this explanation was given: "Sir Wilfrid Laurier voted against Conscription (1) because Sir Robert Borden had given his pledge that there would be no Conscription until after an Election, and (2) because the proposal was not accompanied with a Bill to Conscript the wealth of those who had grown rich out of war contracts and food profiteering." The Referendum would settle the issue, clear away dissension and bring about Union at home with "a full quota of re-inforcements." On Nov. 22 in the *Canadian Gazette* and other journals this statement was inserted over Mr. Preston's signature:

> Under instructions from Sir Robert Borden's Cabinet, Army Officers who are filling safety jobs are mobilized to organize and secure your votes in support of the Government.
>
> These officers have been furnished with a list of constituencies which they are charged to carry at all costs.
>
> This action by officers is a direct violation of the King's Regulations.
>
> That instructions have been given of this character on the authority of the Government justifies the allegation that the management of the Canadian Army is political to the core.
>
> It is no secret that this horde of 'cushey' officers is to organize and distribute the 'floating vote' to constituencies in which, but for this nefarious work, the Government Candidates will be defeated.
>
> By marshalling and dividing this vote in certain constituencies these officers hope to throttle the honest voice of the Dominion.
>
> This is being systematically and officially arranged. The man who steals your franchise commits a much greater offence than if he steals your purse.

From the men at the Front came, also, many appeals for support. The Rev. Dr. C. W. Gordon bore, and expressed, a strong one; Rev. Canon A. P. Shatford of Montreal wrote a vigorous one; Col. W. G. McKendrick of Headquarters Staff wrote to Mr. Rowell a most earnest description of the need. Other elements of urgency from the Front included an earnest letter from Maj.-Gen. Sir S. B. Steele to J. M. Godfrey, Toronto, published on Oct. 2; a long letter from Major J. A. Leger in *Le Moniteur Acadien* and others in the press from Rev. Father Thornton, Major J. L. Ralston, Major Stanley Bauld, Lieut. J. D. Cahan, and very many others—with an earnest message from Rudyard Kipling on Dec. 1 declaring that: "If re-inforcements are not forthcoming, Canada, after all her sons' mighty sacrifice in the last three years, must gradually go out of the War. That means that half-a-million devoted men will have been coldly repudiated by their own people." In a cable from General Turner, v.c., to the Minister of Militia, made public on Nov. 28, specific reference was made to this need of re-inforcements: "We who are close to the fighting zone know only too well

the bitter struggle which the Canadian Divisions are making to maintain their position. If the people of Canada would only realize that in order to maintain our Divisions at full strength men who have been wounded have to be rushed back as soon as they are fit without the leave or rest to which they are entitled, I believe there is not a patriotic civilian in Canada who will not stand heart and soul behind you in your endeavours." Speaking at Ottawa on Dec. 13 the Premier read a letter from General Sir Arthur Currie concluding as follows: "With the firm belief in our hearts that we shall be supported and upheld by all true Canadians, we pledge ourselves solemnly, before God, to keep faith with our fallen comrades."

In Canada the War Veterans were a factor. They were impelled by the issues to take part in the contest though, under organization form as the G.W.V.A., they were not supposed to have any politics. Major C. V. McCormack in Parkdale, Toronto, Major R. C. Cockburn in East York received the enthusiastic support of returned soldiers and the Toronto *Telegram*, At a Parkdale meeting (Dec. 2) Sergt. W. E. Turley, Secretary of the Provincial G.W.V.A., stated that this organization was not in politics but was behind the Union Government because it brought in Conscription to help the men at the Front: "There are 32,000 reasons under the sod in Flanders why it should go through." The G.W.V.A. worked also for Lieut.-Col. J. I. McLaren in West Hamilton and Colonel D. M. Sutherland in North Oxford—neither of whom had Government endorsement. The Ottawa Branch on Dec. 13 issued a declaration that: "Our Association knows no politics, and therefore we are glad to be able to support a Unionist Government because it is composed of the best men in both political parties whose sole object is the winning of the War, the support of our men at the Front and their dependants at home." It concluded with an appeal to vote for Government candidates and the British Empire. At Woodstock (Dec. 15) Sir Adam Beck supported Colonel Sutherland. In Montreal Lieut.-Col. J. J. Creelman, D.S.O., stood as an Independent candidate, supporting Conscription and a National Government, but eventually retired in favour of Sir H. B. Ames; Lieut.-Col. D. C. Draper, D.S.O., was a Government candidate in Brome and Major G. W. Andrews, D.S.O., in Winnipeg—the latter with the following platform:

1. The boys overseas need immediate and adequate re-inforcements.
2. A solid Quebec must not rule Canada.
3. Russia has collapsed. Will Canada be next?
4. Women are generally right. Next-of-Kin women are backing Union Government.
5. France has given 1 out of 7 of her population; Britain 1 out of 8; Australia 1 out of 14; Canada 1 out of 20. Surely we have not done enough.
6. A vote for Union Government is a vote for democracy, and a blow to militarism.

Major D. Lee Redman ran in Calgary as a Unionist and with the Government endorsation, but also as the official nominee of the G.W.V.A. of Calgary. The Provincial Executive of the Saskatchewan body issued a Manifesto on Dec. 15 declaring that 2,600 returned soldiers of the Province had "emphatically expressed themselves

in favour of Union Government." Signed by Major James McAra, President, a strong appeal was made for popular support. The Regina body worked hard to elect Dr. W. D. Cowan and held a mass-meeting in his behalf on Dec. 3 while Pte. Harris Turner, the blind M.L.A. and returned veteran, spoke throughout this Province for the Unionists. In Vancouver South the Unionist nominee was Major R. C. Cooper who was also endorsed by the G.W.V.A. Other soldier candidates were Major Aimé Chassé, Quebec; Lieut.-Col. Sam Sharp, N. Ontario; Major B. R. Hepburn, Prince Edward; Col. C. R. Peck, Skeena, B.C.; Brig.-Gen. W. A. Griesbach, D.S.O., Edmonton; Capt. R. J. Manion, Port Arthur; Lieut.-Col. Norman Lang, Humboldt; Lieut.-Col. James Arthurs, Parry Sound; Dr. J. L. Chabot, Ottawa; Dr. Peter McGibbon, M.C., Muskoka; Major J. W. Margeson, Lunenburg, N.S.; Capt. J. W. Brien, S. Essex; Col. H. F. McLeod, York, N.B.; and Capt. C. G. Power, a Laurier supporter in Quebec.*

Meanwhile the Elections had been proceeding. So far as the Government was concerned the arrangement of candidates in constituencies, as between Conservative and Liberal Unionists, was an essential point. In the East there was no exact rule with a succession of compromises according to local conditions and subject to certain obvious hitches—the lack of Government endorsement for Labour candidates, largely because of the absence of Unionists amongst them, and the unavoidable endorsement of some party candidates against soldiers. In the West, however, Sir James Lougheed and Mr. Burrell with Messrs. Calder and Sifton had the matter largely in hand and, after many conferences with other leaders and politicians, a general agreement of fifty-fifty for the 56 Western seats was announced on Oct. 25. In the country, as a whole, there was (1911) a Conservative popular majority of 669,594 to 625,103; in 1908, 1904, 1900 and 1896 there had been a Liberal popular majority averaging 60,000 in the four Elections; to this popular vote a part of the women now were added. In the late House the members totalled 221; in the new one they would be 235. The deferred elections were Halifax (2 seats), Nelson, Manitoba, (a new seat) and the Yukon. Nominations took place on Nov. 19 and 18 acclamations were announced, including Hon. W. S. Fielding in Nova Scotia, John McMartin in Glengarry, Robert Cruise in Manitoba and J. A. Maharg, with three others, in Saskatchewan—all Liberal Unionists; Hon. Martin Burrell (Cons.) in British Columbia and Hon. H. S. Béland, who was still a German prisoner, with 9 Laurier Liberals, in Quebec. Others were chosen later owing to retirement of opponents and, by election day, 29 had been returned without opposition, including such representative supporters of Sir W. Laurier as J. A. C. Ethier, L. A. Lapointe, G. H. Boivin, Hon. Jacques Bureau and L. J. Gauthier. Hon F. B. Carvell and Hon. F. B. McCurdy in New Brunswick were also returned as Government members. Lieut.-Col. Wm. Hendrie retired in West Hamilton as did W. B. Northrup, K.C., ex-M.P. for East Hastings—the latter a popular political figure who became Clerk of the new House of

Note.—See also Page 538 of this volume.

Commons. T. Marsil in Montreal and E. F. Dussault in Quebec also retired. On Election Day it was found that the Unionists had a majority of at least 40 and probably 60. The returns as finally settled appear in the following statement compiled from official sources:

ONTARIO

Constituency	Opposition Candidate	Government Candidate	Member Elected	Politics.	Majority.
Algoma East	L. O. Connor	G. B. Nicholson	G. B. Nicholson	Govt.	146
Algoma West	C. N. Smith	T. E. Simpson	T. E. Simpson	"	2,270
Brant	B. Doran	John Harold	John Harold	"	83
Brantford	J. W. Bowlby	W. F. Cockshutt	W. F. Cockshutt	"	3,692
Bruce North	John McAuley	Col. H. Clark	Col. H. Clark	"	1,690
Bruce South	R. E. Truax	A. E. McNab	R. E. Truax	Opp.	172
Carleton	F. H. Honeywell	George Boyce	George Boyce	Govt.	2,621
Dufferin	T. C. Dryden	J. A. Best	J. A. Best	"	2,991
Dundas	A. W. McIntyre	O. D. Casselman	O. D. Casselman	"	1,430
Durham	G. W. Jones	Hon. N. W. Rowell.	Hon. N. W. Rowell.	"	4,519
Elgin East	W. G. Charlton	D. Marshall	D. Marshall	"	308
Elgin West	Wm. Tolmie	Hon. T. W. Crothers.	Hon. T. W. Crothers.	"	1,647
Essex North	W. C. Kennedy	E. S. Wigle	W. C. Kennedy	Opp.	446
Essex South	Robt. Atkin	Capt. J. W. Brien	Capt. J. W. Brien.	Govt.	169
Fort William-Rainy River	A. H. Dennis	R. J. Manion	R. J. Manion	"	3,383
Frontenac	J. Halliday	Dr. J. W. Edwards	Dr. J. W. Edwards.	"	1,983
Glengarry-Stormont		John McMartin	John McMartin	"	Accl.
Grenville	P. A. McIntosh	Hon. J. D. Reid	Hon. J. D. Reid	"	1,277
Grey North	Dr. A. L. Danard*	W. S. Middlebro.	W. S. Middlebro.	"	2,294
Grey South-east	W. H. Wright	R. J. Ball	R. J. Ball	"	1,236
Haldimand	J. J. Parsons	F. R. Lalor	F. R. Lalor	"	1,216
Halton	W. D. Gregory	R. K. Anderson	R. K. Anderson	"	2,770
Hamilton East	G. Halcrow	Hon. S. C. Mewburn.	Hon. S. C. Mewburn.	"	6,752
Hamilton West	Lt.-Col. J. I. McLaren* / W. R. Rollo*	T. J. Stewart	T. J. Stewart	"	2,737
Hastings East	W. Cross	T. H. Thompson	T. H. Thompson	"	2,293
Hastings West	R. J. Graham	E. G. Porter	E. G. Porter	"	1,625
Huron North	A. Hyslop	James Bowman	James Bowman	"	2,029
Huron South	T. McMillan	J. J. Merner	J. J. Merner	"	543
Kent	A. B. McCoig	J. W. Plewes	A. B. McCoig	Opp.	1,089
Kingston	A. W. Richardson	W. F. Nickle	W. F. Nickle	Govt.	4,412
Lambton East	Neil McDougall	J. E. Armstrong	J. E. Armstrong	"	984
Lambton West	J. G. Morrison	F. F. Pardee	F. F. Pardee	"	2,849
Lanark	B. A. C. Caldwell	Dr. A. E. Hanna	Dr. A. E. Hanna	"	3,207
Leeds	A. C. Hardy	Hon. Sir W. T. White	Hon. Sir W. T. White	"	3,167
Lennox and Addington	E. W. Grange	W. J. Paul	W. J. Paul	"	1,582
Lincoln	Capt. E. J. Lovelace	J. D. Chaplin	J. D. Chaplin	"	5,519
London	G. S. Gibbons	Hume Cronyn	Hume Cronyn	"	4,353
Middlesex East	J. M. Rose	S. F. Glass	S. F. Glass	"	1,457
Middlesex West	D. C. Ross	G. A. Elliott	D. C. Ross	Opp.	399
Muskoka	G. H. O. Thomas	Peter McGibbon	Peter McGibbon	Govt.	1,579
Nipissing	E. A. Lapierre	C. R. Harrison	C. R. Harrison	"	44
Norfolk	J. A. Wallace	W. A. Charlton	W. A. Charlton	"	1,286
Northumberl'd	S. G. Dudley	C. A. Munson	C. A. Munson	"	3,397
Ontario North	Fred. Hogg	Lieut.-Col. S. Sharpe	Lieut.-Col. S. Sharpe	"	1,555
Ontario South	W. E. N. Sinclair	Wm. Smith	Wm. Smith	"	2,523
Ottawa	Sir W. Laurier / H. B. McGiverin	J. L. Chabot / A. E. Fripp	J. L. Chabot / A. E. Fripp	"	5,023 / 5,470
Oxford North	D. M. Sutherland	E. W. Nesbitt	E. W. Nesbitt	"	762
Oxford South	M. S. Schell	D. Sutherland	D. Sutherland	"	1,312
Parkdale	Gordon Waldron	H. M. Mowat	H. M. Mowat	"	9,608
Parry Sound	H. C. Hocken	Col. J. Arthurs	Col. J. Arthurs	"	3,139
Peel	B. Petch	Samuel Charters	Samuel Charters	"	2,252
Perth North	J. P. Rankin	H. B. Morphy	H. B. Morphy	"	1,868
Perth South	Wm. Forrester	Dr. M. Steele	Dr. M. Steele	"	57
Peterborough E.	W. H. Johnson	J. A. Sexsmith	J. A. Sexsmith	"	1,166
Peterborough W.	R. R. Hall	J. H. Burnham	J. H. Burnham	"	3,418
Port Arthur and Kenora	J. A. Dunbar	F. H. Keefer	F. H. Keefer	"	3,514
Prescott	Edmond Proulx	A. R. Metcalf	Edmond Proulx	Opp.	2,304
Prince Edward	H. Horsey	W. B. R. Hepburn.	W. B. R. Hepburn.	Govt.	1,476
Renfrew North	Norman Reid	Col. H. J. Mackie.	Col. H. J. Mackie.	"	524
Renfrew South	I. E. Pedlow	Lt.-Col. T. L. Martin	I. E. Pedlow	Opp.	63
Russell	Hon. C. Murphy	D. C. Merkley	Hon. C. Murphy	"	2,127

*The words "no endorsement" under Quebec mean that one or more candidates of varied affiliation ran, but only received a few votes; elsewhere the asterisk means that the candidates were of diverse political views in opposition to the Government nominee.

Constituency	Opposition Candidate	Government Candidate	Member Elected	Politics	Majority
Simcoe East	Manley Chew	J. B. Tudhope	J. B. Tudhope	Govt.	3,593
Simcoe North	E. C. Drury	Col. J. A. Currie	Col. J. A. Currie	"	1,947
Simcoe South	J. H. Mitchell	W. A. Boys	W. A. Boys	"	4,614
Timiskaming	A. E. Roebuck	Hon. F. Cochrane	Hon. F. Cochrane	"	2,157
Toronto Centre	J. G. Ramsden	Edmund Bristol	Edmund Bristol	"	8,133
Toronto East	J. T. Vick	Hon. Sir A.E.Kemp	Hon.Sir A.E.Kemp	"	11,495
Toronto North	A. J. Young	Rt. Hon. Sir G. E. Foster	Rt. Hon. Sir G. E. Foster	"	18,237
Toronto South	D. A. Carey	Dr. C. Sheard	Dr. C. Sheard	"	5,104
Toronto West	C. W. Kerr	H. C. Hocken	H. C. Hocken	"	9,618
Victoria	G. D. Isaac	Hon. Sir S. Hughes	Hon. Sir S. Hughes.	"	3,259
Waterloo North	W. D. Euler	W. G. Weichel	W. D. Euler	Opp.	1,864
Waterloo South	Adam Thomson	F. S. Scott	F. S. Scott	Govt.	2,787
Welland	U. M. German	Maj. E. E. Fraser	Major E. E. Fraser.	"	762
Wellington N.	Jas. McEwing	Wm. A. Clarke	Wm. A. Clarke	"	1,494
Wellington, S.	L. Cunningham	Hon. H. Guthrie	Hon. H. Guthrie	"	5,219
Wentworth	J. H. Dickenson	G. C. Wilson	G. C. Wilson	"	5,683
York East	Major R. C. Cockburn (G.W.V.A.)*	Thos. Foster	Thos. Foster	"	3,978
York North	Hon.W.L.M.King	J. A. M.Armstrong	J. A. M.Armstrong.	"	1,078
York South	A. MacGregor	W. F. Maclean	W. F. Maclean	"	14,023
York West	Frank Denton	T. G. Wallace	T. G. Wallace	"	9,074
		QUEBEC			
Argenteuil	P. R. McGibbon	Harry Slater	P. R. McGibbon	Opp.	429
Bagot	J. E. Marcile	J. E. Lafontaine	J. E. Marcile	"	3,226
Beauce	Hon. H. S. Beland		Hon. H. S. Béland.	"	Accl.
Beauharnois	L. J. Papineau		L. J. Papineau	"	Accl.
Bellechasse	C. A. Fournier	Honoré Grenier	C. A. Fournier	"	3,692
Berthier	Théodore Gervais	J. W. A. Ecrément	Theodore Gervais.	"	982
Bonaventure	Hon. C. Marcil	Phillippe Furois	Hon. C. Marcil	"	2,895
Brome	A. R. McMaster	Col. D. C. Draper	A. R. McMaster	"	438
Chambly and Verchères	J. Archambault	J. H. Rainville	J. Archambault	"	2,065
Champlain	A. L. Desaulniers	Hon. P. E. Blondin	A. L. Desaulniers	"	6,623
Charlevoix-Montmorency	Pierre Casgrain	P. Bouchard	Pierre Casgrain	"	5,068
Chateauguay-Huntingdon	J. A Robb	James Morris	J. A. Robb	"	1,845
Chicoutimi-Saguenay	Edouard Savard	Joseph Girard	Edouard Savard	"	10,031
Compton	A. B. Hunt	K. N. McIver	A. B. Hunt	"	1,903
Dorchester	Lucien Cannon	Hon.J.P.A.Sévigny	Lucien Cannon	"	3,731
Drummond and Arthabaska	J. O. Brouillard		J. O. Brouillard	"	Accl.
Gaspé	Hon. R. Lemieux	Dr. L. P. Gauthier	Hon. R. Lemieux	"	4,278
George-Etienne Cartier	S. W. Jacobs	*No endorsation	S. W. Jacobs	"	5,522
Hochelaga	J. E. LeSage	*No endorsation	J. E. LeSage	"	9,388
Hull	J. E. Fontaine		J. E. Fontaine	"	Accl.
Jacques-Cartier	D. A. Lafortune	Aquila Jasmin	D. A. Lafortune	"	2,311
Joliette	J. J. Denis	J. A. Dubeau	J. J. Denis	"	337
Kamouraska	Ernest Lapointe	S. C. Rioux	Ernest Lapointe	"	3,262
Labelle	H. A. Fortier		H. A. Fortier	"	Accl.
Laprairie and Napierville	Roch Lanctôt	Mastai Pagnuelo	Roch Lanctôt	"	3,252
L'Assomption - Montcalm	P. A. Séguin	J. B. T. Richard	P. A. Séguin	"	5,009
Laurier-Outremont	P. R. DuTremblay	Hon. P. E.Blondin	P. R. DuTremblay.	"	1,247
Laval-Two Mountains	J. A. C. Ethier		J. A. C. Ethier	"	Accl.
Lévis	J. B. Bourassa	Alphonse Bernier	J. B. Bourassa	"	4,190
L'Islet	J. F. Fafard		J. F. Fafard	"	Accl.
Lotbinière	Thos. Vien	M. J. E. Rosseau	Thos. Vien	"	3,732
Maisonneuve	Hon. R. Lemieux	C. H. Cahan	Hon. R. Lemieux	"	4,033
Maskinongé	H. Mayrand	*No endorsation	H. Mayrand	"	2,502
Matane	F. J. Pelletier	H. Boulay	F. J .Pelletier	"	4,563
Mégantic	L. T. Pacaud		L. T. Pacaud	"	Accl.
Missisquoi	W. F. Kay	G. P. England	W. F. Kay	"	1,138
Montmagny	A. M. Dechêne	George Blais	A. M. Dechêne	"	1,051
Nicolet	Arthur Trahan		Arthur Trahan	"	Accl.
Pontiac	F. S. Cahill	*No endorsation	F. S. Cahill	"	3,937
Portneuf	M. S. Delisle		M. S. Delisle	"	Accl.
Quebec County	H. E. Lavigueur	J. E. Blanchard	H. E. Lavigueur	"	4,253
Quebec East	Rt. Hon. Sir W. Laurier.	Omer Drouin	Rt. Hon. Sir W. Laurier.	"	6,395
Quebec South	C. G. Power	James Scott	Capt. C. G. Power.	"	1,315

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Constituency	Opposition Candidate	Government Candidate	Member Elected	Politics	Majority
Quebec West	George Parent	Henri Chasse	George Parent	Opp.	5,932
Richelieu	P. J. A. Cardin	E. A. D. Morgan	P. J. A. Cardin	"	2,521
Richmond and Wolfe	E. W. Tobin	M. G. Crombie	E. W. Tobin	"	1,448
Rimouski	E. Danjou		E. Danjou	"	Accl.
St. Anne	J. J. E. Guerin	Hon. C. J. Doherty	Hon. C. J. Doherty	Govt.	3,930
St. Antoine	W. J. Hushion	Sir H. B. Ames	Sir H. B. Ames	"	3,114
St. Denis	A. Verville	*No endorsation.	A. Verville	Opp.	8,830
St. Hyacinthe - Rouville	L. J. Gauthier		L. J. Gauthier	"	Accl.
St. James	L. A. Lapointe		L. A. Lapointe	"	Accl.
St. Johns and Iberville	Jos. Demers	P. J. Dore	Jos. Demers	"	3,908
St. Lawrence - St. George	W. C. Munn	Hon. C. C. Ballantyne	Hon. C. C. Ballantyne	Govt.	3,403
St. Mary	H. Desaulniers		H. Desaulniers	Opp	Accl.
Shefford	G. H. Boivin		G. H. Boivin	"	Accl.
Sherbrooke	F. N. McCrea	W. S. Davidson	F. N. McCrea	"	742
Stanstead	W. K. Baldwin	W. L. Shurtleff	W. K. Baldwin	"	701
Témiscouata	C. A. Gauvreau	Luc LeBel	C. A. Gauvreau	"	5,794
Terrebonne	J. E. Prévost		J. E. Prévost	"	Accl.
Three Rivers and St. Maurice	Hon. J. Bureau		Hon. J. Bureau	"	Accl.
Vaudreuil-Soulanges	Gustave Boyer	J. F. Bissonnette	Gustave Boyer	"	3,667
Westmount - St. Henri	J. A. Leduc	Hon.J.P.A.Sévigny	J. A. Leduc	"	1,012
Wright	E. B. Devlin	Andrew Pritchard	E. B. Devlin	"	1,542
Yamaska	Oscar Gladu	*No endorsation.	Oscar Gladu	"	2,689
NOVA SCOTIA					
Antigonish and Guysborough	J. H. Sinclair	W. A. Wells	J. H. Sinclair	Opp.	1,438
Cape Breton N. and Victoria	D. D. McKenzie	John McCormack	D. D. McKenzie	"	828
Cape Breton S. and Richmond	W. F. Carroll	J. C. Douglas	J. C. Douglas	Govt.	1,383
	G. W. Kyte	R. H. Butts	R. H. Butts	"	907
Colchester	G. H. Vernon	F. B. McCurdy	F. B. McCurdy	"	Accl.
Cumberland	H. J. Logan	Hon.E. N.Rhodes	Hon. E. N. Rhodes.	"	1,196
Digby and Annapolis	L. J. Lovitt	A. L. Davidson	A. L. Davidson	"	819
Halifax	E. Blackadar	Hon.A.K.Maclean	Hon.A. K. Maclean	"	Accl.
	R. H. Eisnor	P. F. Martin	P. F. Martin	"	Accl.
Hants	L. H. Martell	H. B. Tremain	H. B. Tremain	"	293
Inverness	A. W. Chisholm	Thos. Gallant	A. W. Chisholm	Opp.	1,286
King's	James Sealy	Rt. Hon. Sir R. Borden	Rt. Hon. Sir R. Borden	Govt.	1,417
Lunenburg	Wm. Duff	J. W. Margeson	Wm. Duff	Opp.	838
Pictou	R. H. MacKay	Alex. McGregor	Alex. McGregor	Govt.	757
Shelburne and Queen's		Hon. W. S. Fielding	Hon. W. S. Fielding	"	Accl.
Yarmouth and Clare	Hon.J.W.Commeau	E. K. Spinney	E. K. Spinney	"	1,016
NEW BRUNSWICK					
Charlotte	W. F. Todd	T. A. Hart	T. A. Hart	Govt.	617
Gloucester	Onés. Turgeon	J. E. de Grace	Ones. Turgeon	Opp.	Accl.
Kent	A. T. Leger	F. J. Robidoux	A. T. Leger	"	2,240
Northumberland	John Morrissey	Wm. S. Loggie	Wm. S. Loggie	Govt.	1,047
Restigouche and Madawaska	Pius Michaud	D. A. Stewart	Pius Michaud	Opp.	2,806
Royal	Fred. E. Sharp	Gen. H. H. McLean	Gen. H.H.McLean	Govt.	3,125
St. John City and Counties of St. John	W. P. Broderick	R. W. Wigmore	R. W. Wigmore	"	7,900
and Albert	A. F. Emery	S. E. Elkin	S. E. Elkin	"	8,081
Victoria and Carleton	James E. Porter	Hon. F. B. Carvell.	Hon. F. B. Carvell.	"	Accl.
Westmoreland	A. B. Copp	O. B. Price*	A. B. Copp	Opp.	1,663
York-Sunbury	N. W. Brown	Col. H. F. McLeod.	Col. H. F. McLeod.	Govt.	3,864
MANITOBA					
Brandon	H. S. Paterson	Dr. H. P. Whidden.	Dr. H. P. Whidden.	Govt.	10,136
Dauphin		Robt. A. Cruise	Robt. A. Cruise	"	Accl.
Lisgar	E. W. Quinn	Ferris Bolton	Ferris Bolton	"	3,221

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Constituency	Opposition Candidate	Government Candidate	Member Elected	Politics	Majority
Macdonald	W. H. Walsh	R. C. Henders	R. C. Henders	Govt.	3,766
Marquette	F. C. Hamilton	Hon. T. A. Crerar	Hon. T. A. Crerar	"	7,520
Neepawa	Alex. Dunlop	F. L. Davis	F. L. Davis	"	3,056
Nelson		J. A. Campbell	J. A. Campbell	"	Accl.
Portage la Prairie	F. Shirtliff	Hon. A. Meighen	Hon. A. Meighen	"	3,635
Provencher	J. P. Molloy	J. R. Johns	J. P. Molloy	Opp.	185
Selkirk	J. E. Adamson	Thomas Hay	Thomas Hay	Govt.	2,815
Souris	T. H. Buck	A. E. Finley	A. E. Finley	"	Accl.
Springfield	G. J. Charette	R. L. Richardson	R. L. Richardson	"	2,089
Winnipeg Cent.	R. S. Ward	Maj.G.W.Andrews.	Maj.G.W.Andrwes.	"	20,930
Winnipeg North	R. A. Rigg	R. M. Blake	R. M. Blake	"	6,184
Winnipeg South.	N. T. McMillan	G. W. Allan	G. W. Allan	"	16,515
BRITISH COLUMBIA					
Burrard	P. Donnelly	S. J. Crowe	S. J. Crowe	Govt.	7,859
Cariboo	R. F. Leighton	F. J. Fulton	F. J. Fulton	"	3,206
Comox-Alberni	W. W. B. McInnes.	H. S. Clements	H. S. Clements	"	1,490
Kootenay East	R. E. Beattie	Dr. S. Bonell	Dr. S. Bonell	"	1,849
Kootenay West.	W. Maxwell	R. F. Green	R. F. Green	"	3,642
Nanaimo	H. A. Stewart	J. C. McIntosh	J. C. McIntosh	"	7,199
N. Westminster.	R. C. McRae	W. G. McQuarrie	W. G. McQuarrie	"	4,498
Skeena	Alfred Stork	Col. C. W. Peck	Col. C. W. Peck	"	695
Vancouver Centre	W. W. B. McInnes.	H. H. Stevens	H. H. Stevens	"	8,179
Vancouver S.	Chas. MacDonald	Maj. R. C. Cooper	Maj. R. C. Cooper.	"	4,428
Victoria City	S. Henderson	S. F. Tolmie	S. F. Tolmie	"	8,764
Westminster District	F. B. H. Ramsay	F. B. Stacey	F. B. Stacey	"	2,282
Yale		Hon. M. Burrell	Hon. M. Burrell	"	Accl.
P. E. ISLAND					
King's	J. J. Hughes	Jas. McIsaac	Jas. McIsaac	Govt.	52
Prince	Joseph Read	A. A. Lefurgey	Joseph Read	Opp.	324
Queen's	A. B. Warburton	D. Nicholson	D. Nicholson	Govt.	58
	J. E. Sinclair	Alex. Martin	J. E. Sinclair	Opp.	3
SASKATCHEWAN					
Assiniboia	E. Waddington	J. G. Turriff	J. G. Turriff	Govt.	4,524
Battleford	W. G. A. Gourlay	H. O. Wright	H. O. Wright	"	3,711
Humboldt	J. L. Barry	Col. Norman Lang	Col. Norman Lang.	"	2,174
Kindersley	J. T. Seward	E. T. Meyers	E. T. Meyers	"	5,560
Last Mountain		J. F. Johnston	J. F. Johnston	"	Accl.
Mackenzie	G. W. McPhee	*G. W. McPhee / J. F. Reid	J. F. Reid	"	677
Maple Creek		J. A. Maharg	J. A. Maharg	"	Accl.
Moosejaw	James Somerville.	Hon. J. A. Calder.	Hon. J. A. Calder.	"	5,920
N. Battleford	Chas. Comerford	C. E. Long	C. E. Long	"	1,898
Prince Albert	Sam. McLeod	Andrew Knox	Andrew Knox	"	3,590
Qu'Appelle		L. Thomson	L .Thomson	"	Accl.
Regina	A. McBeth	W. D. Cowan	W. D. Cowan	"	7,964
Saltcoats	John Rowan	Thos. MacNutt	Thos. MacNutt	"	2,963
Saskatoon	Jas. W. Casey	J. R. Wilson	J. R. Wilson	"	7,806
Swift Current	M. J. Reilly	Ira E. Argue	Ira E. Argue	"	3,772
Weyburn		R. F. Thompson	R. F. Thompson	"	Accl.

*Mr. McPhee had the distinction of being endorsed by both Leaders and defeated.

ALBERTA					
Battle River	D. W. Warner	W. J. Blair	W. J. Blair	Govt.	1,538
Bow River	J. E. Gouge	H. H. Halladay	H. H. Halladay	"	761
Calgary East	Wm. Irvine	D. E. Redman	D. E. Redman	"	4,452
Calgary West	J. A. Irving	T. M. M. Tweedie	T. M. M. Tweedie	"	6,971
Edmonton East	A. E. May	H. A. Mackie	H. A. Mackie	"	2,653
EdmontonWest	Hon. F. Oliver	W. A. Griesbach	Gen.W.A.Griesbach	"	2,696
Lethbridge	L. L. Pack	W. A. Buchanan	W. A. Buchanan	"	2,834
Macleod	D. R. McIvor	H. M. Shaw	H. M. Shaw	"	2,518
Medicine Hat	C. B. Reilly	Hon. A. L. Sifton	Hon. A. L. Sifton	"	3,301
Red Deer	W. F. Puffer	Michael Clark	Michael Clark	"	2,413
Strathcona	A. T. Mode	J. McC. Douglas	J. McC. Douglas	"	2,599
Victoria	W. H. White	J. B. Holden	W. H. White	Opp.	254
Yukon	F. P. Congdon	Dr. A. Thompson	Dr. A. Thompson	Govt.	—

The distinctive features of the result were (1) the unanimity of the French-Canadians against Union Government and Conscription

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and in favour of Sir W. Laurier; (2) the pronounced sweep in Ontario where only 8 Opposition members were elected out of 82 with several of these threatened by the soldiers' vote when its count should be completed; (3) the great success of Unionism in the West and British Columbia where the Opposition won 3 seats out of 55; (4) the election of 14 soldiers returned from active service and the defeat by large majorities of all Labour or Socialist candidates except Mr. Verville of Montreal who was more Liberal than Labour in politics; (5) the immense size of the Unionist majorities in Canada generally and of the Laurier majorities in Quebec. As to comments Mr. Calder, who with Mr. Meighen, came out of the contest with much Western *prestige* expressed his delight in the result and the need for Government action "in a big, aggressive way" and Mr. Sifton declared that the result insured "future development of the West along non-partisan lines." Mr. Meighen described the Election as a national character test of the sternest kind: "Every appeal that could be addressed to the selfish, weak and the timid, every allurement that attended the prospect of immediate comfort, every temptation to seek individual advantage rather than to use the ballot as the citizen of a nation, was brought into play. . . . It was a call of duty to the absent; a call of honour from the State; and the conscience of the nation triumphed." Messrs. Doherty, Ballantyne and Ames, who were the only Unionists from Quebec Province, in interviews regretted the French-Canadian attitude while Sir Herbert Ames stated that this particular vote in St. Antoine, Montreal, had left him entirely.

The Toronto *Star*, in dealing with the Quebec situation, alleged the vital point to be that "we in Ontario and the West regard the War as a Canadian question, and Quebec does not." *L'Evenement* (Cons.) was explicit: "Province of Quebec, you have got what you wanted! Under a leader in whom you have for so long placed your confidence, and who has conducted you into so dangerous a position by placing you in opposition to almost all the rest of the Confederation, you are now really isolated and alone in your corner, unable to do anything either for yourself or for anyone else." *Le Soleil* claimed a Laurier popular majority in Quebec of 200,000 and declared that fanaticism and race cries had defeated the Leader but that in any case he would have more followers in the next House than in the 1911-17 Parliament; Arthur Sauvé, Conservative leader in the Quebec Legislature, thought the result a triumph for Bourassa and his ideas in Quebec; *La Presse* declared Quebec to be true to its National obligations and urged a revival of the *Bonne Entente; Le Canada* declared the result due to "an electorate which was led to believe that Conscription was directed against French-Canadians alone, and that it was a punishment we deserved"; the Halifax *Acadian* described it as due to the anti-Quebec cry while the Montreal *Herald* urged a new invitation to Laurier to enter the Cabinet —a proposal strongly criticized in part of the Ontario and Western press; the *Grain Growers' Guide* was delighted over the election of six leaders in the Western farmers' movement. Henri Bourassa in *Le Devoir* described the result as a victory for Independence:

"The French-Canadians resisted *en masse* because they are *en masse* and by instinct Nationalist. After the War parties will be broken up again. The alignment will be on two principal questions—the settlement of our accounts with England and the readjustment of our economic equilibrium. . . . In the conflict between Imperialism and Nationalism the place of the French-Canadians is established." As to Party totals—important to politicians when the War should end and new adjustments be possible—the Conservatives elected numbered 115, the Laurier Liberals 82, the Union Liberals 38. The result by Provinces and in detail was as follows:

Province	Liberals	Union	Conserv-atives	Govt. Civilian Vote	Opp. Civilian Vote	Govt. Soldiers' Vote	Opp. Soldiers' Vote
P.E. Island.....	2	0	2	10,450	12,224	2,775	434
Nova Scotia.....	4	3	9	40,985	49,831	10,699	1,474
New Brunswick....	4	4	3	35,871	32,397	9,934	919
Quebec.....	62	1	2	61,808	240,504	14,206	2,927
Ontario.....	8	12	62	419,928	263,300	95,212	5,793
Manitoba.....	1	6	8	83,469	26,073	23,698	1,157
Saskatchewan.....	0	7	9	68,424	30,829	12,996	2,672
Alberta.....	1	4	7	60,399	48,865	19,575	1,055
British Columbia...	0	1	12	59,944	40,050	26,461	2,059
Yukon.....	0	0	1	666	776	293	32
Total.....	82	38	115	841,944	744,849	215,849	18,522

The total Government vote of all kinds, according to the Report of W. F. O'Connor, General Returning Officer, was 1,057,793 and the total for the Opposition 763,371. Of the Soldiers' vote 37,386 was polled in North America, 112,095 in France and 84,890 in England—a total of 234,371 including, apparently, those taken at sea and in Italy. Three Ontario Liberal members who voted Conscription, but were not endorsed by the Government, held their seats—Duncan Ross in W. Middlesex, R. E. Truax in S. Bruce and A. B. McCoig in Kent. Sir W. Laurier was defeated in Ottawa and W. M. German in Welland by a Conservative, though he had supported Conscription; Hon. Frank Cochrane, though fighting in Timiskaming a combined French and Labour oppposition, was elected. The highest majority was that of Major G. W. Andrews, D.S.O., in Centre Winnipeg (20,930); next to him was Sir G. E. Foster, 18,237, in North Toronto; G. W. Allan, K.C., had 16,515 in Winnipeg South and W. F. Maclean came next in South York with 14,023; Edouard Savard in Chicoutimi had 10,031, and the Rev. Dr. H. P. Whidden in Brandon 10,136. All were Unionists except Mr. Savard. On Dec. 13 Sir Robert Borden issued a statement declaring that:

It was not a partisan victory in any sense. The splendid elements of the Liberal party who worked so strenuously and with such magnificent results in every Province except one are to be congratulated equally with the Conservatives. Equally fine was the spirit of the Conservatives who, regardless of party affiliations, supported and elected Union-Liberal candidates in many ridings. It was a notable test of democracy. The Canadian people, after more than three years of heroic devotion and untold sacrifice, were called upon to say whether Canada's effort in the War should be maintained. In the midst of the campaign the test of compulsory military service had to be applied. No more severe trial of the self-endurance of a democracy was ever made.

THE EASTERN PROVINCES OF CANADA

Ontario: Government, Legislation and Political Issues.

The Hearst Government in 1917 had important issues to deal with but they were not, in the main, of a partisan nature. The Prime Minister was knighted during the year as the successor of Sir Oliver Mowat and Sir James Whitney; he delivered a number of eloquent speeches upon war-work and its problems and in the Union Government campaign; he proved himself an energetic Minister of Agriculture and helped to promote production. His Government further advanced the Hydro-Electric policy and perfected the administration of the Workmen's Compensation Act and the operation of Prohibition, gave a vote to Women and standardized municipal accounting with, also, the creation of a Deputy Minister and Bureau of Municipal Affairs.

During the year the Premier promised a Deputation (Feb. 9) careful attention to certain Town-Planning suggestions; declined (Apr. 1), on account of War conditions, to undertake at present the building of a College of Arts; arranged with N. W. Rowell, K.C., Leader of the Opposition (Apr. 6) not to have any more bye-elections in Ontario until after the War and no Provincial election, at least, until after another Session; told a Delegation (Apr. 25) that there was room for successful ranching in Ontario and that "the Provincial Prison Farm at Burwash had proved that the luscious clover and grasses of Northern Ontario were superior for feeding purposes to those of Alberta"; dealt in elaborate and detailed form with the constitution and character of Ontario institutions in a University of Toronto lecture on May 10; joined hands with Mr. Rowell and others at a non-political meeting in Toronto (June 11) and made an earnest plea to enact and support Conscription, "to exercise every force, to use every endeavour, to enact every Act of Parliament that is possible to strengthen our line at the Front and win the War, to bring the full force of the nation to play in this great death struggle"; spoke on July 2 at Exhibition Park to thousands of people on the lessons of Canada's 50 years of Confederation and the need of fresh consecration to the cause of liberty through re-inforcements of men and munitions; addressed a Win-the-War Convention in Toronto (Aug. 2) with the declaration that the "only choice left to us is the choice between fulfilment of our solemn obligation to our men at the Front and desertion—between courage, determination and action and everlasting dishonour and disgrace."

As Minister of Agriculture Sir Wm. Hearst published throughout the Province a series of appeals during the year for increased production and did much to ensure progress by urging the organization of vegetable gardens in every possible locality; by obtaining the help of High School boys in seeding farms and reaping harvests; by calling on city men and retired farmers to enlist in the fight against food shortage; by running agricultural-instruction cars over the

Grand Trunk lines in Eastern Ontario fully equipped with exhibits, samples, modern machinery and instructors; by asking manufacturers in August to release as many men as they possibly could for harvest work on the farms—with 10,000 men or boys required; by purchasing and putting into 37 counties of the Province over 90 farm tractors in order to facilitate seeding for the 1917 and 1918 crops; by appointing R. R. Harding, a Thorndale sheep-breeder, to make a complete survey of the waste lands of old and new Ontario and to obtain full information as to their possibilities in cattle and sheep-ranching; by helping the Toronto Board of Trade to launch its campaign (Mar. 21) for the mobilization of urban labour resources to assist agricultural production and pledging the Government's co-operation with any other organization in the Province along these lines; by establishing a Government Employment Bureau to aid the farmer in obtaining labour; by urging attention to sheep-raising in a Province where 600,000 sheep compared with 7,000,000 in New York State; by holding a Provincial Conference at the Parliament Buildings on Oct. 31 to promote potato cultivation and (Nov. 6) another to give an impetus to hog production on the farm and through urban co-operation; by issuing leaflets and pamphlets on egg-production, pig-feeding and many similar subjects; by giving all possible Government aid to the Ontario Agricultural College which in 1917 had 675 students in its general courses, 360 in Domestic Science and 398 in the Summer Courses, with over 500 of its men on active service; by continuing grants and support to the Women's Institutes with their record of 10,052 rural meetings in 1915-16, an attendance of 225,000 and a membership of 30,335; by proclaiming in varied speeches that "Canadian soldiers were holding the first-line trenches in France but that the second-line trenches were the farms of Canada." Dr. G. C. Creelman, the new Commissioner of Agriculture, ably and continuously seconded, during the year, the more public efforts of the Minister, with a policy which included the obtaining of additionl farm labour from the United States, the establishment of Seed farms, the encouragement of Co-operative Societies and arrangement for Loans to farmers at moderate rates, extension of the Ontario Veterinary College course, with its 230 students, to four years, the promotion of Apple consumption, increase of Poultry and provision of cheap Waterwork plants for the farms. The Federal grant for Agricultural Education was $336,303 in 1917-18 and $301,158 in 1916-17. This Department also issued an immense number of special publications and amongst them were the following in 1917:

Fruit-Tree Diseases of Ontario	J. E. Howett; Lawson Caesar.
Wheat and Rye	C. A. Zavitz.
Feeding Stock Suggestions	Prof. G. E. Day.
Insects Affecting Vegetables	Prof. C. J. S. Bethune.
Pruning: Fruit-Trees and Bushes	F. M. Clement; F. S. Reeves.
Dairy Cattle	A. Leitch; H. M. King; J. P. Sackville.
The Pear in Ontario	F. M. Clement; O. J. Robb.
Farm Poultry	W. R. Graham; F. N. Marcellus.
Wintering of Bees in Ontario	Morley Pettit.
Tuberculosis of Poultry	D. H. Jones.
Insects Attacking Fruit Trees	Lawson Caesar B.A., B.S.A.

The Department, meanwhile, had initiated and aided an Organization of Resources Committee with Sir John Hendrie, Lieut.-Governor,

as Chairman and the Prime Minister and Mr. Rowell as Vice-Chairmen and Dr. A. H. Abbott as Secretary. It issued an earnest explanatory appeal for increased production and advertised largely along similar lines; promoted co-operative vegetable gardens and had all kinds of Societies throughout the Province at work in this connection; by the end of 1917 it had 525 local Committees throughout Ontario and aided in the substantial increase which was shown after the harvest season; made strong efforts to induce city men to help on the farms and published a statement showing that there were 978 villages in the Province with from 100 to 1,000 people, 141 towns and villages of 1,000 to 5,000, and 43 towns or cities of 5,000 or over from which help could come; organized the planting of vacant lots and conducted a campaign as to the value of fish for daily food. In this general work the Education Department and the Labour Bureau co-operated with the Premier and the Committee and at the close of this year Sir Wm. Hearst was able to thank 5,000 High School boys, in particular, for their help on the farms. As to details the Hon. T. W. McGarry, Provincial Treasurer, announced for the Government on May 7 that the sum of $200 would be made available at the nearest Bank for every Ontario farmer who desired to increase his acreage and needed the money to buy seed—loans to be repayable with interest at six per cent. on Nov. 1, after the farmer had sold his crop. If the crop failed and the farmer was unable to repay the money, the Government would make it good. If all the 175,000 farmers of Ontario had taken advantage of this offer it would have involved $35,000,000; a large proportion, of course, did not need any monetary help. On Apr. 3 a mass-meeting was held in Toronto to promote the labour end of the Campaign, a War Production Club was organized with this object in view and the Toronto Women's War-Time Thrift Committee joined in the effort with a Provincial Conference of women held in Toronto on July 24 and addressed by Lady Hendrie, Lady Hearst, Mrs. W. E. Sanford, Mr. Rowell and others. The Government and its workers had to meet during the year the indirect hostility of the Weekly *Sun*—a farmers' paper. It was illustrated by such statements as this on July 25: "When farmers produce a second blade of grass, some other fellow gets that other blade. They have learned that a small crop and comparatively high prices pay better, because there is less outlay for labour, than a big crop and very low prices." On the other hand the Government was greatly aided, and the Department of Agriculture, particularly, by a large number of farmers' organizations, of which the following list shows the Presidents for this year:

Ontario Horticultural Association	Dr. F. E. Bennett	St. Thomas.
Ontario Agricultural and Experimental Union	H. Sirrett	Brighton.
Ontario Corn-Growers' Association	R. W. Knister	Comber.
Ontario Swine Breeders' Association	John I. Flatt	Hamilton.
Ontario Large Yorkshire Breeders' Association	J. C. Stuart	Osgoode.
Ontario Berkshire Breeders' Association	Frank Teasdale	Concord.
Ontario Horse Breeders' Association	Wm. Smith, M.P.	Columbus
Ontario Sheep Breeders' Association	Jas. Douglas	Caledonia.
Western Ontario Poultry Association	J. H. Saunders	London.
Western Ontario Seed Growers' Association	A. McKenney	Amherstburg
Ontario Beekeepers' Association	F. W. Krouse	Guelph.
Ontario Association of Fairs and Exhibitions	Wm. S. Scarf	Durham.
Ontario Vegetable Growers' Association	J. J. Davis	London.
Fruit Growers' Association of Ontario	F. A. J. Sheppard	St. Catharines.
Dairymen's Association of Western Ontario	R. W. Stratton	Guelph.
Dairymen's Association of Eastern Ontario	J. N. Stone	Norham.

As to the Government in general, war-work and conditions absorbed much of the time of its members; one incident was the grant of $100,000 to Halifax after its disaster and the shipment of several carloads of supplies. Mr. McGarry's Budget Speech on Feb. 22 showed an excellent financial position with Ordinary Receipts for the year ending Oct. 31, 1916, of $13,841,339 and Expenditures of $12,706,332; the Estimates for 1917 were, respectively, $14,306,878 and $10,448,652. As announced a year later, for Oct. 31, 1917, the Ordinary Receipts totalled $18,269,597 and Expenditures $16,518,222 —a surplus of $1,751,374. The Assets of the Province (1916) consisted of Bank balances, $4,228,276, the T. & N. O. property and Hydro-Electric investment, the value of the Provincial buildings and their land areas, totalling $72,778,058; the estimated Assets or resources in pine timber, pulpwood, mining and agricultural lands, etc., were placed at $475,350,000. In speaking Mr. McGarry referred to his 1916 surplus of $1,134,996 and his reduction of the net Debt by $810,253; to the fact that the War-tax returns of $749,218 were not included in this surplus but were used for special war purposes; to the increase in Succession duties from $45,507 in 1893 to $1,253,951 in 1914 and $2,451,000 in 1916; to the loss of $500,000 from liquor license revenues and the gain from Assessment taxes of $243,918 in 5½ months, and from automobiles of $334,759 over the previous year; to the $665,000 received from the Hydro-Electric Power Commission as Interest and sinking fund and $1,000,000 profit from the T. & N. O. Railway; to the 3½ millions borrowed under the Northern Ontario Aid Act, of which $2,000,000 had been repaid; to the successful work of the Hydro-Electric Commission and operation of the Workmen's Compensation Act; to a total War expenditure in 1915 and 1916 of $4,262,089; to the Orpington (Government) Hospital in England, the aided Maple Leaf Clubs in London, the Soldiers' Aid Commission of which the Chairman was Hon. W. D. McPherson; to the farms provided by the Minister of Lands for returned soldiers and to the plan under which the Government proposed to purchase $17,000,000 worth of the securities of the Province held in England, re-borrow the money on this side, and to that extent help Great Britain in financing this war. It may be added that the War expenditure of 1917 totalled $2,414,447, with receipts of $2,050,128 from the War-tax. During this year the Province borrowed $5,000,000. Of this two millions were obtained at 5% without any commission and one million at 4·92% and the claim was made that no other Province or country had been able to borrow at such favourable rates. In addition, two millions were obtained from one of the Banks at the end of the year for 6%. Under this Department was the Provincial Library, of which, in 1917, the Librarian was Avern Pardoe, in his 19th year of office. To him, also, Dr. Alex. Fraser, submitted in 1917 the 13th Annual Report of the Bureau of Archives which included a valuable reissue of La Rochefocauld-Liancourt's *Travels in Canada*, 1795, annotated by Sir D. W. Smith and edited, with notes, by Hon. W. R. Riddell, LL.D.

The Hon. F. G. Macdiarmid as Minister of Public Works and Highways continued his advocacy of better roads and was ably assisted by the Commissioner of Highways—W. A. McLean. Speaking to the Ontario Good Roads Association (Feb. 28) the Minister stated that motor-licenses had brought in $650,000 in the past year and that the total would soon be $1,000,000. He intimated the proposed establishment of a system of Provincial highways and legislation which included the authorized construction, by the Highways Department, of various roads considered necessary as links in the Provincial system; the completion of this system from the Western boundary to the Eastern boundary of the Province so as to connect with Montreal; a plan for municipalities to contribute 30% of the expenditures on these roads; the designation of County roads by the Minister, towards the construction and maintenance of which a subsidy of 60% could be authorized; the settlement of disputes as to liability in this connection and as to bridges; the deviation or widening of highways and authorization of the expropriation of material for road-making; Provincial suburban roads in the vicinity of cities to be established where a portion of the cost could be assessed as local improvement work. This policy of a great highway running from Toronto to Windsor and thence to Montreal was generally approved and a large Deputation on Mar. 1 expressed pleasure at the proposals. A tour of Western Ontario by the Minister and his Deputy in June added to their conviction that agricultural prosperity and good roads were co-related. Work on the completion of the Toronto-Hamilton Highway was carried out at an estimated additional cost of $314,771 with a widening of part of the road for motor purposes; the last slab of concrete was laid on Nov. 6 in a road of 36 miles that had taken three years to construct and had required 125,000 tons of stone, 70,000 tons of sand and 150,000 bbls. of cement; G. H. Gooderham, M.L.A., was Chairman of the Commission and Sir Wm. Hearst formally opened the Highway on Nov. 24. This Minister had under his supervision (1) the Trades and Labour Board of which W. A. Riddell, PH.D., was Superintendent and which in 1917 opened a number of Employment Bureaux to help the farmers and munition industries; (2) the Factory Inspection Branch which in 1916 made 10,618 inspections of factories with 243,118 employees, prosecuted infractions of the law, and investigated accidents, sanitary and other conditions, hours of labour and fire protection; (3) the Timiskaming & Northern Ontario Railway Commission, which (Oct. 31, 1917) under the Chairmanship of J. L. Englehart had a mileage of 459, an operating revenue of $2,331,905, and expenses of $1,881,296, ore royalties of $119,576 and net earnings of $516,700. Mr. Macdiarmid's Annual Report (Oct. 31, 1917) showed an expenditure of $963,863 upon public buildings, the construction of 153 miles of new roads and repair of 1197 miles, the building of 1475 culverts and 106 bridges at a cost of $263,745 to the Province and $75,000 to municipalities, a total length of steam railways under operation of 10,952 miles and of electric lines 1086 miles.



THE HON. G. D. ROBERTSON, SENATOR,
Minister without Portfolio.



THE HON. T. A. CRERAR, M.P.,
Minister of Agriculture.

THE UNION GOVERNMENT OF 1917.

The Provincial Secretary (Hon. W. D. McPherson) had under his jurisdiction (1) the Provincial Board of Health, of which Dr. J. W. S. McCullough was Chief Officer, with its oversight of public health, checking of disease, watching over sanitation work in laboratories, distribution of biological products free of charge for small-pox, diphtheria, typhoid, etc.; (2) the Queen Victoria Niagara Falls Park Commission, of which P. W. Ellis of Toronto was Chairman, with its control of the Canadian area around the Falls, its influence upon the Power question, distribution and privileges of the Companies; (3) the 50 gaols and lock-ups of Ontario with commitments of 16,100 in 1916; and the Hospitals for Feeble-Minded and Epileptics with 1,034 patients in 1916 and for the Insane with 6,170 inmates; (4) the 162 Hospitals with 91,013 patients admitted in 1917, a total of 5,651 deaths and 7,365 births and a cost of $4,450,957, during the year, together with 103 Charitable institutions of varied nature; (5) the Vital Statistics of the province showing births totalling 65,264 in 1916, marriages 23,401, deaths 35,580; (6) the Provincial Municipal Audit with a certain oversight of municipal financial affairs and the Registration Office with $149,506 fees in 1916 and 1,285 charters or licenses issued; (7) the administration of the Ontario Temperance Act with (Oct. 31, 1917) 1,300 Standard hotels under license and many licensed Vendors also. Mr. McPherson was Chairman of the Provincial Soldiers' Aid Commission and performed his duties with characteristic thoroughness, with many new or enlarged institutions and much educative work under supervision; the farm and cultivated acreage of the various institutions pertaining to his Department totalled 6,600; he met with certain difficulties during the year in the administration of Burwash Prison Farm where a new system of treating prisoners was in operation.

The Hon. Isaac B. Lucas, K.C., as Attorney-General, had charge of Legal Offices and general oversight of the enforcement of law. Under his supervision, also, were (1) the Friendly Societies numbering 27 with a membership on Dec. 31, 1917, of 243,781, insurance in force of $156,788,705 in Ontario and $1,103,457,343 outside of Ontario and Benefits paid in Ontario of $2,556,635 during the year; (2) the Registry Offices of the Province, the Division Courts' business and the Loan Corporations with, in the latter case (1916), a capital stock of $228,511,574, Deposits of $24,545,532, Debentures of $100,747,854, Mortgages on Land of $163,423,748, Trustee Assets of $164,030,776; (3) the Ontario Railway and Municipal Board, which in 1916 received 523 formal applications for hearing, validated Municipal debentures of $2,289,744, supervised, in some degree, the Telephone systems, Municipal and Public Utilities, Land Subdivisions and Assessments; (4) the 870 Mutual Insurance Companies of the Province with a gross amount at risk of $340,893,498 and new business taken (1916) of $120,493,492; (5) the joint stock Fire Companies with net amount at risk of $97,461,751 and the work of the Fire Marshal's office. Subject to this Department was the Workmen's Compensation Board (Samuel Price, Chairman), which reported for 1917 total awards of $2,913,085 for 28,702 accidents out of a total of 36,514.

A most important Government work was that of the Hydro-Electric Commission of which Sir Adam Beck was Chairman, W. K. McNaught, C.M.G., and Mr. Lucas, Commissioners. Into the 6 systems under this Commission—which included Niagara, Severn, Eugenia, Wasdell, Kaministiquia and St. Lawrence, together with Ottawa—there had come between 1911 and Oct. 3, 1917, 43 municipalities with an investment for power-plants, equipment, land, buildings, etc., of $37,176,900. The liabilities of the Commission to the Provincial Treasurer were $38,102,720, its consolidated operative earnings $6,070,065, and expenses $5,077,491, with a 1917 surplus—after deducting depreciation charge—of $385,367. The Municipalities coming in during 1917 numbered 14, the total population of all those involved in the Systems was 1,168,000, the plant cost was $20,077,935, the Debenture Debt, etc., $15,636,473, the surplus between yearly revenues and charges $992,574. Sir Adam Beck continued his energetic work in the expansion of this organization during the year and stated on Feb. 15 to the Ontario Municipal Electrical Association that within two or three months the municipalities using Hydro-power would exceed 200 with an investment by municipalities and the Provincial Commission of $40,000,000; that the price of power would continue to be reduced and that the import of over 5,500,000 ton of soft coal had been made unnecessary by electricity, while nearly 500 munition plants in Ontario were using between 70,000 and 80,000 of Hydro horse-power; that 1,000,000 h.-p. would be eventually available at Niagara Falls and still another million for Ontario if the St. Lawrence were made a deep waterway; that electrification of all railways in the western part of the Province would make it independent of bituminous coal. His ambition for the future was thus defined: "My own opinion is that the Hydro-Electric power system must absorb the whole of the electric systems in the Province of Ontario, and I hope it will begin at Niagara Falls."

Meanwhile, at the beginning of the year, the projected Hydro-Radial (Electric) line from Toronto to Niagara which was to cost $10,000,000 had been voted upon by the Municipalities concerned and approved by all except Nelson and Hamilton; the Niagara System municipalities also voted by large majorities—except Goderich—for the municipal development of the Chippewa Creek-Niagara Falls power project of the Commission. Legislation was, accordingly, promised by the Premier and Mr. Lucas on Jan. 2. Following this Sir Adam Beck campaigned in Hamilton for his radial policy, announced bitter opposition to the C.N.R. entrance into that city which would, he declared, seriously check the development of electrified railway operations in the Province. In the Legislature on Mar. 20 he spoke upon this subject, denounced Sir W. Mackenzie and Sir D. D. Mann personally and in respect to the Electrical Development Co.—which had been his chief rival in Ontario and the pioneer one at that—and the C.N.R. proposed extensions; declared the latter railway bankrupt and the Electrical Development Co. to have gone beyond its permitted 126,000 horse-power development at the Falls and to have installed units for use in accidents

which he described as a "theft" of water-power; stated that the Commission had entered into a contract with the Imperial Munitions Board to supply them with 20,000 h.-p. for their new plant in Ashbridge Bay, Toronto, and had reduced the coal consumption of the Province by four million tons, which at $5 per ton meant a saving of $20,000,000. He urged prohibition of the export of electric power. R. J. Fleming and Sir Wm. Mackenzie replied vigorously to the above charges, denied Sir Adam's interpretation of their Power agreement and rights and the accuracy of his statements. Sir William (Mar. 22) described the attack in a letter to the Premier as one of "personal vindictiveness" and added that if Sir Adam had any real charge to make he (Sir Wm. Mackenzie) would welcome its decision in the Courts. Mr. Fleming (Mar. 26) declared in a letter to Sir Adam Beck that "we have munition plants on our line whose demands total more than 60,000 h.-p., and when you seek to embarrass the operation of our Niagara plant, as you have been doing for many a day, you do not advance the interests of the munition plants nor of the Allies." As to this the Victoria Park Commission in its 1917 Report accused the Electrical Company of using 136,000 h.-p. instead of 125,000.

All through the year the fundamental differences between the private Mackenzie interests and the alleged public interests behind the Hydro Commission were at war and Sir Adam Beck never hesitated to use his legislative and political power to defeat the rival corporation. On Mar. 29, for instance, the Railway Committee of the Legislature refused an extension of time to the Toronto Suburban Railway Co.—a Mackenzie concern—for certain construction work which was uncompleted owing to war conditions and which would have competed with Hydro projects. During the ensuing Session the Government amended the Power Commission Act to authorize the Commission to acquire shares in Power development companies; to issue bonds, guaranteed by the Province, as an alternative to receiving advances from the Treasury; to make the Commission's lands subject to municipal taxation and authorizing Townships to undertake electrical distribution and to make agreements with the Commission but imposing penalties for issuing debentures in this connection without permission of the Commission; to transfer the regulation of the Financial Comptroller of the Commission from the Government to that body itself; to hand over the Chippewa-Queenston development matter to the Commission with full power in construction, operation and the issue of guaranteed Provincial bonds. These large powers were further increased by amending the Water Powers Regulation Act so that in any difference between the Commission and a water-power owner, as to the latter's excessive use of electric energy, the matter would be referred by the Government to a Commission of Judges which could order the owner to pay the Hydro Commission for the excess at a price which the latter would fix. The Electrical Company claimed these Acts to be *ultra vires* and petitioned the Federal Government to disallow them.

Following this legislation the Hydro Commission purchased the Ontario Power Co. plant, assets and contracts at Niagara Falls

for $22,669,000, payable in Commission bonds, for 40 years at 4%, to the extent of $8,000,000 for the $10,000,000 worth of stock held by the Company and by assumption of the bond liability of $14,669,000 secured by a first mortgage on the property. The privileges in the charter held by this Company, together with the restrictions of the Boundary Waters Treaty, had combined to form a serious menace to the Chippewa scheme. The Treaty limited Canada to 36,000 cubic feet per second of the waters of the Niagara district, of which over 29,000 cubic feet were already under diversion by the various Canadian companies. Under their charter the Ontario Company had apparent rights to over 4,000 cubic feet of the balance available, and the establishment of these rights would have left only 2,000 cubic feet available for the Chippewa project—an amount quite inadequate to justify the cost of its development. The term of a contract under which the Ontario Power Co. had agreed to export 60,000 h.-p. at $12.50 per h.-p. to the American side was shortened by 60 years and was to expire in 1950 concurrently with the contracts of Ontario municipalities for 100,000 h.-p. at $9 per h.-p. The Ontario Power plant was developing 180,000 h.-p. and working at a high standard of efficiency; the arrangement made the Hydro-Electric Power Commission of Ontario the largest individual hydro-electric system in the world.

Other events developed rapidly. Welland, in becoming a City on July 2, gave much credit to the Commission for the development of its industrial strength; Chief Justice Sir Wm. Meredith and Justices H. T. Kelly and R. F. Sutherland were appointed (July 26) to investigate "the operations of electrical development companies with a view to ascertaining whether or not any of the companies had exceeded their charter rights in the matter of diversion of water and development of horse-power"—in other words, the charges made by Sir Adam Beck against the Mackenzie-Mann interests. On Oct. 17 D. L. McCarthy, K.C., Counsel for the latter, withdrew from the Commission on the ground that only the Courts could decide the issue and that the Inquiry was "unfair and unjust." No report was issued to the end of the year. In October a shortage of electric-power developed and threatened to endanger Munition work and a Toronto meeting of the Municipalities interested was addressed on the 16th by Sir Adam Beck. It passed Resolutions (1) demanding prohibition of the export of power by Canadian Companies to the United States; (2) censuring the Senate for having "delayed action on the revised Railway Act, which was a Government measure containing legislation necessary to safeguard the rights of the municipalities in their ownership and control of the public highways"; (3) urging the appointment of an Ontario Municipal representative to the Senate to advance special legislation and expressing renewed confidence in, and admiration for, Sir Adam Beck. On the 31st Sir Adam asked the Dominion to appoint a Controller of Electric Power to regulate the export and distribution of electricity and this was done on Nov. 6 with Sir H. L. Drayton of the Railway Board as Controller "of the production and distribution of electrical energy by Companies in the Province of Ontario."

On the 8th the latter ordered all Companies producing power on the Canadian side of Niagara Falls to operate their plants at full capacity in order to relieve the serious shortage of electrical energy which then amounted to 70,000 h.-p. on the Niagara system. An effort was at once made to get in touch with the U.S. Government and interests in this matter and on Dec. 28 this was made possible by the American Government taking over Power Companies on the United States side as a war measure. It may be added here that Hon. G. Howard Ferguson, Minister of Lands, Forests and Mines, showed (Oct. 31, 1917) a sale of 165,628 acres of Crown Lands at $140,948, free grants of land totalling 85,139 acres, with Settlers' Loans of $383,968 to date; the total revenues of the Department were $3,579,196 and expenditures $903,154, the area of lands under license was 16,313 sq. miles.

The Education Department under Hon. R. A. Pyne and his Deputy Minister, A. H. U. Colquhoun, had a busy year with some very important legislation to their credit. There were a number of minor amendments to the School laws but the Teachers' and Inspectors' Superannuation Act was the chief measure. Dr. Pyne explained the Bill on Mar. 22 as involving an assessment of 2½% upon the salaries of teachers and inspectors with an equal sum contributed by the Province. The salaries involved amounted to $9,500,000 a year and with the amount contributed from salaries and that paid by the Government the new Superannuation Fund would have $475,000 to start with. Toronto and Ottawa had local Pension systems in existence and the legislation was arranged so that these could be continued if desired. The Pensions were to be based on length of service and amount of salary; none were to be less than $365 per annum and none greater than $1,000 per annum. Applications based on 40 years' teaching experience could be made after Jan. 1, 1918. A Teacher or an Inspector retiring after 30 years' employment was entitled to an annual allowance actuarially equivalent to that provided after 40 years' employment. Retirement for ill-health after 15 years' service would warrant an allowance and upon the death of a contributor the sum paid in would go to his or her heirs. The Board in control was to be composed of an Actuary, and two other persons appointed by the Minister, two Teachers or Inspectors who were members of the Ontario Educational Association and elected at its annual meeting. The appointments to this Commission eventually made were A. H. U. Colquhoun (Chairman); Prof. M. A. Mackenzie, Actuary; J. R. Humphreys, Principal R. A. Gray and Inspector J. H. Putnam. Payments of Teachers and Inspectors were to be deducted from the Legislative School grants of the School Boards and were to be placed to the credit of the Superannuation Fund by the Treasurer of the Province, with interest at current rates. The School Boards would, in their turn, deduct the payments from the teachers' salaries. The annual Report of the Minister for 1917* declared that the condition of Education in the Province was satisfactory; that salaries of teachers had continued to increase and in the calendar year 1916

*Issued in 1918 and dated Feb. 18.

showed a growth in rural schools of $33 and $12, in urban schools of $24 and $14, and in all public schools $55 and $13, for male and female teachers respectively; that the standing of teachers was steadily improving; that the usefulness of the Public Libraries, under the direction of W. O. Carson as Inspector, was increasing and especially along lines of war education; that the enlistments of Provincial teachers totalled 485 with 34 killed in action. The statistics of the Schools for the year ending Dec. 31, 1916, were as follows:

Particulars 1916	Public Schools	R. C. Separate Schools	High Schools	Continuation Schools
Number of Schools	6,091	539	161	132
Number of Pupils Enrolled	439,710	69,265	28,833	5,082
Average Daily Attendance	282,649	46,197	22,781	3,729
Number of Persons Employed as Teachers	10,640	1,454	1,038	234
Average Annual Salary for Male Teachers	$957	*	$1,839	$1,093
Average Annual Salary for Female Teachers	$626	*	1,376	757
Amount Expended for Teachers' Salaries	$7,393,829	$535,661	$1,509,227	$224,464
Amount Expended for School Houses	$1,836,821	$395,289	$398,791	$25,109
Amount Expended for all Other Purposes	$2,877,926	$312,379	$580,236	$56,575
Total Amount Expended on Schools	$12,108,576	$1,243,329	$2,488,254	$306,148
Cost per Pupil (Enrolled Attendance)	$27.53	$17.95	$86.00	$60.00

Educational incidents of the year included the enrolment of 20,000 pupils in the 40 evening industrial schools of the Province; the splendid Empire Day celebration and Confederation Jubilee, combined on May 23 under the auspices of the Minister of Education, and the circulation of a handsome historical Bulletin reviewing for school children the patriotic interests of the occasion; the statement of Dr. Pyne on July 14 that there was no serious shortage in the teaching staffs despite War conditions; the issue in October of an outline history of the War—remote and immediate causes, current conditions and British Empire participation, suitable for youthful instruction; the success of the yearly Summer Course in Agriculture for Teachers—under arrangement between the two Departments and with 266 men and women in attendance; the educative work of the Ontario Library Association, which met in Toronto on Apr. 10 and elected Miss Mary Black, Chief Librarian of Fort William Library, as President. There was a continued growth in the Public Library system including, in 1916, 1,262,765 volumes in the 175 Free Libraries, with a circulation of 4,626,323, and 447,081 volumes in the 226 Association Public Libraries with a circulation of 505,607; the total Legislative grant in 1917 to these institutions was $32,287 and the Travelling Libraries increased in 1917 10% over the preceding year in circulation with 1500 new books purchased; W. O. Carson, Inspector of Public Libraries, reported an increased public demand for books, an increased circulation of 40% since the War began and a very successful Session in Sept.-Nov. of the School for training Librarians. An agitation amongst Roman Catholics, for revision of the law under which Company taxes were divided amongst Public and Separate Schools, developed during the year, with some strong statements in the *Catholic Register* and other journals of this Church. It was claimed that the arrangements were so faulty or difficulties so great that large numbers of Catholic shareholders in financial or industrial concerns were really paying

* Not officially given.

taxes to the Public Schools upon their holdings of stock—the Toronto Street Railway being instanced. Another grievance was illustrated in the statement that in one issue of a Toronto paper (July 14) 86 out of 159 Public School Boards, asking for teachers, made Protestantism a condition.

Though not directly connected with this Department, Medical Education was an important topic of the year because of the investigation and Report of Mr. Justice F. E. Hodgins who had been appointed a Commissioner on Sept. 29, 1915. His Report, submitted on Oct. 13, 1917, dealt with Osteopathy, Chiropractic, Christian Science, Optometry, Dentistry and other pseudo-medical branches, and submitted a series of recommendations including (1) the establishment of an institution of Physical Therapy upon the grounds of the General Hospital which should cover all the varied forms of manipulative cure; (2) the selection of a Staff from those having War experience in this subject; (3) installation of modern equipment along these lines in the University Department of Physics and provision of a compulsory course for medical students; (4) requirement of licenses and adequate diplomas from practitioners and the appointment of a Medical Director attached to the Department of Education; (5) establishment of a Provincial Registry and qualification for Nurses. Meanwhile, the Ontario Educational Association, which dealt yearly with so many branches of the Education Department's work, had met in Toronto on Apr. 9-12, with Prof. Maurice Hutton in the chair and addresses of welcome from Hon. Dr. Pyne and N. W. Rowell, K.C. A long series of papers and speeches followed covering almost every conceivable subject from the training of Teachers to that of Food Health and its relation to good citizenship; from patriotism and the War to the study of Imagination; from Household Science to Industrial Art and from Spelling Reform to the claims of Spanish as an Educational course; from Church and State in France to the Rise of Mathematics. The speakers included Dr. R. A. Falconer, Prof. C. B. Sissons, Prof. G. M. Wrong, Prof. O. D. Skelton, John Lewis, Archdeacon Cody, F. W. Merchant, Dr. G. C. Creelman, Prof. J. G. Hume. The Public School Section continued its yearly condemnation of (1) melo-dramatic and comic-picture shows; (2) the manufacture and sale of cigarettes; (3) Comic Supplements in the papers. Wm. Pakenham, D.Paed., was elected President, R. W. Doan re-elected Secretary and Henry Ward, B.A., Treasurer. The following Chairmen of Sections and Departments were elected:

Section or Department	Name	Address
Elementary	Louise N. Currie	Toronto.
Public School	S. Nethercott	Woodstock.
Kindergarten	Clara Brenton	London.
House Science	Miss Laird	Toronto.
Technical and Manual Arts	John G. Graham	Toronto.
Physical Training	Dr. Fred. S. Minns	Toronto.
Spelling Reform	Prof. D. R. Keys	Toronto.
College and Secondary School	F. P. Gavin	Windsor.
Modern Language	W. H. Williams, M.A.	Kitchener.
National Science	G. A. Carefoot	St. Catharines.
Classical	Prof. N. W. De Witt	Toronto.
Mathematical and Physical	R. C. Rose	Smith Falls.
English and History	James Keillor, B.A.	Toronto.
Commercial	T. W. Oates	London

Section or Department	Name	Address
Continuation and High School Principals	A. P. Grundy, B.A.	Galt.
Supervising	G. G. McNab, M.A.	Renfrew.
Inspectors	Dr. Putnam	Ottawa.
Training	H. J. Crawford, B.A.	Toronto.
Trustees	Dr. J. B. Waugh	Stratford.

There was not much politics in Ontario during the year—after the bye-election fights of January—and the Opposition Leader, N. W. Rowell, devoted his time largely to recruiting speeches and latterly, to working for Conscription and the Union Government. During the early part of the year he spoke at Niagara Falls, Toronto on several occasions, North Bay, Woodstock and many other places; later he was in the West and spoke at the large centres. He stood beside Mr. Premier Hearst at a great Toronto meeting on June 11 and declared that: "This is our war, and being a war with the strongest military power of Europe we cannot carry it on as a limited liability. We have staked our all on the success of the issue, and we must be prepared to throw our all into it in order to ensure success. For more than two years I have urged better organization of the man-power and resources of Canada for the better prosecution of this war, and when the Government takes a step in that direction my presence here indicates that I believe that step is necessary." On July 2 at a similar meeting to celebrate the Confederation Jubilee, he added: "Let us dedicate ourselves anew to that flag which has protected us all our days. Let us dedicate ourselves anew to the cause of liberty, for which so many of our gallant sons have died." Once more on Aug. 2 he stood with Sir Wm. Hearst and made the declaration that: "I am here to-night to support the principle of compulsory military service, conscription of wealth and the formation of a National or War Government." His retirement to join the Union Government made it necessary to choose a new Opposition leader. C. M. Bowman, Chief Liberal Whip, was perhaps his natural successor, others suggested in the press were H. H. Dewart, K.C., Wm. Proudfoot, K.C., and J. C. Elliott, with Mr. Proudfoot as the journalistic favourite.*

There were some exceptions to Mr. Rowell's non-party attitude. One was in the Bye-elections at the beginning of the year—Northwest Toronto vacated by the appointment of W. D. McPherson, K.C., to be Provincial Secretary, with J. G. Cane as the Liberal candidate; West Simcoe, vacated by the death of Hon. J. S. Duff, with W. T. Allan as the Conservative and Isaac Scott as the Liberal candidate. The contests were spirited and in Toronto Mr. McPherson was aided by A. E. Donovan, M.L.A., H. C. Hocken, Col. J. A. Currie, M.P., Dr. Forbes Godfrey, M.L.A., and others; Mr. Cane was supported by Messrs. Rowell and Dewart—the former dealing chiefly with Prohibition and the work of Liberalism in obtaining it, and the latter with allegations of Government carelessness in guarding the production, sale or export of Nickel so that some, at least, of it had gone to Germany. The new Minister had an excellent public record and his policy was that of the Government—chiefly along War lines. The vote on Jan. 22 in Toronto stood at 4,174

* NOTE.—It was not till January 7, 1918, that the latter was formally selected.

and 2,305, or a majority of 1,869 for Mr. McPherson. In West Simcoe the contest was closer and Mr. Scott made a strong fight as a respected farmer known throughout the riding. For him Mr. Rowell spoke at Alliston, Collingwood and other points and was aided by C. M. Bowman; for the Government Hon. I. B. Lucas, Hon. G. H. Ferguson and Col. J. A. Currie were the chief speakers. There were sundry personalities indulged in but the Conservatives stood for the Bi-lingual Regulation 17—which Mr. Rowell did not attack; claimed that in 12 years there had not been a breath of scandal against the Government; urged the advantages of the Hydro-Electric policy, and described Mr. Dewart's Nickel charges as clap-trap; eulogized the Workmen's Compensation Act, the Government's policy on Prohibition, the appointment of G. C. Creelman as Agricultural Commissioner. Mr. Allan was elected on Jan. 15 by 2,334 to 1,699, or a majority of 635.

The Nickel issue of the year was one of those unsatisfactory questions in which no exact proof can be proffered on either side. The Government contended that the arrangements for safe-guarding the export of this precious war metal (1) to the International Nickel Co., in New Jersey, and (2) in their sales to customers, were thorough and were not only approved by the Imperial authorities but carried out by them in conjunction with the Dominion Government. The Opposition, notably Mr. Dewart, who in this was supported by W. F. Maclean and the Toronto *World*, waived these arrangements aside, contended that Nickel was obtained, shipped and taken to Germany by the *Deutschland*, and asked: "Where did it come from?" Obviously, it might have been bought and stored before the War but even this could not be proven! It was an issue in both these bye-elections but was not taken very seriously by the people. Mr. McPherson had pointed out on Jan. 16 that: "The British Government are opposed to the prohibition of Nickel export from Canada and have entered into an arrangement, whereby Great Britain and her Allies and the Companies engaged in making munitions for them in the United States will continue to receive supplies of the metal." On the other hand Mr. Dewart in the Legislature on Mar. 1, declared that the International Nickel Co., which handled the bulk of Canadian nickel for smelting in New Jersey and owned the Canadian Copper Co., was, or had been, tied up body and soul with the notorious H. R. Merton Co. of London and the Metal Trust of Germany. It might have been added that since the War the Mertons had effected a belated re-organization of their concern to the satisfaction of the British authorities; at the same time it was not denied that the Mertons had been, and still were, Sales Agents for the International Nickel in Europe. *The World* on Apr. 12 quoted a U.S. Federal Trade Commission report as to the Merton family interests in London, Frankfort and the United States and its statement that through the Mertons and banks, holding companies, affiliations with syndicates and cartels, interlocking directorates, joint-share holdings, and other means of inter-relation, "a world-wide ramification had taken place in the metal trade" before the War. This journal added a very definite charge: "The International Nickel

Co. is undoubtedly controlled by the Merton groups or alliances. The partial report of stockholders shows that 54,409 preferred and 307,486 common shares are held in trust for undisclosed principals. The stock is voted by Messrs. Converse, De Lamar, Monell, Thompson and Wood."

Another and later charge made by *The World* (Sept. 28) was that the Minerals Separation North-American Corporation, which was trying to hold up the operation of Northern Ontario mines and prevent their using a process of ore treatment, called "Flotation," and which the Corporation had patented at Ottawa from original German patents, was an agent of Beer Sondheimer & Co., a New York firm and, for a time, on the British black-list as a member of the same Merton Metal Trust. On the other hand the Minerals Separation Co., through their Toronto representatives, Ridout & Maybee, submitted proofs of loyalty and British-American association in a statement on Oct. 3 which also declared that all they wanted was a reasonable royalty on their own patents. The Northern Ontario Mining interests claimed that Minerals Separation was alien-owned or controlled; that it was too grasping in its exaction of royalties; and that it claimed other flotation processes to be infringements. German control of this concern was denied, but admitted as to a pre-war period (1913), by President John Ballot.

Meanwhile the question of taxing Nickel and other mining properties became prominent. For some years the International Nickel Co. had been paying a flat rate of $40,000 a year in Provincial taxation, while its refining was done in New Jersey and that of the British concern, the Mond Nickel Co. was done in Wales. In the Legislature (Feb. 21) H. H. Dewart moved that "in view of the vital part which Nickel plays in modern warfare and of its great economic value, the refining of all Nickel mined in this Province should be carried on wholly within the British Empire, and so far as practicable, wholly within the Province; and as a step towards the Government control of the Nickel industry this Province should own and operate a refining plant in which all the Nickel matte mined in this Province should be refined." A Government amendment expressing satisfaction with the Government policy and promising legislation along the lines of the Nickel Commission's Report was carried by 59 to 26. Mr. Dewart denounced all Governments concerned for not taking in 1910-11 steps to prevent Nickel going to Germany and alleged that the Ontario Government had on Dec. 13, 1916, granted 236¼ acres of land to the Canadian Copper Co. in Blezard Township; interjected into the debate was Mr. McGarry's statement that "immediately after the outbreak of war the International Nickel Co., through its President, who visited Ottawa, offered to turn over to the Dominion Government the sole control of the Nickel output of their concern and that a proper arrangement was made, and still existed, to the satisfaction of the British Government." The Nickel Commission of 1915 (G. T. Galloway, Dr. W. G. Miller and McGregor Young, K.C.) reported to the Government in March, 1917, and undertook to answer two vital questions: (1) Could Nickel be economically refined in Ontario?

and (2) were the Nickel deposits of Ontario of such a character that this Province could compete successfully as a Nickel producer with any other country? Both questions were answered in the affirmative; it was added that the International Nickel and Mond people had asked no Government help in their experimental stages and deserved their success; the present method of mining taxation was declared to be just and equitable and changes to be a matter of rate and not principle; the total common stock dividends paid by the International Nickel Co., 1910-16, were given as $30,942,238. The following statement as to new enterprises for refining Nickel was made:

> One large plant is now being constructed by the International Nickel Co. of Canada, Ltd., at Port Colborne. The Company has obtained a site of 400 acres on which 2,000 men are now at work, and is erecting a plant whose initial output will be on the basis of 15,000,000 lbs. of Nickel per annum, and provision is made for doubling or quadrupling this capacity. The matter to be refined here will come from the smelters of the Canadian Copper Co. at Copper Cliff, and for the treatment of which there will be required bituminous coal, coke, fuel oil, nitre-cake, and other chemicals and materials, estimated at 100,000 tons annually. The plant is expected to be in operation and turning out refined Nickel in the autumn of the present year. The second refinery is that of the British American Nickel Corporation, Ltd., a company controlled and largely financed by the British Government, which has purchased the large Murray mine, the Whistle, and other deposits in the Sudbury region. This refinery will probably be erected at the Murray mine, which is about three miles from Sudbury. The refining process employed will be the electrolytic, otherwise known as the Hybinette process, from the name of the inventor who uses it in the Norwegian works. This plant will have a capacity at the beginning of 5,000 tons of nickel per annum.

In the Legislature amendments to the Mining Tax Act were passed increasing the tax on profits from 3% to 5% in the case of Nickel and nickel-copper mines with a progressive increase in each case where the profits exceeded $5,000,000. In other mines the rate remained at 3% up to $1,000,000 profits, after which the nickel and nickel-copper schedule applied. The allowance to be made for depreciation of plant, etc., was increased to 15% and one was made for Imperial and Dominion taxes on profits. In ascertaining the profits of a nickel or nickel-copper mine the Mine Assessor was to take the market value of the finished product of the mine, to deduct from it the cost of marketing and the cost of the different processes by which the metal had been treated, to make all statutory deductions and allowances. The balance would be the annual profits on the year's output. Where the product was sold at the pit's mouth, the Mine Assessor could fix the profits as at present provided. Where refining took place in England and there was an Imperial tax imposed upon the profits, this was allowed for. Under this legislation, which was retroactive for 2 years, the Government expected to get $1,500,000 in additional taxes for the years 1915-16 though Mr. Dewart claimed that double that amount ought to be exacted. A debate on this measure (introduced by Hon. G. H. Ferguson on Mar. 28) took place on Apr. 2 in which Mr. Rowell estimated the profits of the International Nickel at $24,095,573 in 1912-16 and wanted the tax to go back to 1912 and to increase 5% for each $5,000,000 of profit in excess of the first $5,000,000.

The Premier explained the difficulty of taxing profits made in another country and of assessing ore values at the pit's mouth, quoted the Commission's recommendation that the Tax should not exceed 5% in order not to discourage capital, and alleged that it would cost $100,000,000 to acquire control of the Nickel industry —as had been suggested. On Apr. 4 Mr. Ferguson dealt at length with the history of the question and declared that "in the future every bit of Crown land leased or sold would be subject to a requirement that the mineral should be refined in Ontario." The Bill passed in due course and *The World* returned to its charge as to Canadian Nickel reaching Germany, with the statement on Apr. 12 that "the United States exported Nickel in 1915 to Germany, of 1,036,242 lbs.; Norway, 31,158 lbs.; Sweden, 367,696 lbs.; Mexico, 1,779 lbs. To the last three countries the United States exported no Nickel up to and including 1914. In 1916 much larger shipments than in 1915 went to these countries, on its way, no doubt, to Germany." On Nov. 1, following, a cheque was received by the Government from the Canadian Copper Co. for $1,366,892—covering the completed two years' taxation under the new Act. Neither of the new refining concerns was in operation at the close of the year.

The Session of the Legislature which passed this Nickel measure was an important one in many respects. It was opened on Feb. 13 by Sir John Hendrie, Lieut.-Governor, with a Speech from the Throne, in which he referred to the progress of the War and added: "As Canadians we glory in the achievements, the valour and the patriotism of the men who have gone and are still going from this country to fight the battles of the Empire, while we recognize that we are under a heavy and lasting obligation alike to them and to their dependants." Economy was urged and continued generosity in giving to the Red Cross and Patriotic Funds—the Government proposing to grant $1,000,000 to the latter and to double the capacity of the Ontario Military Hospital at Orpington. His Honour described the operations of the Ontario Temperance Act of 1916 as highly beneficial; declared that the Hydro-Electric Commission was "proceeding as rapidly as is practicable with the necessary works for the utilization for power purposes of all the water that the Province is entitled to divert above the Falls of Niagara"; outlined certain promised legislation. The Address was moved on Feb. 15 by Dr. Wm. Jaques of Haldimand and Alex. Ferguson of South Simcoe. After a Nickel amendment was voted down it passed without further division on Feb. 21. On the 26th the C.N.R. and Hydro-Electric affair was debated on an Opposition motion of T. Marshall and Sam. Carter, protesting against the plans of the C.N.R. or its subsidiary lines for a railway running from Toronto *via* Hamilton to Niagara Falls, on these grounds: "(1) That the said route has been surveyed by the Hydro-Electric Power Commission under the provisions of the Act, and the municipalities concerned, with but one exception have voted by large majorities in favour of the construction of the said road by the Commission under the provisions of the said Act; (2) that the whole question of the future of the C.N.R. and its subsidiary roads and of the public ownership

thereof, and of other railways is now under investigation and consideration by a Commission appointed by the Government of Canada." The Government carried, without division, an amendment endorsing this protest and re-affirming its objection to any Dominion control over Provincial electric railways.

On Mar. 8 all parties agreed to a long and patriotic Resolution, proposed by Sir Wm. Hearst and seconded by Mr. Rowell, which reiterated Ontario's belief in the war-policy of Britain and her Allies; its endorsation of continued war until the objects of the Allies were gained; its appreciation of the splendid services of Canadian troops: "We hereby solemnly pledge ourselves anew to assist in every way in our power in the struggle for freedom, alike by increasing our fighting strength and military resources, by conserving our energies as a people and by exercising industry, thrift and economy." The Leaders spoke with earnest force and were supported by S. Ducharme, the French-Canadian member for North Essex. On Mar. 5 the Opposition, through W. Proudfoot and S. Carter, moved a declaration that the Patronage system was inimical to the Public service and that the people demanded a non-partisan Civil Service Commission with ample powers, all appointments to be by merit and all supplies purchased in open competition. A Government amendment declared that high standards of merit and efficiency had developed under the present system, that a great many Civil Servants could not properly come under a Commission which in time of war would be inopportune and unduly expensive, that with necessary exceptions, supplies now were subject to public tender. It was carried on division. Sam. Carter and John Grieve (Liberals) moved a Resolution on Mar. 19, declaring that official action as to the Feeble-minded was urgently needed; a Conservative amendment dealt with the good work now being done and approved the better provision in this respect which was steadily being developed. The following Opposition motion (J. C. Elliott and H. H. Dewart) was rejected by a party vote of 54 to 25: "That in view of the present high cost of living and the increasing burden upon the working classes and those in receipt of limited incomes, due to the high cost of the necessaries of life, this House condemns the abandonment by the Government of the investigation and prosecution of the illegal combines formed to limit competition and to enhance prices." Action along these lines was urged. A non-political and unanimous Resolution (H. H. Dewart and G. H. Gooderham) was approved on Mar. 30, congratulating the Russian Douma upon "the establishment of free institutions and responsible government in Russia."

This declaration followed: "We hail this triumph, accompanied as it is by the abolition of all social, religious and national restrictions and the adoption of the principle of universal suffrage, as one of the greatest landmarks in human progress." On Apr. 5 a Select Committee, composed of the Premier, Hon. R. A. Pyne, Hon. I. B. Lucas, N. W. Rowell and H. H. Dewart, was appointed to co-operate with the Parliament of Canada in celebrating the 50th anniversary of Confederation; Messrs. Proudfoot and Carter moved on the same day a censure of the Government for its issue of licenses to Race-

tracks and urged the prompt suppression of organized, corporate race-track gambling but the House declared in amendment that it approved a declaration by the Government that it would do everything possible to suppress this evil. An Opposition proposal to have a practical farmer appointed to succeed the Premier, who was acting as Minister of Agriculture and was re-organizing his Department, with President G. C. Creelman of the Agricultural College at Guelph as Commissioner, was voted down on Mar. 13 by 45 to 19 votes; the Bi-lingual question was dealt with in Government Bills passed to (1) relieve the Commission in charge of the Ottawa Separate Schools from financial obligations for carrying out the work of the Separate School Board and (2) authorizing the appointment of another Commission if necessary; extensive powers were conferred upon the Ontario License Board to deal with liquor advertising and the solicitation of orders within the Province. Following an agreement between Government and Opposition a Bill was passed suspending the law which required the holding of bye-elections within three months after a vacancy occurred.

Other legislation of the Session included (1) authorization of a Loan of $8,000,000 to meet capital liability including expenditures by Government Commissions, etc., and of a Loan of $17,000,000 to take up Ontario Government stock outstanding in England and due in 1946-47-65; (2) amendment of the Amusement Taxes by providing for a commission to proprietors of amusement houses for collection and the grant of allowance for unused tickets under certain conditions; (3) authorizing the Governor-in-Council to fix the current rate of interest payable on municipal securities held or purchased by the Provincial Treasurer; (4) making all lands, patented as mining lands, subject to the treatment and refining of all ores or minerals in Canada; (5) setting aside lands for exclusive settlement by returned soldiers and sailors with power to the Government for the formation of farm colonies and industrial depôts for intended settlers; (6) authorizing the appointment of a Commissioner of Agriculture to advise the Minister; (7) increasing the amount which could be borrowed by municipalities for tile-drainage purposes from $50,000 to $100,000 and the limit of investment by the Province in such debentures from $500,000 to $1,000,000; (8) arranging for the appointment of a Provincial Forester and the revision of regulations for the prevention of Forest fires; (9) regulating the close season for game and fisheries in accordance with Treaty arrangements with the United States; (10) a Bulk Sales Act—so long urged by Hon. W. D. McPherson—requiring the purchaser of such stock to procure a statement as to the creditors of the vendor who in default of a waiver from the creditors of claims upon the purchase money, must pay the money to trustee for distribution; (11) making the Assets of persons dying on active service exempt from certain fees; (12) recognizing a special method of insurance in Departmental stores of mixed business character; (13) providing for compensation in the case of employees in the Northern Ontario Development Branch under the Act and also amending this Compensation Act so as to provide for medical aid, for the adoption of a system of

merit-rating, for the placing of executive officers of corporations upon the same footing as individual employers, for the increase of compensation to children from $5 to $10 on the death of the workman's widow, for the payment of compensation to invalid children over 16, and to adopted children, for the extension of time in which assessments must be paid, for additional penalty in default as to reporting accidents and for the addition of miners' phthisis to the list of industrial diseases; (14) creating a Bureau of Municipal Affairs to help Municipal Councils by advice and publication of Bulletins, extending municipal powers as to Patriotic grants and insurance of dependants and penalizing illegitimate use of Telephone messages; (15) giving cities, towns and villages the right to regulate and control the survey and sub-division of land not only within their boundaries, but, in the case of a city, of land within five miles, and in the case of a town or a village within three miles of its boundaries, and to carry out town-planning operations; (16) amending Assessment conditions, regulating travelling and motor vehicles, placing dental and medical inspection of public-school pupils in cities with 200,000 population, under the local Boards of Health.

An important issue of the Session was the extension of the electoral franchise for the Assembly to Women and, under the Voters' List Act (Mr. Lucas), to soldiers on service, providing, also, that the age qualification should not apply, so that a soldier who had enlisted in Ontario could be entered on the voters' list at the place at which he enlisted and vote there whether he had or had not attained the full age of 21 years. It provided that a foreign-born woman must produce evidence of naturalization under the Dominion Act of 1914, or a certificate of the County Judge showing that she possessed the qualifications for naturalization—irrespective of the naturalization of her husband. For the purpose of preparing lists, a Board of Registration consisting of the County Judges and other local legal officers was constituted for every county or district and this Board was to have general oversight of the Registrars in making up the lists. The question had been first raised during the Session in the Address debate when an Opposition Resolution proposing immediate enfranchisement of Women was ruled out of order as the matter was already on the Order paper. On Feb. 15 J. W. Johnson (Cons.) moved the 2nd reading of two Bills with this object in view, and W. McDonald and J. C. Elliott tabled two more for the Opposition. All these members had been advocates of the policy for years, and the Government now endorsed Mr. Johnson's Bill which passed in due course. On Feb. 27 Sir W. H. Hearst declared that the War had changed this as it had so many other issues and that:

> Having taken women into partnership with us in our tremendous task, upon the success of which the continuance of the British Empire and the freedom of the world depend, can we rightly and justly deny her a share in the Government of the country, a right to have a say about the making of the laws she is so heroically helping to defend? Can we refuse her a full share in all the rights of the civilization that to-day is depending so much on her worth and work? I think not. We have asked her to take, and she has taken, a prominent part in all our patriotic campaigns, and displayed

her executive ability, her judgment, her sound common sense and business ability. When the War is over and the victory won can we deny the women, who are doing so much to bring about that victory, a larger say in public affairs, and a right, by their vote as well as their influence, to determine what our policy shall be with reference to our returned soldiers and other like problems? I think not.

Mr. Rowell, in following, gave the support of the Opposition and pointed to the increasing need for an educated and responsible democracy; at the same time he claimed a large degree of Liberal credit for the final success of this movement. Later on he introduced a Bill giving women the right to sit in the Legislature—as in Saskatchewan and Alberta—but the Premier stated (Mar. 7) that this was not necessary or desirable at this juncture and that there was no demand for it. The 2nd reading was defeated on division. According to the 1911 Census there were 802,136 males and 742,221 females over 20 years in Ontario so that the legislation doubled the electorate and, during war-time, gave a possible majority to the women. Incidents of the Session included the presentation of a Bust of Nelson to the House on Apr. 4 by the Rev. Dr. Alfred Hall on behalf of the British and Foreign Sailors' Society and the late Lord Strathcona, and a discussion over the expenditures upon the furniture, fittings and maintenance of Government House, totalling for the past year $67,480, with the declaration of W. McDonald (Lib.) on Apr. 3 that the cost of this building had increased to $1,008,104 or 175% over the original estimate.

Prohibition was still an issue during this year, though the public mind was pretty well made up as to the principle and only details and additional restrictions remained for discussion. The Ontario section of the Dominion Alliance fought liquor advertisements in the press and supported the enforcement of the law in every way open to them; cigarettes were aimed at as a second enemy trench and preparations were made for the Referendum of the future on the maintenance of Prohibition. Unified leadership of the Temperance force was put into the hands of a Committee of the Alliance —Rev. Dr. J. G. Shearer, Rev. L. Minehan, Rev. Dr. T. Albert Moore, R. J. Fleming, A. O. Hogg, Jos. Oliver, F. S. Spence and Chas. E. Steele. An Ontario Alliance Convention in Toronto on Mar. 6-9 passed a series of Resolutions aimed at the sterner restriction of liquor sales by prohibiting delivery from distilleries, breweries, warehouses or agencies in Ontario; placing the appointment of Inspectors in the hands of the License Commission; checking the sale of medicated wines and patent medicines and prohibiting advertisements of liquor on bill-boards or in newspapers or solicitation of orders through the mails, telegraph, telephone or otherwise; the teaching of scientific temperance as obligatory in schools. On Sept. 15 Mr. Rowell stated that: "Thousands of wives and children are better clothed, better fed, and know more of the real meaning of 'home' to-day than they ever knew before. Crime has been substantially reduced; the efficiency and earning power of the workers have been materially increased; business has been stimulated rather than depressed." In October *The Pioneer* published a great number of newspaper comments dealing with the moral and general success of the legislation; on Dec. 24 Sir Wm. Hearst issued the state-

ment that "fifteen months' experience of the Ontario Temperance Act has established beyond doubt that Prohibition, to the extent of Provincial jurisdiction, is a success and adds much to the financial strength of the Province, as well as to the comfort and happiness of its people."

Incidents of the year included the formation on Apr. 15 of the Greater Toronto Labour Party with James Richards as President and an address from W. R. Rollo, Hamilton; a Convention of the Ontario Labour Education Association, at London with G. L. Myland, Peterborough, elected President and Resolutions declaring for confiscation of 75% of all war profits in Canada from the outbreak of the War and nationalization of all industries connected with the production of war material, all cold storage plants and all Banks and railways including the C.P.R.; a statement to the Toronto Labour Council by Mrs. Hector Prenter (Aug. 16) of the Freedom League—a Pacifist organization—defining its object as the security of citizens against the encroachments of military or other authorities "who shall seek to compel them to follow any course of action which may be repulsive to their sentiments of justice and brotherhood, or to their economic, moral or religious principles"; the strike of the Toronto Street Railway men on July 11 for an increase of 10 cents an hour and adoption of the closed-shop principle, the Company's offer of 2 cents as a war bonus and the refusal to employ none but Union men, the men's refusal of arbitration and settlement on the 13th at an average increase of 6 cents—Messrs. McGarry, McPherson and Ferguson of the Provincial Government having greatly aided the negotiations. Other incidents were as follows:

Jan. 1. The vital statistics for Ontario in 1916 showed an estimated population of 2,776,885 divided as follows: Cities 36·72%; towns 5·76%; rural municipalities 57·62%.

May 10. Announcement made that Hart House, associated with the University of Toronto, was to be available for the work of the Military Hospitals Commission and thus enable it to carry on the work of re-education with greater effect.

Nov. 13-17. An unpleasant trial took place in Kingston on these dates—unpleasant because it aroused religious prejudices and was based upon the charges of a woman against her own religious Order and spiritual Chief. Sister Mary Basil, an inmate of the House of Providence at Kingston for 29 years and latterly at the Orphanage of the Order in St. Mary's-on-the-Lake, accused the Archbishop of Kingston (Dr. Spratt), the Mother-General of the House of Providence, Dr. Daniel Phelan of Kingston and certain Sisters of the House with abduction and an attempt to carry her by force to an Asylum in Quebec; she demanded $20,000 damages because of age, penniless condition and inability to return to the Order. It is impossible here to go into the details of the trial before Mr. Justice Britton; the fact of an attempted removal of the woman was not denied but the Archbishop denied all knowledge of, or responsibility for, the alleged act. All kinds of questions were involved—the degree of authority permissible in such institutions, the duty of oversight resting in the Archbishop or otherwise, the measure of discipline which might be maintained, the incompatibility of temper, and peculiarities of conduct, and degrees of insanity, charged against Sister Mary Basil, the strict legality of the action by the institution aside from its necessity. Much depended, too, upon the personal characters of those involved and nothing was alleged against the officials of the institution except in statements of the plaintiff whose temperament and health and personal qualities were, of course, involved. The broad question of attempted legal abduction was decided in favour of the plaintiff and she was awarded a verdict of $20,000 against the Archbishop and $4,000 against Dr. Phelan. The case was appealed on the ground

that Archbishop Spratt was only responsible as head of a Corporation Sole. An alleged verbatim report of the trial was published and circulated by the Orange Order.

Nov. 23. At the 16th annual Convention of Ontario Women's Institutes, one Resolution declared in favour of the extension of women's sphere of labour with equal pay for equal work, and petitioned the Government to take action in order that "none of our children be unfed, underfed, or ill-fed!"

Dec. 20. Conclusion of an agreement announced by Hon. G. Howard Ferguson, Minister of Lands, Forests and Mines, between the Government and Mundy & Stewart of Toronto, as to the Kapuskasing River Pulp and Timber limit, under which 1,740 sq. miles of land were to be cleared; a $1,000,000 Pulp and Paper plant established, employing 200 hands; a market created for the produce raised by returned soldiers on New Ontario farms; an estimated $4,500,000 of additional revenue received by the Province.

Dec. 31. The total number of Fires in Ontario during 1917 was 9,601, the losses $10,365,539, the Insurance loss $7,897,447.

Dec. 31. The balance sheet of the Toronto Hydro-Electric System for 1917 showed a gross income of $2,049,382, a cost for current and expense of operation totalling $1,294,022, a surplus of $755,360 with an Interest, depreciation and sinking fund of $720,892 charged against the Surplus. The Assets totalled $10,317,530 including Lands, Transmission, Transformer, Distribution and Equipment systems and the Liabilities $10,241,711, The Honour Roll of this Company showed 11 men killed, 16 wounded or prisoners, 7 honourably discharged and 132 on active service.

Dec. 31. Bulletin No. 10 of the Ontario Bureau of Industries, issued in 1917, showed in the preceding year a population of 2,580,252; municipal Assets of $1,974,625,085; municipal taxes of $32,478,226; School taxes of $13,119,530.

Dec. 31. Government Appointments of the year were as follows:

Provincial Forester	E. J. Zavitz	Toronto.
Registrar of Deeds—Peel	F. J. Jackson	Meadowvale.
Registrar of Deeds—Waterloo	Oscar S. Eby	Waterloo.
Assistant Commissioner of Agriculture	W. R. Reek, B.S.A.	Charlottetown.
Police Magistrate	John Goodwin	Welland.
Police Magistrate	James E. Willis	Whitby.
Police Magistrate	Jesse Bradford	Lindsay
Police Magistrate	Geo. A. Jordan	Lindsay
Registrar of Deeds—Haliburton	John E. Swinburne	Fort William.
Sheriff of Essex County	Chas. N. Anderson	Leamington
Registrar of Surrogate Court	W. A. Hollinrake	Brantford.

Dec. 31. Elections as head of some prominent Ontario organizations were as follows:

Ontario Branch, Dominion Alliance	Charles E. Steele	Toronto.
Ontario Good Roads Association	C. R. Wheelock	Orangeville.
Ontario W.C.T.U.	Mrs. E. A. Stevens	Toronto.
Ontario Commercial Travellers' Association	J. H. Grant	London.
Argonaut Rowing Club	John J. Armstrong	Toronto.
Independent Telephone Association	F. S. Scott	Brussels.
Ontario Football Association	S. Clarke	Toronto.
Ontario Amateur Lacrosse Association	E. P. Lancaster	Havelock.
Association of Ontario Land Surveyors	J. J. MacKay	Hamilton.
Central Conservative Association	J. R. L. Starr, K.C.	Toronto.
Royal Canadian Yacht Club	Com. W. C. Brent	Toronto.
Ontario Dental Association	Dr. J. L. Simpson	Trenton.
Masonic Grand Lodge of Ontario	W. H. Wardrope, K.C.	Hamilton.
Institute of Chartered Accounts	T. Watson Sime	Toronto.
Ontario Hockey Association	J. F. Paxton	Whitby.
Grand Orange Lodge, Ontario East	O. W. Landon	Lansdowne.
Grand Orange Lodge, Ontario West	H. C. Hocken	Toronto.

The University of Toronto; Other Institutions.

The Provincial University carried on its work under some difficulty during 1917. The revenues of the year (June 30) were $862,608, the expenditures $946,447 and a special grant was given by the Legislature to meet the deficit. The students numbered 3,246, divided as follows: Arts, 1,389; Medicine, 546; Applied Science, 196; Education, 397; Forestry, 10; Social Service, 287; Summer Session, 355; Graduate Courses, 80. Of these students 1,736 were men and 1,510 women; the degrees conferred totalled 572, including M.B. 100; B.A. 225; M.A. 27; B.A.Sc., 50; D.D.S. 72; B.S.A., 33; and Phm. B. 28. As to the War the C.O.T.C. sent to England for Commissions 259 men, as R.F.C.Cadets 54, and for the R.N.A.S. 21; the *Varsity* Magazine Supplement

continued its yearly Honour Roll and record of war services, showing to Dec. 13, 1917, a total of two V.C. winners, 11 recipients of the C.M.G., 2 of the C.B., 46 of the D.S.O., and 6 of the D.S.C., 160 of the M.C., 57 of various British and Foreign Honours, and 172 mentioned in Despatches. During the year the important and effective University (No. 4) General Hospital was brought from the East to England and Col. J. A. Roberts, C.B., M.D., was succeeded (owing to ill-health) in the command by Col. W. B. Hendry. The University continued to hold its place in public and war-work during the year. It joined with McGill University, and followed the example of Manitoba, in establishing a six years' Medical course in place of five and was accused by Queen's of Kingston with following the American rather than British practice. A statement was issued on Feb. 17 in reply to some critics who claimed that students would be better employed at war-work and that the University might very well be closed. It was pointed out that: "From the beginning and constantly ever since, the issues of the War have been laid before the students in a great variety of ways, and at the same time urgent pressure has been brought to bear upon them to perform their duty to the country. Out of a total of 3,300 graduates and undergraduates who have enlisted, more than 1,600 have been in attendance during the period of the War." No money, it was added, would be saved to the country if the University were closed: "The revenue from fees would be lost but the expenses would not be proportionately decreased. If closed it would still be necessary to retain most of the administrative staff, maintain, repair and heat the buildings, and keep the grounds in order."

On May 2 President R. A. Falconer conferred Medical degrees upon 30 graduates and on the 18th presided at a Convocation which conferred the degree of Hon. LL.D. upon Sir John Hendrie, Lieut.-Governor and that of D.Sc. upon Lieut.-Col. G. G. Nasmith, C.M.G., whose research work had won him distinction at the Front. Enlistments were stated at 4,000 and those fallen in action at 231. In September it was announced that all the male students of the University, in attendance for the Session of 1917-18, would be required to take some form of military or physical training. At the same time, with Conscription coming, the C.O.T.C. became a still more popular institution. Men in this Corps were ranked as privates, took training in Canada, and then were drafted to England to train as officers attached to Imperial units. Speaking on Oct. 5 in Toronto Sir Robert Falconer—who had been Knighted a few months before—declared that boys of 18 should be sent to the University and at 20 would be fitted by military and other training for active service; that "all medical students should be exempt from Conscription, and that the Faculties should become Medical Corps, which could be drawn upon to meet the crisis that was coming in handling men who return disabled from the War"; that "of Canadian Universities there were 6,000 undergraduates at present on active service, or 60% of the whole of the undergraduates of the Dominion." The University Hospital Supply Association reported for the year receipts of $87,837 and disbursements of $73,054, with 32,919 articles made by members since March, 1915.

As to associated institutions Victoria College reported in April, 1917, 426 graduates and students on active service (of whom 74 had been in Theological courses) and conferred (Apr. 2) the D.D. degree upon Rev. Daniel Norman, B.A., Missionary in Japan, and Rev. J. P. Wilson, B.A., of Peterborough, and passed 18 graduates in Theology; Chancellor the Rev. Dr. R. P. Bowles, in reporting the 24th student from this institution dead at the Front, confessed that the College had always been "a centre of Pacifist teachings." He added: "We were drenched in that kind of philosophy but I think the College can be congratulated on the way it has adjusted itself." St. Michael's College in reply to some unfair criticisms, stated through its Superior the Rev. Father H. Carr (Mar. 21) that 171 of its students were Overseas with only 166 of a total present enrolment and that 7 priests of the College staff—all there were of military age—had volunteered; Knox College at its Convocation of Apr. 10 gave an Hon. D.D. to Rev. James W. Mitchell, Missionary to the Indians, and Rev. Chong Ching-Ki, Secretary of the Chinese Continuation Committee, 13 graduates received diplomas and the B.D. degree was conferred on 6 other graduates; Wycliffe College held a Convocation on Apr. 11 and conferred its Hon. D.D. upon Archbishop S. P. Matheson of Winnipeg, the Rt. Rev. Dr. J. F. Sweeny, Toronto, and Bishop Edward C. Acheson of Connecticut, Principal T. R. O'Meara announced 13 graduates into the Anglican ministry with only 44 students compared with 110 in 1916—the enlistment of 11 out of the 44 with a total of 81 on active service; Trinity College showed a record of 298 enlistments with 21 deaths on service and a roll of Honour

which included 2 Knighthoods, 10 other Orders, 13 winners of the D.S.O. and 21 of the M.C., etc.; McMaster University had an enrolment of 205 of whom 65 were women and its affiliated institution, Brandon College, had 68 students with its Principal, Rev. Dr. Whidden, returned to Parliament in the Elections; Ottawa University had a registration of 691 students. Western University, London, through a Delegation, headed by Sir Adam Beck, President, E. E. Braithwaite and Philip Pocock, asked the Ontario Government to increase its yearly grant from $50,000 to $75,000; this was finally done. In the autumn 2 new Professors were added to the Staff—A. A. Livingston, B.A., PH.D., in Romance Languages, and W. Sherwood Dix, M.A., PH.D., in Classics; 6 more students went on Active Service, while 70 men were in the C.O.T.C.; the graduates in 1917 were 2 as M.A., 7 as B.A. and 13 as M.D. Affiliated with this University was Huron College—a federation of the Church of England Theological Colleges of Canada.

Queen's University, Kingston, ranked next to Toronto amongst the educational institutions of Ontario. In October the Rev. Dr. D. M. Gordon was finally relieved on account of ill-health, after 15 years of strenuous service, and the Rev. Dr. R. Bruce Taylor of Montreal was appointed Principal and Vice-Chancellor. Early in the year this University announced its disagreement with Toronto and McGill as to adding another year to the Medical course because (1) the proposed pre-medical year could not be taken to advantage in Ontario schools; (2) the Queen's B.A. course of 7 years would be seriously interefered with; (3) it would add greatly to the expense of the course; (4) it would militate against the supply of trained men for Army purposes. An *Overseas Record*, published by the University, showed 1,027 graduates, alumni, members of staff, and students, on active service Overseas, to 1st June, 1917. Of these 41 had been killed in action, 9 died of wounds, 75 were wounded, while the Honours won had totalled 45 of which 24 were M.C. winners with 30 others mentioned in Despatches. The valuable series of *Bulletins* in History and Economics issued by this University was added to in 1917 by the following: The Royal Disallowance in Massachusetts by A. G. Dorland; The Language Issue in Canada by Prof. O. D. Skelton; The Neutralization of States by F. W. Baumgartner. During 1917 the Arts Building, of Queen's as well as Grant Hall, was handed over to the Military Hospitals Commission for its returned men. Albert College, Belleville (Methodist) had its central building destroyed by fire in May and later on the City Council purchased 25 acres of ground in the western part of the city for $28,000 and gave this to the College on condition that buildings should be erected to cost not less than $200,000. This was to be done at the close of the War and, meanwhile, an endowment of $100,000 long sought by Principal E. N. Baker was finally obtained. It was stated in June that 220 students had gone Overseas and 10 girls as nurses. Upper Canada College, Toronto, though only a preparatory school, had a remarkable war record. In October it stood at 950 on service with 107 deaths in action, 74 Honours and 47 mentioned in despatches. In July H. W. Auden, B.A., was succeeded, after 14 years' service, as Principal by Major Wm. Lawson Grant, M.A., son of the late Principal of Queen's and, himself, formerly Professor of History at that institution and, latterly, at the Front with the 59th Battalion. His installation on Dec. 18 was marked by an address of unusual diction and character with high appreciation of the place which a great public school should hold in Canadian evolution and education.

Agriculture and Production; the United Farmers.

There was a decreased area of Ontario under wheat in 1917 and a decreased production with, however, greatly increased values; an enlarged acreage and production in oats and barley and potatoes and a decrease in rye, buckwheat and corn; a decrease in the holdings of horses and swine and a slight increase in sheep and cattle. The horses on July 1, 1917, totalled 765,873 in number, the cattle 2,827,609, the sheep 956,986, the swine 1,664,639, the poultry of all sorts 13,606,292. The value of all Live-stock in hand on July 1, 1916, was $263,869,539, according to Provincial statistics and by Federal statistics was $295,545,000 and, in 1917, $296,914,000; the value of those sold or slaughtered in 1916 was Provincially stated at $99,159,081. The Provincial figures of value for the Field crops of 1916 were $223,748,948; the Federal figures for 1917 totalled $284,176,300. The Provincial figures for 1916 showed a total value for Ontario farmlands of $794,676,886, for buildings $357,313,850, for Implements $98,020,295—for all, including Live-stock, $1,513,880,550 or an increase since 1914 of $33,000,000. The details of 1917 production were as follows:

Ontario Field Crops*	Area Acres	Yield per Acre Bush.	Total Yield Bush.	Average Price per Bush.	Total Value
Fall Wheat	656,500	21·50	14,114,800	$2.09	$29,499,900
Spring Wheat	113,000	19·50	2,203,500	2.08	4,583,300
All Wheat	769,500	21·25	16,318,300	2.09	34,083,200
Oats	2,687,000	36·50	98,075,500	0.72	70,614,400
Barley	361,000	31·00	11,191,000	1.16	12,981,600
Rye	68,000	17·75	1,207,000	1.64	1,979,500
Peas	126,000	16·75	2,110,500	3.21	6,774,700
Beans	36,000	11·75	423,000	6.79	2,872,200
Buckwheat	162,000	18·75	3,037,500	1.37	4,161,400
Mixed Grains	295,000	37·75	11,136,300	1.12	12,472,700
Flax	4,000	13·00	52,000	3.70	192,400
Corn for Husking	160,000	37·25	5,960,000	1.72	10,251,200
Potatoes	142,000	133·67	18,981,000	1.00	18,981,000
Turnips, Mangolds, etc	94,000	340·93	32,047,000	0.35	11,216,000
		Tons	Tons	per Ton	
Hay and Clover	2,998,000	1·70	5,097,000	10.26	52,295,000
Fodder Corn	265,000	7·54	1,998,000	5.00	9,990,000
Sugar Beets	14,000	8·40	117,000	6.75	793,800
Alfalfa	52,000	2·74	142,500	10.08	1,436,000

The United Farmers of Ontario was an important organization in 1917 with 400 local clubs and 15,000 members and a steady growth since its organization in 1914. R. H. Halbert, Melancthon, was President, and J. J. Morrison, Toronto, the energetic Secretary-Treasurer, with E. C. Drury, Barrie, and W. C. Good, Paris, as Vice-Presidents. The 3rd annual Convention was held in Toronto Mar. 7-8 with 450 Delegates present, and it adopted, in the main, the platform of the National Council of Agriculture as to tariffs, taxation, etc. It approved a direct tax on unimproved land values; a graduated tax on Incomes over $4,000; nationalization of railway, telegraph and express companies; the Initiative and Referendum, publicity in campaign funds, abolition of patronage system and Federal franchise for women. The only hitch was in the Reciprocity matter as to which a compromise Resolution declared approval of the freer trade and Reciprocity clauses subject to a Government Referendum on the latter subject. Another Resolution referred to pending changes in Empire relations and asked also for a Referendum on that issue. Other motions asked the Government (1) to give Independent Telephones long-distance connections and (2) urged it to obtain the entry of apples to the British market on the same scale as oranges and lemons; (3) condemned titles as undemocratic but in language hardly suited to serious discussion. Addresses were delivered by John Kennedy, T. A. Crerar, R. McKenzie, C. Rice-Jones and H. W. Wood of the Western organizations. The United Farmers Co-operative Co. Ltd., announced earnings of $11,884 and expenditures of $7,868; at the end of 1917 the turn-over on business had been $1,000,000; R. W. E. Burnaby, Jefferson, was elected President and J. J. Morrison, Secretary. The 4th Convention of the U.F.O. was held on Dec. 19-21 with a speech from President Halbert in which he declared that: "Government by the people is a myth. The real rulers of Canada are the knighted heads of combines. Financial, manufacturing and food distributing interests are organized, and the individual farmer, standing alone, has no chance against them. Farmers possess, but do not control, the biggest business asset in Canada."

Ontario Mines in 1917; Cobalt and Porcupine.

The year 1917 was a good year for Sudbury and its Nickel mines and Cobalt with its Silver production, but a poor one for Porcupine and its Gold development. Nickel production commenced in the two latter camps, also, but the output of the world still centred at Sudbury with the almost completed plants of the International Nickel Co. at Port Colborne and the British American Nickel Corporation near Sudbury promising refining operations sufficient for the supply of the whole British Empire. The total value of Nickel produced at Sudbury to the end of 1916 was $89,128,164—all refined in New Jersey or Overseas in Wales. The ore raised by the Canadian Copper Co.—subsidiary of the International Nickel—was 1,227,187 tons in 1916; that of the Mond Nickel Co. was 311,079 tons—the quantities smelted were respectively 1,167,070 tons and 354,619 tons. The Murray Mines of the B. A. Nickel Corporation—controlled by the British Government—in the diamond drilling already done showed a large body of ore, the extent of which was not fully determined, but

* Federal Census and Statistics Office.

it was stated in August, 1917, that a layer 80 feet thick, rich in nickel and copper ore, had been discovered by which the expected output of 11,000,000 tons would be increased by 5,000,000 tons annually. The following official statistics show the growth of this industry to the end of 1916:

Schedule		1912	1913	1914	1915	1916
Ore raised	Tons	737,656	784,697	1,000,364	1,339,322	1,572,804
Ore smelted	,,	725,065	823,403	947,053	1,272,283	1,546,215
Bessemer matte produced	,,	41,925	47,150	46,396	67,703	80,010
Nickel contents of matte	,,	22,421	24,838	22,759	34,039	41,299
Copper contents of matte	,,	11,116	12,938	14,448	19,608	22,430
Value of Nickel in matte		$4,722,040	$5,237,477	$5,108,997	$17,019,500	$20,649,279
Value of Copper in matte		$1,581,062	$1,839,438	$2,080,034	$3,921,600	$8,299,051
Wages paid		$2,357,889	$3,291,956	$3,131,520	$3,581,639	$4,920,720
Men employed		2,850	3,512	3,464	4,178	4,730

The value of Gold production in the Province during 1916, nearly all in Porcupine and its vicinity, was $10,399,377—representing 10 producing mines of which the chief was Hollinger with $5,073,401 of a product and dividends of $3,126,000, and the Dome with $2,153,819 and $800,000 respectively. The extraction per ton ran from $8.42 for the Hollinger Co., $11.27 for the Porcupine Crown and $17.85 for Tough-Oakes; the total product for Ontario since 1910 was $31,156,156. Other areas in Northern Ontario—illustrated by the Tough-Oakes mine—were coming into operation during 1916 and included Munro, Long Lake and Kirkland. In 1917, however, the growing cost of everything associated with gold, such as labour, materials, machinery, food, supplies, transportation, while its commodity value remained the same, had an effect upon production and the payment of dividends. Developments of deep drilling in the McIntyre, Hollinger, Porcupine Crown and Dome mines showed excellent results; the Newray property had spectacular features of progress, was acquired by the Crown Reserve interests of Cobalt and promised good production; the Kirkland Lake district was active with the Teck-Hughes mine as a new producer; a notable find of gold was made in Richard Township and acquired by the Mining Corporation of Canada and another took place in the Lightning River district—north-east of Kirkland Lake. The estimated total output for 1917 was 430,000 ounces worth $8,468,589 with dividends of $1,768,542 or a slight reduction from 1916. It was stated on October 18 by a Toronto *Globe* correspondent that, drawing a line around the five chief mines of the Porcupine: "The amount of gold so far determined within, or in close proximity to that circle, amounts to, approximately, $80,000,000—something like $50,000,000 of which is in ore reserves. In fact, at these five mines the ore reserves are growing at the rate of about $1,000,000 per month in excess of production." A conservative estimate by Sir Edmund Walker of the Bank of Commerce put this total at $50,000,000. In milling capacity distinct progress was made from an approximate daily tonnage of 4,190 in 1916 to 6,200 in 1917. Conditions in cost, in labour shortage and inefficiency, etc., caused a suspension of Hollinger dividends, a cutting of Dome disbursements in half and other reductions, but the greatness of original resources remained and the Hollinger-Acme properties alone were said by *The Northern Miner* of Colbalt to have ore reserves (estimated) of $81,000,000. The later annual reports of these Companies showed a partly-developed reserve of $34,000,000.

The Cobalt Silver region also showed less production for reasons largely the same but an increased value owing to higher prices for the metal itself. The total production, up to the close of 1916, was 255,322,279 ounces valued at $135,829,548; other elements of Cobalt ore such as arsenic, cobalt and nickel had netted considerable returns. The production showed a total for 1917, approximately, of $16,000,000 in value, or an increase of nearly 4 millions with net profits of about twice that figure—the average price of silver being 81 cents per ounce compared with 65 cents in 1916 and 49 cents in 1915. The shipments of the Mining Corporation (4,000,000 ounces) in 1917 were said to exceed those of any silver property in the Empire and the Nipissing came second to it with an increase in values from $2,735,000 to $3,350,000. Coniagas paid three quarterly dividends of a total 12½% but conserved its last one in the year and had a production of 1,200,000 ounces with a purchase also of the Ankerite gold claims in the Porcupine and a record of $8,000,000 paid in dividends since 1907. The Peterson Lake Co. won a lawsuit which confirmed its ownership of certain rights and enabled a probable recovery of 4 to 5 million ounces of silver. The Cobalt dividends of the year increased to approximately $5,450,000 or a total payment of $80,000,000 since the camp started. There were

28 producing mines at the beginning of 1917; the shipments of that year included 5,100,000 ounces from the Mining Corporation, 3,800,000 from the Nipissing, 2,300,000 from Kerr Lake, 1,300,000 from Coniagas, 1,200,000 from the O'Brien, 1,000,000 each from McKinley-Darragh and the Miller Lake-O'Brien of Gowganda; some of these mines were seriously affected in latter years by the legal holding-up of production through an oil-flotation process at the instance of its original German-American owners. According to T. W. Gibson, Deputy Minister of Mines, in Ontario, this process of flotation for the concentration of low grade ores was one of the most important developments of modern metallurgy. It had been found adapted to the treatment of the heaps of tailings accumulated round the mines of Cobalt, as well as to leaner wall and mine rock, and its effect in prolonging the life of the silver-mining industry there would undoubtedly be considerable: "Material incapable of being treated by ordinary gravity methods was susceptible to the flotation process, and what was formerly waste became a source of profit." Meanwhile, the steady growth of Ontario Mineral production, as a whole, had increased from $4,705,673 in 1891 to $5,235,003 in 1896, or 11%; to $11,831,086 in 1901, or 125%; to $22,388,383 in 1906 or 89%; to $41,976,797 in 1911 or 87%; to $65,303,822 in 1916 or 55%. In the latter year there were 11,249 employees with wages of $11,492,669. The Statistics of production in 1917 were as follows:

Mineral Production		Quantity 1917	Value 1917
METALLIC:			
Gold	ounces	420,000	$ 8,698,831
Silver	"	19,479,807	16,193,293
Copper	lbs.	542,878	119,407
Copper, in matte	tons	21,197	7,842,390
Nickel, in matte	"	41,887	20,943,500
Iron ore, exported	"	136,343	483,690
Pig iron	"	49,485	1,016,699
Cobalt (metallic)	lbs.	396,395	589,290
Cobalt oxide	"	418,703	533,489
Molybdenite, concentrates	"	80,614	108,501
Lead	"	1,772,512	172,601
Sundries			140,482
Metallic Totals			$56,842,673
NON-METALLIC:			
Arsenic, white, grey, etc	lbs.	5,183,145	$608,483
Brick, fancy and pressed	M.	35,203	462,357
Brick, common	"	74,129	769,340
Tile, drain	"	13,421	468,886
Tile, hollow blocks	"	3,931	301,528
Cement, Portland	bbls.	2,063,231	2,934,271
Graphite, refined	tons	3,173	210,018
Gypsum, crushed, etc	"	48,656	128,828
Iron pyrites	"	257,369	1,066,575
Lime	bush.	1,179,062	269,461
Natural gas	M. cu. ft.	20,025,727	3,182,154
Petroleum, crude	Imp. gal.	7,104,700	475,000
Quartz	tons.	174,155	382,993
Salt	"	138,528	1,095,866
Sand and gravel	cu. yds.	1,142,481	427,303
Sewer Pipe			205,810
Stone, building, trap, etc			749,160
Talc, crude and ground	tons	16,076	179,554
Sundries			299,682
Total, non-metallic			$14,217,269
Total, metallic			56,842,673
Grand total			$71,059,942

The total value of all metals produced in Ontario up to the end of 1917 was $466,000,000. During 1916-17 the demand for metals had been immensely enhanced by the War and munition requirements but production held down to some extent by the cost of supplies and scarcity of labour. Molybdenite was a new production commencing in 1915 with $14,099 worth of ore, in 1916 $26,393 and in 1917 $108,000. As a steel-hardening substance which formerly came from Germany its existence was a matter of interest. At the beginning of 1917 there were 8 iron blast furnaces operated in Ontario and the local ore smelted in the previous year was 215,366 tons and the Foreign ore 1,056,810 tons; a pig-iron production of $9,739,704 and a total value of steel produced, $12,847,309. The general production of Ontario up to 1917 was officially stated as follows:

	Ontario	All Canada
Farm Products	$ 350,000,000	$ 865,000,000
Minerals	52,000,000	128,500,000
Timber	50,000,000	200,000,000
Manufactures	700,000,000	1,300,000,000
Totals	$1,152,000,000	$2,493,500,000

Quebec in 1917: Government; Education; Production.

This Province during the year had a conspicuous and combative place in the controversies of the Dominion; its Provincial conditions were quiet, orderly, progressive. Sir Lomer Gouin stood by his chief in the Federal arena but with a minimum of political friction and party feeling in Provincial affairs; his own majority was so large and so continuous since taking the Premiership in 1905 that he had little cause to worry. The standing in the House of Assembly on June 1, 1917, showed 73 Liberals, 6 Conservatives and 2 vacancies; at dissolution in 1916 the numbers had stood 58 to 16 with 7 vacancies. His personal view, in a general sense, of inter-Provincial relationship was expressed at a *Bonne Entente* banquet in Toronto on Jan. 8: "Mutual respect is absolutely essential to our national perpetuation. There must be a spirit of tolerance for religion, origin and tongue; and respect for the ideas and ambitions of our neighbours. We are destined by Providence, whether we like it or not, to live together. Why not live happily Why should we not bend every energy to weld together in the nation the splendid elements we have?" Sir Lomer led in the acceptance of National Service and the signing of the cards at Quebec; he agreed with Sir W. Laurier in opposing an extension of the Parliamentary term at Ottawa, and the enactment of Conscription without a definite decision by the people in a General Election or by a Referendum; he maintained in the two or three speeches he made during the Elections that the people of Quebec would loyally abide by any decision expressed through a clear majority of the national vote. During the three years of War his Government's record was as follows:

1. Gift to England of 1,000,000 lbs. of Cheese	$ 623,898
2. Contributions to War Funds	82,047
3. Contribution to Canadian Patriotic Fund	1,000,000
4. Subscription to Victory Loan	1,000,000

The Province, as a whole, contributed to various War Funds and objects—through the Municipal Council of Montreal $545,815, with $1,000,000 vote proposed in 1917 for the Canadian Patriotic Fund; through the Quebec Municipal Council $199,444, and by a Provincial collection for the British Red Cross $233,000; through general contributions to the Patriotic Fund an estimated total of $10,000,000 to the end of 1917; through the press of Montreal a collection of $43,000 (in 1914) to aid a French-Canadian Parish Hospital in Paris; through the Belgian Relief Commission a collection of $177,984 to Mar. 20, 1917; through various organizations large sums for various French War charities—estimated in the one conducted by Lady Gouin and Mme. Chase Casgrain at 30,000,000 francs or about $1,500,000; many shipments of supplies by, for instance, the Help for France Committee of Mme. R. Thibaudeau, Quebec, with 2,725 cases of clothes.* Sir P. E. Le Blanc, Lieut.-Governor of the

*From a Summary compiled by Lieut.-Col. P. Pelletier, Agent-General for Quebec in London.

Province, with two sons at the Front, did earnest War service in his speeches—notably on July 2 when he made this patriotic utterance at Montreal: "Our army, product of our national courage, is supported by the enthusiasm and pride of the whole Canadian nation. It is marked by valour, skill and energy and our history will contain no brighter pages than those which record the military achievements of the gallant youths who have freely offered their services when they felt that they were needed by their country. Patriotism has been strengthened by their example, so that the call of duty has been heard by all who are not blind to the present position of Canada."

Early in the year (Mar. 12) an appeal was issued by him to all the Mayors of the Province on behalf of the Patriotic Fund and Red Cross "to vote a sum which will prove your everlasting patriotism." It was not his fault or that of the Government if the Province, outside of Montreal, took $17,000,000 of the Victory Loan in November instead of the $35,000,000 aimed at; it probably was due, in the main, to lack of ready money amongst the *habitants* and it was a condition shared in by other parts of Canada—notably New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and British Columbia; Montreal exceeded its objective and topped even Toronto. The War gardens of Montreal were a distinct success in 1917 due to the efforts of the Montreal Cultivation Committee, the Khaki League and the Rotary Club; the Provincial Government during the year decided to call new Townships by the names of battles shared in by Canadians, such as Ypres, Courcelette, Festubert, etc. The Conservative Opposition did not say much about war conditions at this time and their general attitude was very similar to that of the Government. Arthur Sauvé, Opposition Leader, declared at a St. Rose anti-Conscription meeting that he had come in the interests of liberty: "I cannot share the views of those who say that the interests of the Empire are superior to those of the Dominion; I am against Conscription as being contrary to the teachings of a life-time and am sure that if the measure is submitted to the people it will be shown conclusively that opposition does not come entirely from Quebec and that the majority of the people are against the Bill." In the Legislature on Dec. 19 he made an explicit statement:

> The Federal Government did not prepare the Province of Quebec properly to accept Conscription. There was no organization. Furthermore, certain English newspapers from the West have never stopped insulting and provoking this Province, and suggesting the Conscription Act as a way to reduce and control Quebec. In the other Provinces the Government succeeded in controlling all the newspapers for its support. In Quebec it was quite the contrary. Too many politicians have used Conscription as a means to get elected and it is unfortunate that its significance has been misrepresented and misused. The leaders deserve the whole blame and not the people. At all events a new trend of thought is necessary for the entire country together with a more national system of education and a civic spirit more adequate to our position as citizens of Canada and as British subjects. Above all, let us be National Canadians instead of Provincial Canadians. Our Canadianism must comprehend all the duties appertaining to a great economic country, forming part of the British Empire and loyal to the King, who is entitled to the allegiance of all his subjects. Canada must preserve the traditions of the two great races who have laboured side by side to develop the country.

As Minister of Agriculture the Hon. J. E. Caron issued an excellent Report of his Department for the year of June 30, 1917.

He congratulated the Bureau of Statistics, under the charge of G. E. Marquis, upon its good work in compiling Provincial statistics; described the sowing in 1916 of the greatest crop in Quebec's history —an increase, for instance, in wheat acreage of nearly 400% and of potatoes 80%—and the difficulty in getting sufficient seed until the aid of the Federal Minister was obtained; regretted the result of bad weather through which the crop was a failure in comparison with expectations and previous production; stated that the Agricultural schools and colleges—St. Anne, Oka, Macdonald and the Dairy, Veterinary and Household Science institutions—had a successful year with 2,305 students and 509 diplomas issued; dealt with the 86 Agricultural societies, representing 25,113 members, and 736 Farmers' Clubs with 72,137 members, as having a revenue of $201,555, payments from the Government of $122,169 and a Loan of $26,320 without interest, and declared that "this is an exceedingly powerful organization which, when set in motion for a good cause and putting forth its maximum amount of energy, may create an irresistible advance along the road to progress." In conclusion he referred to the great need of the Allies for food, feared a coming depletion of Canadian live animals, urged preparation so as to bear with the United States the burden of the call, and stated that he was doing his utmost to encourage stock-breeding and that sheep-raising, in particular, had increased 33% since 1911; declared that Agriculture had been promoted and that "the number of lady-farmers' clubs" had increased; stated that more than 30 parishes had benefited by the short courses in Agriculture, while the number of demonstration fields for the cultivation of clover, Indian corn and root plants had increased considerably; said that school gardens and school exhibitions were multiplied and encouraged wherever the School Boards and teachers were willing to help; declared that Arboriculture received a large share of attention, with 75,000 young trees planted since last spring; stated that the construction and equipment of Dairy-product factories had been greatly improved and 100 of the poorer class of factories closed up; announced that the total amount expended by his Department during the fiscal year was $604,342, apart from the Federal subsidy of $243,212. It may be added that the Federal grant for Agricultural Education totalled $243,212 in 1916-17 and $271,113 in 1917-18 and that the Dairy industry of 1916 showed an increase in the production of cheese and a decrease in butter with a considerable advance in values—totalling for the two $21,899,401. The 1917 field crops (Federal statistics) were as follows:

Quebec Field Crops	Area Acres	Yield per Acre Bush.	Total Yield Bush.	Average Price per Bush.	Total Value
Spring Wheat	277,400	14·00	3,883,600	$2.46	$ 9,553,700
Oats	1,492,700	21·75	32,466,200	0.92	29,868,900
Barley	165,600	18·50	3,063,600	1.58	4,840,500
Rye and Flax	28,150		423,000		827,300
Peas	66,457	12·00	797,500	4.51	3,596,700
Beans	55,157	15·00	827,400	7.77	6,428,900
Buckwheat	163,577	16·50	2,699,000	1.73	4,667,300
Mixed Grains	122,819	21·25	2,609,900	1.33	3,471,200
Corn for Husking	74,339	24·25	1,802,700	2.25	4,056,000
Potatoes	226,917	80·00	18,158,000	1.38	25,058,000
Turnips, Mangolds, etc.	70,192	224·51	15,759,000	0.59	9,298,000
		Tons	Tons	Per Ton	
Hay and Clover	2,961,983	1·71	5,065,000	9.58	48,523,000
Fodder Corn	69,030	8·50	586,800	5.00	2,934,000

M. Caron during the year opposed Conscription, indirectly, and on behalf of the farmers of his Province. In a letter to the Agricultural Committee of the Montreal Chamber of Commerce (Apr. 5) the Minister stated that agricultural credits and propaganda and model farms were considerable aids to Agriculture but the over-ruling question at the present time was the lack of labour: "Even with very favourable climatic conditions I predict a smaller crop next autumn. A good number of our farmers in all parts of the country have enrolled or are working in munition plants. If our farmers are attracted to the army or to manufacturing establishments, we can expect a diminution of agricultural production, and it is necessary to prepare to meet it. There is only one remedy to apply, and that is to do as in England, and have enrolment for agricultural purposes." This was in reply to a Report from the Committee which reviewed the reduced crops, the diminution of labour supplies, the small salaries and profits for farmers' sons, and described the insufficient technical knowledge of farmers with their inability to borrow money at low rates or to pay even 6% when agricultural returns only averaged 3%. The Committee urged the Government to assist Agriculture by (1) establishment of a system of agricultural credits which would enable farmers to overcome the insufficiency of manual labour and to increase production by thorough use of the most modern farming machinery; (2) the establishment at Montreal of an agricultural propaganda which would inform the farmers, recruit manual labour for them, distribute far and wide information concerning the needs, possibilities and profits of agriculture, and diffuse samples, exhibits and pamphlets; (3) the organization in each county of a small model farm cultivated by the young people of the community who would thus get practical knowledge. At Sherbrooke on Aug. 29 the Minister declared that Canada had done her utmost in food production for the troops and announced that this year's crops would be equal to the average in spite of adverse weather conditions. He advocated the conscription of men for agriculture as being absolutely necessary owing to the shortage of farm labour. M. Caron had an article along these lines in a booklet issued by *Le Devoir*, entitled *The Case Against Conscription*, and to which Mr. Bourassa and Hon. S. A. Fisher also contributed.

The Roads administration of Hon. J. A. Tessier continued during 1917 to bring good results. The Report of this Minister for June 30 showed that since 1912, when the Good Roads Act came into force, 361 municipalities had come under its operation with 52 others authorized and all formalities under way; that between 1907 and 1911 the number of municipalities maintaining their own roads was 206, in 1914, 440, and in 1917, 541; that during the fiscal year, 1917, 71 miles of macadam road were made through the Department's aid and direction with 78 miles of gravelling; that the total length of Provincial or Municipal roads, macadamized or gravelled, was 2,238 miles. M. Tessier expressed pride in this record and, rightly so, in the excellence of the Quebec main highways and their facilities for motorists as well as farmers; year by year the Good Roads Convention endorsed this view. T. B. Michaud,

Deputy Minister of Roads, explained the Quebec system as follows to the *Canadian Municipal Journal* (July): "The Government asked from the municipalities a contribution of $1,000 per mile and the contribution was readily granted; as regards local roads the Government offered to pay 50% of the amount expended for macadam or gravelled roads and those who didn't believe in long-term payments accepted the offer; the Government offered money at two, and then at three, per cent., without sinking fund; the demands have not ceased to pour in and with such a continuity that, in five years, the joint action of the people and the Government have given to the Province over 300 miles of trunk roads, nearly 2,000 miles of improved roads, and done away, to a large extent, with statute labour."

This Minister, as Mayor of Three Rivers, welcomed the *Bonne Entente* visitors of 1917. He expressed the belief (May 20) that: "Quebec will do her full share in any sacrifice which may be needed to keep Canada in her place among the nations. She will aid all she can in removing the misunderstandings which are paralyzing national strength. I am convinced that having seen a part of Quebec the Ontario delegates, especially, will return determined to accept a full measure of national aspirations in the French race." The Provincial Secretary (Hon. J. L. Décarie) reported (June 30, 1917) Fees received of $33,395 with 281 joint stock companies granted letters-patent and capitalized at $15,952,600: the number of patients cared for in the Hospitals for Insane, were 2,422 males and 2,359 females, the admissions to the Reformatory schools were 517 boys and 141 girls and the children admitted to Industrial schools 478 boys and 370 girls, with a total of 1,506 in 9 of these institutions; the special grants awarded to school municipalities for establishment of rural academies for boys totalled $72,000 and for building new schools in poor districts $102,328. To this Minister the Council of Arts and Manufactures reported as to the 12 schools of an industrial character which were under their control—with 49 classes, 2,840 pupils and an average attendance of 1,491; the School for Higher Commercial Studies, Montreal, had 46 students, the Montreal Technical Institute and 4 others in different centres had 557 students registered. Under this Department also was the Bureau of Statistics and its *Statistical Year Book*, edited by G. E. Marquis, gave a valuable summary of Quebec's progress from year to year. The following statement as compiled from its 1917 pages indicated general conditions in the previous year:

Sundry Particulars.		Total Production:	
Area (sq. miles)	706,834	Field Crops	$102,937,000
Population (number)	2,309,427	Live-Stock	119,230,000
Number of Hospitals	54	Dairy	22,875,336
Philanthropic Institutions	109	Minerals	13,287,024
Total of Persons Relieved	59,837	Forest	27,500,492
Exports	$279,039,923	Fisheries	2,076,851
Imports	180,356,089	Manufactures (1915)	387,900,585

To M. Décarie, though not in the same sense as in other Provinces where Education was administered by a responsible Minister, there were submitted the Reports of the Department of Public Instruction with its Catholic and Protestant Committees which were

in charge of their respective interests, with Hon. C. F. Dêlage as Superintendent of the whole and French and English Secretaries of the Department to act for their respective denominational Committees. The Superintendent's Report for June 30 dealt with the death of M. Boucher de la Bruère, so long Superintendent; with the continued progress of the schools, the greater efficiency of the teachers, the high percentage of school attendance and need for more boys' schools with male teachers; with the campaign meetings of these Catholic and Protestant Committees to promote public interest in Education, and the existence of 1,319 Catholic and 352 Protestant School municipalities in 1916, with the addition of 20 new ones in 1917; with the elaborate separate publications—Financial Statement, General Statistics, School Corporations—issued by the Bureau of Statistics; with the expenditure of $2,258,638 upon school-houses during the year and an amalgamation of the School Commissions of Montreal on July 1, 1918, by Act of the Legislature. The official statistics for the year ending June 30, 1916, may be summarized as follows:

ROMAN CATHOLIC SCHOOLS	Number of Schools	Male Teachers	Female Teachers	Boys	Girls	Total Pupils	Average Attendance	Average Attendance; %
Elementary Schools	5,292	174	6,395	102,804	110,842	213,646	166,383	77·88
Model Schools	680	824	2,462	57,296	51,179	108,475	90,087	83·05
Academies	308	1,080	2,337	35,970	47,257	83,227	72,608	87·24
Normal Schools	13	45	138	183	977	1,160	1,160	100·00
Roman Catholic Classical Colleges	21	704		7,696		7,696	6,602	85·78
University	1	353	19	1,715	884	2,599	2,599	100·00
Schools for the Deaf, Dumb and Blind.	3	41	95	211	254	465	465	100·00
Technical Schools	5	18		1,328		1,328	1,054	79·37
Dress-cutting Schools	68		68		3,318	3,318	2,290	69·02
Schools of Arts, etc.	9	43		2,722		2,722	1,517	55·73
Night Schools	54	109	7	3,314	274	3,588	1,795	50·03
Totals	6,454	3,391	11,521	213,239	214,985	428,224	346,560	80·93
PROTESTANT SCHOOLS								
Elementary Schools	716	65	1,407	20,837	20,808	41,645	30,854	74·09
Model Schools	58	14	175	2,614	2,802	5,416	3,976	73·41
Academies	41	106	307	5,904	6,134	12,038	9,456	78·55
Normal School	1	7	6	8	189	197	197	100·00
Universities	2	231		1,035	161	1,196	1,196	100·00
School for the Deaf, Dumb and Blind.	1		6	35	37	72	72	
Night Schools	15	48		1,930		1,930	966	50·05
Totals	834	471	1,901	32,363	30,131	62,494	46,717	74·76

Teachers	Without Diplomas	With Diplomas	Elementary School Diplomas	Diploma Model Schools	For Academies	Total of Teachers
Male Teachers in Roman Catholic Schools	55	100	72	142	186	455
Male Teachers in Protestant Schools	49	136	5	49	82	185
Female Teachers in Roman Catholic Schools	497	6,031	3,700	2,153	178	6,528
Female Teachers in Protestant Schools	325	1,564	626	832	106	1,889
Totals	926	8,131	4,403	3,176	552	9,057

Professors and female lay teachers teaching in the Universities, the Normal Schools, the Colleges and special schools	881
Members of Clergy in Colleges and other schools	770
Brothers	1,667
Nuns	4,909
Grand Total of Teachers	17,284

The cost of Education to the Province was met by Municipal taxation of $5,645,913 in 1916-17; by monthly fees of $347,922 and the contributions of independent subsidized schools totalling $3,687,369; by Government grants paid by the Department of Public Instruction, $1,482,589; by Government payments from Fire Departments totalling $400,248, or a general total of $11,564,042. On Apr. 25 C. J. Magnan, Catholic Inspector-General, recommended to his Committee, after study of various conditions, the following points bearing on efficiency of instruction: (a) A more effective carrying out of the course of study; (b) more attention to be devoted to very small children; (c) more competency on the part of both male and female teachers and more permanency of teachers in the same school; (d) a reduction in the maximum of pupils for each class; (e) an increase of the number of schools under the direction of male teachers; (f) the professional efficiency of male and female teachers; (g) the establishment of a certificate of study as a reward for work on the part of teachers and pupils and as a powerful means of encouraging the pupils to pursue their studies beyond the allotted 12 or 13 years. The Provincial Board of Health reported to M. Décarie for 1916 as to contagious diseases, Laboratories, sewerage, cemeteries, sanitary matters, Tuberculosis, protection of food, hygiene of dwellings, infantile mortality, etc.; the deaths in 13 years up to 1915 were given as including 10,601 from cancer, 16,910 from heart disease, 4,067 from liver troubles and 7,880 from Bright's disease; the total for 1915 from all causes was 19,588.

The Hon. L. A. Taschereau, Minister of Public Works and Labour, in his Report for June 30, 1917, dealt with various repairs and improvements and stated the receipts of his Department at $11,290 and expenditures at $730,182; showed a total of $2,410,300 Fire insurance carried for the Government; provided a statement as to 2,005 miles of subsidized Quebec railways with past Government grants of $10,803,230, payments to date of $8,510,824, 1,455 miles constructed and $2,287,802 of the grants as lapsed, or otherwise disposed of—the total Railway mileage of the Province being 4,441 of which 229 miles were Electric; indicated, through reports of various officials, that the number of Factory Inspectors was insufficient to safeguard the interests of women, children and men generally, and dealt with the difficulties of handling the child-work problem, etc. In this connection Louis Guyon, Chief Inspector, urged that occupational diseases amongst workmen be treated in the same way as accidents and referred to the 50 powder mills between Hull and Three Rivers and the facility with which outsiders were able to illegally obtain dynamite; 414 industrial accidents were reported for the year—the greater number caused by workmen falling asleep; the Provincial Employment Bureau had 4,993 persons applying for work and 10,234 asked for by employers; the building of iron bridges, the Prevention of Fires Act, inspection of hotels and stationary engineers, the Fair-Wages Act, etc., were under this Department. M. Taschereau, during the year, took some interest in Federal politics. He told the Montreal Reform Club on Apr. 28 that: "The War, which should have had the effect of binding all Canadians closely

together, has, as a matter of fact, been the cause of the bitterest attacks on the Province of Quebec. And yet, the best elements in both Ontario and Quebec realize the necessity of a good understanding and of co-operation." He protested against the idea of an Imperial Parliament. Canada's interests could not be well looked after by a few representatives in a very large body. Canada must not allow her autonomy to be interfered with. He also objected to any action by the English Parliament "which would prolong the life of the dying Conservative Government in this country." Though not taking any active part in the Elections he was opposed to Conscription for reasons stated in a Quebec interview on Aug. 24:

(1) The Canadian people are against Conscription as those prove who oppose the Referendum proposed by Sir Wilfrid Laurier, because they believe a free vote would defeat it.

(2) Conscription was presented to Parliament after Sir Robert Borden had promised repeatedly that there would not be Conscription. It was a crime thus to deceive the people, who had placed confidence in the promises of Sir Robert and who cannot be sure that only 100,000 men will be called.

(3) Canada has done her part up to the present in men and money. 'It is true that we must not abandon our men at the Front, but the United States, which has 12 times our population and 20 times our wealth, ought to be able to take care of a great part of the line which the Canadian soldiers hold.'

(4) The present Dominion Government has so bungled the system of voluntary enlistment, intentionally or not, that it has succeeded in stopping it.

The Hon. Jules Allard, Minister of Lands and Forests, reported a total area of 7,554,211 acres as subdivided into available lots on June 30, 1917, with 256,477 acres sold during that year; the revenues from woods and forests as $1,568,157 and from other sources $181,371 with payments for fire protection, surveys, forestry service, etc., of $361,000; the Pulp industry as very prosperous with a production of 448,938 tons of mechanical pulp and 237,666 tons of chemical pulp and the export of 786,879 cords of pulp-wood. The Minister strongly regretted the folly of selling this raw material and stated that: "Instead of depriving ourselves of our wood with little profit, we should use it to supply our own mills and, instead of getting an average value of $7.40 per cord, we should, by transforming the wood into mechanical pulp, obtain a value of from $20,00 to $40.00 per ton; if transformed into chemical pulp the prices would vary between $40.00 and $90.00; if made into news-print paper they would run from $40.00 to $60.00 per ton." He pointed out that the 1910 regulation prohibiting the export of wood cut on timber limits had resulted in an increased home consumption from 342,755 cords in 1910 to 924,272 cords in 1917—with the erection and enlargement of many mills and the making of much money. A reference was made to the "immense territories of Labrador, Ungava and the North Shore, so rich in pulpwood and so poor in large timber" and which would acquire great values. This condition induced a policy of leasing new limits and on Aug. 21 877 sq. miles were leased for a total of $415,615. The average of $480 a mile compared with $111 in 1900. The cut of saw-logs reported for 1916 was 1,265,-524,481 feet, B.M., worth $27,500,000. Re-forestation was largely pursued and the demand for tree-plants was so great as to cause a

statement from the Minister that the yield of the Government nurseries would have to be increased by 2½ million plants a year —for private pulp and timber lands, for mill owners, the establishment of parks and for trees along the highways.

The Department of Colonization, Mines and Fisheries was an important one and the Hon. Honoré Mercier reported to June 30 the expenditure of $254,000 upon Colonization roads with work done on 798 miles and the building or repair of bridges with an aggregate length of 12,728 feet; the steady progress of colonization in the Abitibi region with 3,466 settlers and 246 carloads of household effects sent in; the arrival of immigrants into the Province totalling 12,435 at national ports and *via* New York or from across the Line. To this Minister T. C. Denis, Superintendent of Mines, reported a prosperous mining year to June 30, 1917. In the 12 months of 1916 the Mineral production totalled $13,287,024 or an increase of 15% with marked stimulation in asbestos, chrome-iron, magnesite, copper ores and molybdenite; with also a great advance in prices —crude asbestos, worth $275 per ton on an average, before the War, rising to an average of $423 in 1916, and chrome iron which, on the New York market, was quoted at $14 per ton in 1914, rising to $45 in 1916. It may be added that on 8th March the Lieut.-Governor-in-Council ordered the levying of a 2% royalty on Asbestos produced in Quebec after the 1st of April, in accordance with 1909 legislation, and that on 27th April a delegation of operators asked the Government to impose the royalty on gross instead of net values, after deducting the cost of working. This was granted. The chief items of 1916 production were Asbestos totalling $5,000,000, copper ore $1,250,000, and structural materials, $5,000,000—of which Cement ran to over $2,500,000. The new mining claims staked were 465 and the revenue from miners' certificates, etc., was $30,739. For this fiscal year the Department received from Fisheries and Game a total revenue of $154,732—the largest on record. The Fisheries yield of the Province in 1915-16 was $2,076,-851. An important Fisheries case was dealt with in the Quebec Court of Appeals in Feb. 7, under the presidency of Sir H. Archambault, when a decision was delivered, with Mr. Justice Cross dissenting, which ruled that the Quebec Government had exclusive control over tidal waters in the Province and that license holders, under Quebec grant, could not be hampered in their rights by license-holders under Federal grant. The decision was appealed to the Privy Council.

The Hon. W. G. Mitchell, K.C., as Provincial Treasurer, had an ever-buoyant revenue and surplus in 1917. In 1914 his surplus was $908,650, in 1915 it was $1,267,668, in 1916 $369,294, in the year of June 30, 1917, it was $593,940, with a revenue of $10,441,113 and expenditures of $9,847,173. The Funded Debt at this latter date was $37,817,938—an increase of $13,000,000 over 1914. The Receipts included Federal subsidies of $2,027,990, Lands and Forest revenues of $1,753,624, hotel and shop licenses of $1,326,093, taxes on commercial corporations $1,101,670, duties on successions $1,741,262, taxes on transfers of bonds and shares and on motors

$572,315. The Expenditures included interest on Debt, etc., $1,956,056, administration of Justice $671,915, Legislation $458,142, Public instruction $1,578,361, Public Works $817,275, Agriculture $502,700, Roads $391,147, Charities, Asylums and other institutions $923,618, Canadian Patriotic Fund subscription $375,000. There was a capital expenditure of $1,646,177 under the Good Roads Act and $1,148,000 on the St. Maurice River Waters' Storage. The estimates for 1917-18 were $9,560,164 of Receipts and $9,504,845 Expenditures. Mr. Mitchell took an active part in Federal politics during the year and strongly supported Sir W. Laurier. Some of his reasons he stated to the Montreal Reform Club on June 25 in supporting the Resolution of R. C. Smith, K.C., which approved, "without reserve, the constitutional and patriotic attitude of Sir Wilfrid Laurier in asserting the determination of Canada to continue to give to the Allies all her resources, but wishing at the same time to remain faithful to democratic principles and to preserve national unity." The Conscription law, he thought, could have been properly called "a law to amend the law on elections" as presented by Robert Rogers. "One had only to hear the Prime Minister appealing to sentiment, alone, to feel the absolute weakness and unfitness of Sir Robert Borden to be the leader of a party. . . . The Bill contained many traps; it signified big fat jobs for certain people while the working classes would be sent to the Front. As to the French-Canadian: 'How can we ask him to go and fight for England when in the next Province he knows he is hated, despised and detested?' " At Drummondville on July 29 he declared the Act to have been introduced not to win the War but to win the Elections and "to set the English of Ontario against the French of Quebec and the French of Quebec against the English of Ontario." It was not necessary: "A system which allows us to get 420,000 men, voluntarily, is good for another hundred thousand." He accompanied Sir Wilfrid Laurier on his Western election tour and spoke at Winnipeg, Regina, Calgary and Vancouver.

Of Quebec Commissions, it may be added, that of Public Utilities —F. W. Hibbard, K.C., Sir G. Garneau and F. C. Laberge—reported as to complaints fyled and orders made, upon the position of the Quebec North Shore Turnpike Trust, the work of the Provincial Fire Inspector and the Railway companies. Between July 1, 1914, and Apr. 1, 1916, the Commission had 34 sittings. The Quebec Streams Commission (Hon. S. N. Parent, K.C., W. I. Bishop, C.E., and Ernest Belanger, C.E.) in its 5th annual Report dealt with various Rivers—public works, sanitation safeguards, reservoirs, dams, currents and flow, drainage areas, snowfall, water available, gauge readings—and their protection and use throughout the Province. In Temperance matters Quebec progressed steadily on the path to Prohibition. The Church, originally, had inclined toward a policy of stern regulation; in 1916-17 it supported legislation looking to absolute abolition of the traffic—with Archbishop Roy of Quebec, Bishops Chalifoux of Sherbrooke, Cloutier of Three Rivers, Bernard of St. Hyacinthe, Blais of Rimouski and Forbes of Joliette openly in favour of the policy. Largely-signed petitions were presented

to the Government and, even as it was, J. H. Roberts, Secretary of the Prohibition Committee, was able to report in April that 84% of the municipalities were under local prohibition. During the 1916 Session of the Legislature amendments had passed by which hotels and restaurant licenses in Montreal were to be reduced from 350 to 300 on May 1, 1917, and in the city of Quebec from 50 to 40; while retail liquor shop licenses (commonly known as "licensed groceries") in Montreal were to be reduced from 520 to 350 and in the city of Quebec from 100 to 75. Limitations were also to be placed upon the number of licenses in certain other cities and several towns. These changes were duly carried out and on May 1, 1918, the bar as an institution was to disappear from the life of the Province, and no hotel or restaurant keeper, licensed to sell intoxicating liquors, would be permitted to keep or have a bar—and so with the "licensed grocery." On Oct. 4, as the result of a long campaign and the permission of the Dominion Government, Quebec City voted on the Scott or Canadian Temperance Act; 8,000 voters had signed the original Petition and the struggle was an energetic one. Chief Justice Sir F. X. Lemieux was the leader, backed by Mr. Justice E. Lafontaine of Montreal and Hon. M. A. Galipeault, aided by the influence of sermons from Mgr. P. E. Roy and the advocacy of *L'Action Catholique*, the Church organ; opposed to these were Mr. Justice Chas. Langelier and Armand Lavergne, the Federated Unions of Quebec and Lévis, and many public men who did not think that the issue was important in view of current and severe restrictions. The Act was approved by a majority and put into operation on Dec. 15.

In accordance with the custom inaugurated in 1916 the Session of the Legislature was held at the close of the year—though instead of ending in December it only commenced then and its proceedings, therefore, belong mainly to the annals of 1918. Reference may be made, however, to its opening on Dec. 4 by Sir P. E. Le Blanc with a Speech from the Throne which urged increased farm production; announced the beginning of a new highway between Three Rivers and Grand Mêre and the approaching completion of the St. Maurice and St. Francis Water-storage projects; stated that excellent results had been obtained from the Provincial nursery of forest trees at Berthier, from which, during the year, 500,000 young trees had been distributed—mostly to regions swept by fire and unfit for cultivation; mentioned the activity of colonization in Abitibi and the Metapedia Valley and arrangements for establishing a Technical School at Three Rivers. The Address was moved by A. Beaudry, Verchères, and W. R. Oliver, Brome; in the Council by Hon. P. J. Paradis and Hon. W. F. Vilas—new members. Arthur Sauvé, Conservative leader in the House, urged (Dec. 5) a Commission to study economic questions, the organization of an Agricultural fund to aid poor farmers, free lands and subsidies for colonists, organization of co-operative societies in all parts of the Province, reform of teaching methods, a moratorium for the workmen, cheap electric power in the rural districts, strict inspection of moving pictures, reform of the Legislative Council, a fixed date for Elections and

proportional representation. Sir Lomer Gouin stated in his speech on the Address, which passed without division, that "we have decided to give free land grants to returned soldiers, because we want to recognize the devotion of these brave men who have been fighting in defence of our most sacred rights." At the close of the year an Order-in-Council was passed protesting against a Federal Order which required all Provincial, municipal and private flotations to be first approved by the Federal authorities; it informed the Government of Canada that the Quebec Government considered the regulations as "illegal, unconstitutional and nowise binding upon the Province." A motion was shortly afterwards tabled by J. N. Francœur, which was not dealt with until the next year but evoked much preliminary discussion. It declared that "the Province of Quebec would be disposed to accept the rupture of the Federation pact of 1867 if, in the opinion of the other Provinces, it is believed that the said Province is an obstacle to the Union and to the progress and development of Canada."

Other incidents of the year included the appointments of W. F. Vilas, P. J. Paradis and N. Perodeau to the Legislative Council, E. E. Duckworth as Provincial Superintendent of Insurance, and the following King's Counsel; A. Laurie, Quebec; Louis Taché, Rimouski; J. A. Dubeau, Joliette; Wilfrid Laliberté, Victoriaville; Louis Morin, St. Joseph; J. L. St. Jacques, Edgar N. Armstrong, W. F. Chipman, Antonio Perreault and Wilfrid A. Hanfield, Montreal. J. F. Daniel for Montcalm and W. E. Oliver for Brome were elected by acclamation on Nov. 12 as supporters of the Gouin Government; H. J. Kavanagh, K.C., was elected Batonnier of the Montreal Bar. The Report of Ernest Myrand, F.R.S.C., Librarian of the Quebec Legislature in 1917, showed 109,270 volumes and 27,371 pamphlets in his Library; on Dec. 13 Mr. Justice Allard at Montreal confirmed in the Supreme Court the dissolution by the Archbishop of Montreal on Nov. 15, 1913, of a marriage contracted by Emilien Berthelet with a first cousin of his deceased wife without a dispensation; the famous Hébért marriage case came up again in an action asking the Superior Court to declare the marriage of Eugene Hébért and M. E. Clouatre, solemnized July 14, 1908, by the Rev. W. Timberlake, a Protestant minister, a valid and binding marriage, to declare a child born of that marriage legitimate, and to declare null and void a judgment rendered by Archbishop Bruchési Nov. 12, 1909, nullifying the marriage under the Ne Temere decree. The following were elected heads of some of Quebec's public organizations in 1917:

Association of Accountants	F. W. Sharp	Montreal.
Pomological and Fruit-Growing Society	Prof. W. Lochead	Ste. Anne.
Provincial Anti-Liquor League	Robt. Neville, Jr.	Montreal.
St. Jean Baptiste Society	Victor Morin	Montreal.
Protestant Women Teachers of Quebec	Isabel E. Brittain, M.A.	Montreal.
Grand Lodge, A.F. & A.M.	W. W. Williamson	Montreal.
Provincial Association of Protestant Teachers	C. A. Adams	Granby.
Quebec Society for Protection of Plants	Prof. W. Lochead	Ste. Anne.

Higher Education in Quebec. Laval University was a much-discussed institution in 1917 by large numbers of people who, unfortunately, knew little about its secure and effective place in the French educational system—its olden

establishment at Quebec and the more modern one at Montreal. The former had 93 learned Professors and teachers in 1917 and great stores of additional learning in its valuable Library; the latter had 265 Professors and teachers; the students numbered 378 at Quebec and 1,974 in Montreal; the graduates of the year from Laval, as a whole, totalled 417 in Theology, Law, Medicine, Dental Surgery, Veterinary Medicine, Arts, Letters, Science, Forestry, Architecture, Engineering, etc. The affiliated institutions had 48 graduates and the Government subsidy was $105,000. Recruiting, toward the end of the year, was excellent at Laval and the services of its General Hospital in France were well known. McGill University, the chief English institution of the Province, had 205 Professors, 898 students and 272 graduates —in Law, Medicine, Science, Dental Surgery, Arts, Music and Architecture, with Government grants of $32,000, receipts of $1,017,856, expenses of $1,039,137, endowments of $8,957,969, and volumes in its Library totalling 198,200. The affiliated Macdonald College had 344 students, of whom 77 were in the School of Agriculture, 159 in that for Teachers, and 108 in that of Household Science—and of these 78 were men and 266 women. During the year McGill raised its 4th Unit for active service—a draft of siege artillery; the Department of Metallurgy, through Dr. A. Stansfield and Dr. H. T. Barnes, contributed by experiments and new processes most useful service to the war authorities in nickel and magnesium discoveries and in testing various new inventions. Speaking at the Convocation of May 11 Sir Wm. Peterson referred to the closer relations established between British and French Universities by the War and declared that: 'Of German universities we have had enough and more than enough. No right-thinking English-speaking student will want to see the inside of a German university for generations to come.' On this occasion the depletion of students by the War showed in the Faculty of Arts, where out of 130 entering in 1913 only 54 had graduated, with 52 on active service; while in Applied Science 583 students had become 186; and so in Medicine with 110 undergraduates at the Front. McGill lost a prominent supporter during the year in the death of Capt. Perceval Molson, B.A., M.C., and on October 1 Sir W. Peterson told the students that "no less than 70,000 men have been supplied for the British Army by the 54 Universities of the Empire and of these McGill has sent 2,500." The enrolment at the close of the year was 320 in Arts; 164 in Applied Science; 30 in Law and 343 in Medicine. Up to May 149 McGill students had been killed in action. At the Convocation of May 11 the degree of Hon. LL.D. was conferred upon the following: Sir Cecil Spring-Rice, G.C.M.G., Washington; Sir John Kennedy, C.E., Montreal; H. S. Pritchett, President of the Carnegie Foundation, New York; Dr. W. H. Ellis of Toronto University; Prof. James Cappon of Queen's, John J. Carty of New York and Hon. F. Carter-Cotton, Vancouver. In connection with the death of Chancellor Sir W. C. Macdonald of McGill some very large bequests were announced as follows:

McGill University for Macdonald College	$1,000,000	Faculty of Law Travelling Scholarship	$ 20,000
McGill University Faculty of Medicine	500,000	Montreal General Hospital	500,000
McGill Conservatory of Music	300,000	Montreal Maternity Hospital	100,000
		The Crematorium	100,000

The University of Bishop's College, Lennoxville, had 13 Professors in 1917, 50 students and 16 graduates; its Government grant was $3,500, receipts $36,016, expenses $37,792 and endowments $221,727. At Convocation on June 22 the degree of Hon. D.C.L. was conferred upon Sir P. E. Le Blanc, Lieut.-Governor; Dr. Hollis Godfrey, President Philadelphia Drexel Institute; the Lord Bishop of Ottawa (Dr. J. C. Roper); the Bishop-elect of British Honduras (Rev. E. A. Dunn, M.A.). Five degrees of M.A. and 6 of B.A. were conferred and there were 98 students, or staff members, on active service, while 15 had been killed in action. Lieut. Elton Scott, B.A., (3rd son of Rev. Canon F. G. Scott, C.M.G., D.C.L.), was chosen Rhodes Scholar for 1917. Other educational matters included the celebration by the Presbyterian College of Montreal of its 50th anniversary on October 2 and the conferring of the Hon. D.D. degree upon Principal E. I. Rexford of the Montreal Diocesan College, the Rev. W. R. Cruikshank, Montreal, Pastors Jean de Visme of Paris and Kennedy Anet of Brussels, Prof. G. Luzzi of Florence and 11 Alumni of the college as follows: Rev. J. R. MacLeod, Montreal. Rev. George Whillans, B.D., North Georgetown: Rev. Samual Rondeau, B.A., Montreal; Rev. F. H. Larkin, B.A., Seaforth; Rev. J. C. Robertson, M.A., B.D., Montreal. C. S. Fosbery, Headmaster of Lower Canada College, drew attention on December 19 to the honours won last session at the Royal Military College

where this School secured the first two places and nine passes with six entrances to McGill. He added that the School had over 200 Old Boys at the Front, of whom 15 had laid down their lives, while 8 had received the Military Cross. The Montreal Congregational College on December 14 conferred an Hon. D.D. upon Rev. D. L. Ritchie of Nottingham Technical College, England and Stanstead College in June stated that 325 students were in attendance who were largely of High School age.

Nova Scotia: Legislation; War Service; Material Progress.

The Government of Nova Scotia was, in 1917, presided over by Hon. G. H. Murray who had served as its Premier for 31 years and also through 7 general elections. The War was vital to Nova Scotia during this year and Mr. Murray devoted much attention to forwarding production and to supplementing various Funds and other war-work. As he said in a Halifax speech on Jan. 5: "We have learned in this War that man for man the German is not equal to the British or the French soldier. Their strength is only in their organization. . . . So far as the Government, the Legislature and the people of Nova Scotia are concerned, they are helping the Federal Government of Canada in all that they can do to bring victory to the Empire." The Government aided production by encouraging the purchase of agricultural machinery and authorized cities, towns and municipalities to contribute to the Patriotic and other Funds; Mr. Murray, on May 6, opened the Halifax Patriotic Fund campaign for $250,000 and described the occasion as a Vimy Ridge for local civilians; a Commission was appointed by the Government (May 29) to aid Ship-building and the Federal authorities on Sept. 5 appointed a Provincial Commission for Food Control in Nova Scotia composed of the following members:

I. C. Stewart (Chairman)	Halifax.	Mrs. P. J. McManus	Halifax.
Mrs. MacCallum Grant	Halifax.	Ralph H. Eisner	Halifax.
G. S. Campbell	Halifax.	J. Fred. Fraser	Halifax.
C. J. Burchell, K.C.	Halifax.	G. Fred. Pearson	Halifax.
Hon. J. A. Chisholm	Halifax.	Dr. W. H. Hattie	Halifax.
Principal M. Cumming	Truro.	A. E. Jones	Halifax.
E. L. Macdonald	Halifax.	Dr. A. H. Mackay	Halifax.
W. R. Powell	Halifax.	H. R. Silver	Halifax.
Judge W. Cox	Halifax.	J. T. Wilson,	Halifax.
Miss Carmichael	New Glasgow.	Miss Jennie A. Fraser	Halifax.
Mrs. Wm. Dennis	Halifax.	Mrs. Elizabeth Ritchie	Halifax.
A. S. Barnstead	Halifax.		

The Education Department instructed teachers and pupils to respond to the National Service and Agricultural calls of the year, allowed the schools to rank on the Municipal School Fund for pupils absent on farm-work and such pupils received a certificate entitling them to pass into the next highest grade in the school; official circulars were issued as to the matter of work, the Food service pledge, the Victory Loan, the question of a Soldiers' memorial, the preservation of records and Honour Rolls; through the Schools $5,282 was collected for Belgian and French relief funds; Dr. A. H. MacKay, Superintendent, in his call for celebration of Empire Day told the Teachers of the Province that "in stimulating thrift on every hand, and in the production of food, we will be doing what may be very shortly, if not already, work as important for the winning of the War as the making of shells, the building of ships and charging with the rifle and bayonet." The Provincial Red Cross Committee, under

Mrs. Wm. Dennis, President, and Mrs. F. H. Sexton, General Superintendent, did remarkably good work during the year—in soldiers' comforts, hospital supplies, organization of workers, welcome and entertainment of returned soldiers; the Patriotic Fund subscription in Halifax not only reached its objective of $250,000 in May but collected $300,000—with $40,000 each from the Bank of Nova Scotia and City of Halifax and a similar sum from F. B. McCurdy, M.P., and 8 others who gave $5,000 each. During the year Mr. Murray was approached from Ottawa upon the questions of Conscription and Union Government but could not see his way to join actively in the movement, though, finally, he approved the re-organization of the Borden Government and endorsed the entrance of A. K. Maclean, K.C.—who was supposed to be his own successor should he decide to go to Ottawa. In an official statement on Oct. 24 he said: "I have long held the opinion that a Union or National Government, organized and carried out on lines alike fair and honourable to both of the great parties in this country, had very much to commend it. While in Ottawa recently I was asked by Sir Robert Borden to join the Government about to be formed, but while I expressed my general sympathy with the movement I pointed out to him the difficulties which I personally felt." On Nov. 28 the Government appointed a Commission to inquire into and report upon the best means for obtaining increased agricultural production as follows: D. A. Cameron, K.C. (Chairman) Sydney; William Chisholm, K.C., Antigonish; Harry H. Wickshire, K.C., Kentville; W. L. Hall, K.C., Liverpool; Henry T. D'Entremont, East Pubnico; and Melville Cumming, Truro.

The 1st Session of the 13th Legislature was opened on Feb. 22 by MacCallum Grant, Lieut.-Governor, with a speech from the Throne which referred to the departure of the Duke of Connaught and the coming of a new Governor-General; to the World-war as testing and intensifying the unity of the Empire, as having an honourable and heroic place for the sons of Nova Scotia, and as proving that while "a peace-loving people such as ours naturally desire to see the end of a war so full of horror, yet here, as in other parts of the Empire, there is a firm resolve not to sheathe the sword until the high purposes for which it was drawn by Great Britain have been achieved"; to the sacrifices made in helping war funds and the hope that such contributions would continue and increase; to the general prosperity of the Province in coal and steel industries, in agriculture and fisheries; to the Labour shortage and special difficulties of coal mining in that respect and the troubles of lumbermen owing to inadequate transport facilities; to promised measures connected "with the care, education, re-training and settlement of the returned soldier" and the transfer of a new building at the General Hospital to the Militia Department for soldiers suffering from infectious diseases—besides an extension at the Kentville Sanatorium for soldiers affected with Tuberculosis; to the general revival of ship-building and the completion of the Lennox Passage Bridge, "the largest and heaviest type of highway bridge ever constructed in the Province," connecting Isle Madame with the mainland, and furnishing the

people of Richmond County with transportation facilities long desired. The Address was moved by R. H. Graham of Pictou and J. C. Bourinot of Inverness; Robert Irwin, member since 1906, was elected Speaker; in succession to C. E. Tanner, K.C., defeated in the 1916 Elections, Wm. Lorimer Hall, B.A., LL.B., K.C., member since 1910, was elected Leader of the Conservative Opposition. The Address passed without division.

The most important Bill of the Session was that intended to encourage Ship-building which proposed (1) to appoint a Commission composed of five members to investigate facilities in the Province for this industry and (2) authorized the Government to borrow $2,000,000 for encouraging it. In explaining the measure Mr. Premier Murray stated, upon the 2nd reading, that for many years it had been the ambition of the people of Nova Scotia to take part in the construction of steel ships. He had no doubt this ambition was the natural outcome of the fact that in the days of wooden ships, those from Nova Scotia were to be found in all the great ocean ports of the world and were manned by Nova Scotia officers and crews: "The change from sail to steam was a very disturbing factor in the history of this Province, and seriously interfered with the natural avocation of our people; for a number of years no serious effort has been made by the people of the Province to become owners of steel ships." Now the War had made a new policy possible. As to the Commission it would be composed of the best men available, would be non-political and would endeavour to interest the Federal Government in the establishment of a ship-yard or ship-yards in which the people of the Province would have a direct interest. The Opposition supported the appointment of a Commission but opposed its being given powers—under an Order-in-Council—to act as an incorporation and conduct the expenditure of $2,000,000. As Mr. Hall put it on May 4: "The expenditure under the Act might mean a Government-owned plant, a system of subsidies, a bonus, or it might mean the purchase of ships. The House should be given an opportunity to pass upon the expenditure before it was made and if the Commission's report was in favour of proceeding with the scheme members could be called together." He moved that nine different clauses be struck out but, after explanations by the Premier and Hon. R. M. MacGregor, the measure passed the House by a straight party vote. On May 28 the Commission was appointed as follows: Dougald MacGillivray (Chairman) Halifax; C. F. McIsaac, K.C., Antigonish; David E. North, Hantsport; Archibald MacKenzie, River John; Fenwick L. Kelly, North Sydney; Murray MacNeill, Secretary. Investigation was the first duty of the Commission; thereafter it could be turned into a corporation with very wide powers. These included the construction, purchase or lease of ships; the establishment, equipment, etc., of plants; the making of wood, steel or iron ships; effecting contracts for such undertakings or promoting companies in this respect; acquiring real and personal property or debentures, bonds and other securities; making any kind of approved financial and co-operative arrangements; the acquisition of such ships, vessels and ferries as might be necessary; the issue, subject to Order-in-Council, of all usual securities.

Other legislation included consolidation and amendment of the Act to establish a Court for dealing with Juvenile delinquents and authorizing the Government to appoint a Superintendent and Asst.-Superintendent of Neglected Children; the creation of a Provincial Highway Board of 3 members to be appointed by the Government for the purpose of co-operating with the Federal Government in the expenditure of any moneys voted for extending national highway facilities, for the compilation of statistics and information, for the investigation of methods of road construction, for the consideration and oversight of all problems and matters connected with Provincial roads; an Act reforming and re-arranging the administration and construction of Bridges and another to amend and consolidate the Succession Duty Act; a Land Tax Act, under which every occupant of 500 acres and upwards within the Province was to pay a tax of one per cent. on the value of lands with, also, full details as to method of assessment and collection; a revision of conditions affecting the Provincial Tuberculosis Sanatorium, which was to be called the Nova Scotia Sanatorium, under extension and re-modelled administration—so, also, with regard to the Victoria General Hospital; an Act authorizing municipalities to establish and operate yards for the storage and sale of fuel and another to appoint a Board of Investigation to inquire into and report upon the economic and other conditions affecting the Coal industry of the Province; a measure granting $3,000 to be expended by the Secretary for Agriculture in assisting the purchase of power-ditching machines and other power machinery, and one granting $20,000 to encourage the erection and operation of modern roller-process mills and one or more creameries with, also, the purchase of dairying machinery for the Agriculture College.

A popular measure was that under which the taxing of corporations was advanced by compelling Companies with a paid-up capital of $30,000 or more, and operating gas or electricity for lighting, heating, power or street railway purposes, or for furnishing telephone services, to pay a tax of one per cent. of the Company's gross income—in addition to any existing taxation; the Provincial Sterling Loans Refunding Act authorized the purchase of existing Nova Scotia stock and debentures, payable in London, and the borrowing of necessary sums with which to take them up, and another Act authorized a special Loan of $92,000; the N.S. Farmers' Association Act was amended and consolidated and the Companies' Act was amended to place the word "reduced" after its name whenever a concern should reduce its capital; the Coal Regulations, Education, Mines, Pharmacy and Public Health Acts were amended in certain details and a grant of $20,000 was authorized for the encouragement of Dairying; the Motor Vehicle Act was largely amended along lines protective of the public and for the registration of chauffeurs—with 15 miles an hour as the limit of speed on public highways or 8 miles in traversing a bridge, steep descent or crossing-intersection, and fees ranging, according to the horse-power, from $10 to $50 and $4.00 for a motor-cycle; the Workmen's Compensation Act was amended in many details with

compensation placed at not less than $5.00 per week and made payable also to an invalid child without regard to its age and so long as the Board might think the workman would have contributed to its support had he lived; the Compulsory School Attendance Act was amended to strengthen its application to children of 16 and that affecting Moving Picture Theatres was amended to impose a tax of from one to two cents on admission fees.

In connection with the Workmen's Compensation Act J. C. Tory (Lib.) moved an amendment providing that the Act should be made compulsory all over the Province, and therefore to apply to the Dominion Coal Co. and the Dominion Steel Co., which had been exempt under the "contracting out" clause which recognized the Relief Societies of those Companies as effective protection. It was voted down by 17 to 13—the Premier preferring that the Companies should come voluntarily under the Act. The question of Woman's Suffrage came up early in March when each member received a circular from the Local Council of Women declaring that "the right of suffrage should be extended to all women in the Province, under the same conditions as those now required for men"; and urging the duty and propriety of extending to the women of Nova Scotia the same recognition of their right to full citizenship and service as had been accorded to the women of Manitoba, Alberta, Saskatchewan and British Columbia, and was in contemplation for the women of Ontario. A Bill was introduced by R. H. Graham (Lib.) who on the 2nd reading (Mar. 21) declared that there was no reason why women should vote at Municipal elections and not at all others; all past arguments on this behalf could be much more strongly presented since the part taken by women in war-work had developed; at the same time "those who would look for great results, as well as those who had fears for the effect it might have on women, would be disappointed." In conclusion he declared that "it was not necessary at this stage of the world's history to answer the argument that might is right and that only those able to enforce laws should make them." This Bill had twice been before the House and twice had been defeated, but "old ideas and old dynasties were crumbling." The speech was listened to in silence and, without debate, the Bill went to Committee. On the 3rd reading (Apr. 23) despite Mr. Premier Murray's statement that, though he was opposed to it, Woman's Suffrage in Nova Scotia was inevitable, the Bill was defeated by 12 to 8 votes. The Legislature adjourned on May 9—after making Women eligible for admission as barristers and solicitors.

An important Labour matter of the year was the discussion as to Union between the Provincial Workmen's Association, representing the chief Miners' organizations of the Province with its 5,000 members, and the United Mine Workers of America. The P.W.A. as it was called, had long maintained its independence but as the result of a Federal Commission sitting at Sydney, and inquiring into troubled conditions, with Judge J. A. Chisholm as Chairman and through the special exertions of John T. Joy of Halifax, a member of the Commission, conferences were held in April and a final amalga-

mation effected and duly ratified. The Unions had recently been at serious issue with each other and much unrest had resulted between them and with the Dominion Coal Co. Temperance matters were under considerable discussion. The N.S. Temperance Act was upheld in March through a stated case submitted to the Provincial Supreme Court, and by virtue of this decision it was declared that the Legislature had power to annul liquor licenses without paying compensation, that all licenses had been cancelled by the Temperance Act of 1916, that the Act was in force in the city and county of Halifax, and that brewers resident in the Province could sell in Nova Scotia; the N.S. Temperance Alliance, at its meeting of Mar. 29th, received a Report from its Secretary, Rev. H. R. Grant, declaring that "although Prohibition has not had a fair trial in Halifax, owing to the negligence of the City Council in refusing, until recently, to appoint an Inspector, it has done immeasurable good." Mr. Grant stated that the Murray Government, in appointing Deputy Inspectors to enforce the Act in Cape Breton, had, also, done much good. A number of amendments to the Temperance Act were asked by the Alliance and pressed upon the Government as follows:

(1) Drinking on trains, cars and in public places to be prohibited;
(2) Constables and other peace officers to have the right to search, without warrant, the person, valise or vehicle of peddlars or others suspected of selling liquor;
(3) The finding of liquor on premises searched to be *prima facie* evidence of violation of the Act;
(4) Greater restrictions upon druggists, chemists, vendors and physicians in the keeping and sale of liquor.
(5) Inspectors to be empowered to examine records of Express companies and other carriers.
(6) For violation of the Act the penalty to be from $100 to $200 fine, or imprisonment without fine for three to four months.

The Government introduced and passed a Bill along these lines but the Legislative Council proposed some amendments which the House would not accept and the legislation was held up. Meanwhile, Mr. Grant had reported to his Alliance that in Halifax the arrests for drunkenness in the first six months under Prohibition had been reduced from 803 to 441, that in Sydney,* North Sydney, and Sydney Mines, the officers of the law were handicapped in many ways by imperfections in the Act; that in Glace Bay, New Waterford, Reserve and other places there was no proper enforcement—the fault lying with the Councils and the Government Deputy Inspectors.

Education in the Province continued with few variations and was described in the Report of the Superintendent of Education (Dr. A. H. MacKay) for July 31, 1917, as "in many respects most satisfactory." He explained the steady advance in Provincial aid —grants designed not so much as contributions to the support of schools as to encourage the employment of the higher class of teachers who were essential for good results. These grants were originally $60, $90 and $120 per annum for third, second and first class teachers, respectively, no higher grant being given, and no

*Letter published in *The Pioneer*, Toronto, Dec. 7, 1917.

Provincial grant at all if the teacher was employed in a County Academy. In 1908 every restriction had been swept away, and to the old grants were added the grants of $150, $180 and $210 for the higher and most desired classes: "The $167,500 of 30 years ago became $190,000 in 1902, and last year reached over a quarter of a million dollars—exactly $260,156. And to this we must add $13,636 as annuities to retiring teachers." The Superintendent urged attention to the Feeble-Minded problem and to the provision of Medical and Dental inspectors in rural as well as urban centres. He also asked for greater fair play to teachers in the matter of salaries: "Our higher classes of trained teachers find that salaries are not increasing so fast as the cost of living; and are being attracted to the Western provinces where trained teachers are at a premium." The 3rd Report of the School-book Bureau stated that 216,415 books had been distributed in the year. The general statistics were as follows:

School Sections	1,803	Schools in Operation	2,856
Sections without School	67	Total Pupils in Common School Grades	99,944
Number of Teachers	3,045	Total Pupils in High School Grades	9,088
Normal Trained Teachers	1,728	Total Pupils in Public Schools	109,032
Total Male Teachers	198	Total Pupils in Technical Schools	2,949
Total Female Teachers	2,847	Total Attendance in all Schools	111,981
New Teachers	575	School Property Sections	$4,294,751
Teachers:		Provincial Aid—General Education	375,050
Service 1 year or under	913	Provincial Aid—Technical Education	57,233
Service 1 to 10 years	1,677	Municipal School Fund	163,535
Service 10 to 30 years, or over	455	Sectional School Assessment	1,157,906
Pupils on Register:		Total of all Contributions	1,753,725
1st Quarter	97,530		
2nd Quarter	102,411		
3rd Quarter	104,731		
4th Quarter	108,824		

As to Government Departments the Commissioner of Public Works and Mines (Hon. E. H. Armstrong) received a Report for the year of Sept. 30, 1916, which showed $532,494 as expended upon roads and the larger bridges with difficulties indicated by the fact of a rural population of 17 per mile of public highway; from the Factories' Inspector, stating 563 accidents during the year, urging that 1st Aid remedies be available in all factories, stating the need for making fire-drill compulsory, dealing with the increasing prevalence of child labour, declaring that employers and workmen should be more careful and exact about matters of ventilation, sanitation, cleanliness, etc., describing Foundries as slow to protect their employees as to ventilation, light and heat; from the Water Power Commission reviewing its work in selecting locations for gauging stations, precipitation stations and subjects for investigation which included the obtaining of stream-flow records, study of power resources and water-supply, and outlining methods and possibilities of development, records of precipitation and evaporation. The Minister himself submitted a report upon the operation of the Town-Planning Act with analyses of the method and the conditions under which Municipalities could act. To the Hon. O. T. Daniels, Attorney-General, the Superintendent of Neglected Children reported the general objects of his Department to be the aid and organization of Children's Aid Societies, the inspection of institutions, caring for children, the finding of foster homes for children, their

protection from cruelty, rescue from friendless and destitute conditions, safeguarding them against becoming incorrigible, criminal, destitute or dependant with the over-charge of reformatory institutions, foster homes, Juvenile Courts; Mr. Daniels submitted his own Report for the Crown Lands Department with receipts of $20,922 and payments of $7,301.

The Hon. George H. Murray as Premier had charge of many interests. As Provincial Treasurer his revenues for the year of Sept. 30, 1916, totalled $2,165,338 compared with estimates of $2,052,091; his expenditures of $2,132,134 compared with estimates of $2,208,676—leaving a surplus of $33,203. Principal M. Cumming, of the N.S. College of Agriculture and Secretary of Agriculture, reported that the War had affected the farmers but slightly and dealt with all the varied conditions of production, agricultural education and the Federal grant of $74,859 for 1916-17; Government instructors, directors, district representatives in Agriculture, the general instruction of the farmer and demonstrations in dairying, bee-keeping, and poultry raising, soils, the entomological inquiries, fruit-growing conditions, etc. The record of 263 Agricultural Societies with 10,523 members, and grants of $15,000 a year, and the progress of the splendid Apple product with an increase in 10 years of 505,465 trees or 10,000 arces of orchard were reported. To the Premier reported the Deputy Provincial Secretary, F. F. Mathers, as to $146,192 received from fees against Companies, Game and Marriage licenses, 1,713 registered motors and 387 additional chauffeurs; with statistics of Towns and Municipalities which showed, for the City of Halifax, 6,882 ratepayers, Assessments of $3,517,493, receipts of $83,671, expenditures of $65,474, assets of $100,570 and liabilities of $49,216. The Provincial Health Officer, Dr. W. H. Hattie, submitted a statement that while some progress had been made in checking communicable diseases yet "our death rate from pulmonary tuberculosis is double that of Ontario and five times that of Saskatchewan, our infantile mortality rate is double that of New Zealand and considerably greater than that of the cities of London and New York. Such facts should surely cause us grave concern. Tuberculosis not only robs us of a large number of those who might be useful citizens, but it imposes upon us a financial loss which might reasonably be computed at more than $3,000,000 a year." The Inspector of Rural Telephones (A. S. MacMillan) reported 124 Companies operating under the Act, and increase of cost in wire alone of 150% in 2 years, a pole-line mileage of 242 miles and 2,103 telephones installed.

A. S. Barnstead, Secretary of Industries and Immigration, stated that in 1916 963 copies of an Industrial Handbook had been distributed and other literature, that 10 loans had been granted to farmers, under the Act, for $16,500, of which the Government guaranteed 7,064, that 29 vessels were under construction with a net tonnage of 5,274, that Nova Scotia had to date (Dec. 31, 1916) contributed $2,354,199 to Patriotic causes; the Agent-General in London (John Howard) reported to Mr. Murray that his chief duties lay in looking after Nova Scotian war interests in England and France

and detailed much information on this subject; the Provincial Game Commissioner stated that 1,208 moose had been killed in the year and that fur-farmers held 932 foxes in captivity; the Deputy Registrar-General showed a total of 12,770 births in 1915-16, 3,726 marriages and 8,052 deaths—of the latter 921 were from tuberculosis and 685 from pneumonia; the Inspector-in-Chief (J. A. Knight) under the Temperance Act, declared that the Federal measure prohibiting shipment of liquor into Provinces having Prohibitory laws had "proved entirely unworkable" in Nova Scotia because of the lack of enforcement provisions; the Board of Commissioners of Public Utilities showed for the year of Dec. 31, 1916, nine applications to issue securities for $14,198,350 and the approval of $8,948,350 of this amount—including $6,000,000 of the latter total for the N.S. Tramways and Power Co.—and stated that 224 public utilities were reporting to the Board; the Returned Soldiers' Employment Committee (Hon. R. M. MacGregor, Chairman) described its work to the Premier on Mar. 31, 1917, with 786 men returned, 8 under vocational training, 369 under employment, 353 not yet discharged and 34 unemployed; a Report on Feeble-Minded in the Province described the 1911 Census returns of 644 as far below the actual figures and urged Government provision and an institution for these unfortunates. Incidents of the year included the winning of the D.S.O. by Major J. L. Ralston, M.L.A. for Cumberland; the political scandal caused in Halifax by Senator Wm. Roche refusing on May 11 to subscribe to the Patriotic Fund because he thought England should not have gone into the War, a controversy with the well-known citizens who called on him and a remittance of $100 received next day; the appointment of John M. Geldert and Wm. W. Walsh of Halifax as King's Counsel; the launching on July 9 by the N.S. Steel and Coal Co. of the first steel steamer built in the Province—2,870 tons and 11 knots speed—with two others under construction; the request to the Public Utilities Commission by the N.S. Tramways and Power Co. for the right to increase their capital stock to $10,000,000 in order to provide for the improvement and extension of its Street Railway service. The following heads of leading public bodies were elected in 1917:

Nova Scotia Institute of Science	Prof. D. F. Harris, M.D.	Halifax.
Nova Scotia Historical Society	Dr. David Allison	Halifax.
Nova Scotia Temperance Alliance	Rev. Canon Vernon	Halifax.
Nova Scotia Boy Scouts	S. M. Brookfield	Halifax.
Provincial Dairymen's Association	D. W. Murray	Scotsburn.
Nova Scotia Fruit-Growers' Association	Prof. W. S. Blair	Kentville.
Nova Scotia Farmers' Association	Wm. Murray	Union Cent.
Maritime Shipowners' Association	Wm. Duff	Lunenburg.
Provincial Barristers' Association	W. A. Henry, K.C.	Halifax.
Anti-Tuberculosis League	M. E. Keefe	Halifax.
Royal Arch Masons of Nova Scotia	J. R. Bennett	Halifax.
Grand True Blue Lodge	J. K. Brown	Sydney.
Nova Scotia Medical Society	Dr. J. W. Smith, M.L.A.	Liverpool.
Commercial Club of Halifax	A. H. Munshull	Halifax.
Nova Scotia Sons of Temperance	J. E. Hills	Halifax.

As to the production of Nova Scotia the annual statement of the Halifax *Chronicle* put it at $149,509,203 for 1917 and this included $23,600,000 for coal; $5,000,000 for coke and by-products; $250,000

from Gold and other minerals; $1,250,000 from gypsum, limestone, etc.; $450,000 from building material and clay products; $20,000,000 from iron and steel products; $10,092,000 from fisheries; $47,750,000 from manufactures, ships and freights; $36,117,203 from products of the farm; $4,500,000 from products of the forest; $500,000 from game and furs. The Halifax *Herald* estimate in this connection was $154,885,200. Halifax, despite its disaster, had much prosperity with exports of $142,000,000, imports of $10,000,000, manufactured products of $22,000,000, Bank clearings of $152,000,000, Civic Assessment of $38,000,000 and a shipping tonnage of $17,100,000. Its rapid re-building and reconstruction also brought a lot of money into circulation. Steel ship-building commenced a development, with the N.S. Steel and Coal Co., under Colonel Cantley, as the pioneer, which was to expand greatly in the next year; in May 51 wooden ships of 16,316 tons were under construction and the total in steel and wood for the Province in 1917 was 70 vessels of 20,000 tons costing $2,500,000 with 13,000 tons more under construction; the total colliery production of Nova Scotia declined from 6,195,000 tons in 1916 to 5,735,000 tons in 1917—500,000 tons being in the Dominion Coal Co. output—with shortage of labour, increased wages, high cost of materials and transport, as some of the causes; the Lunenburg fishing fleet had the biggest year on record with 95 vessels and a catch of 256,215 quintals compared with 106 vessels in 1916 and a catch of 218,060 quintals; the N.S. Steel and Coal Co. of New Glasgow in June resumed its dividend of 5% on the common stock, decided on a new issue of $5,000,000 and announced the retirement of Col. Thomas Cantley from the Presidency to become Chairman of the Board of Directors, and the appointment of F. H. Crockard of the Tennessee Coal, Iron and Rd. Co., Birmingham, Ala., to succeed him; the report of the Dominion Steel Corporation showed net earnings in 1917 (Mar. 31) of $12,967,874 compared with $3,571,059 in 1915. The agricultural production of the year was fairly good though there was a decrease of 4,000 in the 266,488 cattle, worth $14,391,000, in the Province, a very slight decrease in the 49,850 swine, valued at $1,433,000, while 64,193 horses worth $7,141,000 and 200,979 sheep worth $1,809,000 (Federal statistics) were about the same. The total product of field crops was as follows:

Nova Scotia Field Crops	Area	Yield per Acre	Total Yield	Average Price	Total Value
	Acres	Bush.	Bush.	Bush.	
Spring Wheat	16,200	15·75	255,150	$2.34	$ 597,000
Oats	123,000	29·25	3,597,800	0.92	3,310,000
Barley	4,800	24·75	118,800	1.34	159,200
Rye and Peas	470	29·25	6,900		18,200
Beans	1,000	17·75	17,750	7.95	141,100
Buckwheat	10,900	21·00	228,900	1.14	261,000
Mixed Grains	4,000	24·00	96,000	1.24	119,000
Potatoes	41,000	174·94	7,173,000	0.92	6,599,000
Turnips, Mangolds, etc.	9,100	350·93	3,193,000	0.47	1,501,000
		Tons	Tons	per Ton	
Hay and Clover	542,000	1·65	894,000	11.83	10,580,000

Higher Education in Nova Scotia. Of Government institutions the Normal School reported for 1917 263 students enrolled and a successful year in the associated Rural Science Schools for teacher-training; the N.S. Agricul-

tural College, through Melville Cumming, B.A., B.S.A., Principal, announced 63 students enrolled of whom 42 were from Nova Scotia, 14 from New Brunswick and 5 from P. E. Island, with 12 diplomas granted and 111 regular students on its Roll of Honour—including 5 members of the staff. The N. S. Technical College, through Principal F. H. Sexton, reported a reduced staff and attendance and work owing to war-calls; and a registration of 6 in Engineering classes—with 62 students on active service; students in the correspondence study department numbering 32, students in the School of Navigation with a total attendance varying from 93 to 385 and 67 graduates in the year; a considerable development of vocational education for returned soldiers under Mr. Sexton's direction with courses in drafting, mechanics and mechanism, practical mathematics, manufacturing process, electric work, gasoline engines, machine-shop practice, heating, ventilating, janitor's work, water supply, tool-making, machine shops. Nine degree-conferring Colleges of Nova Scotia had a total staff of 164 in 1917 with students numbering 826.

The University of King's College, Windsor, had a staff of 11 with 58 students, 31 graduates and the Rev. Dr. T. S. Boyle as President; Dalhousie University, Halifax, had 72 of a staff with 283 students, 48 graduates and Dr. A. Stanley MacKenzie as President; the Presbyterian College, Halifax, had 5 of a staff, 15 students, 6 graduates and the Rev. Dr. C. MacKinnon as President; the Acadia University, Wolfville, had 23 of a staff, 126 students, 22 graduates and the Rev. Dr. G. B. Cutten as President; the University of St. Francis Xavier at Antigonish, had 17 of a staff, 88 students, 20 graduates and the Rev. Dr. H. P. MacPherson as President; the College of Ste. Anne at Church Point had 21 of a staff, 50 students, 2 graduates and the Rev. A. Brand as President; the Holy Heart Seminary, Halifax, had a staff of 8 and 50 students, while St. Mary's College had 3 teachers and 21 students and the Royal Naval College of Canada—also at Halifax—had 35 students and Capt. E. H. Martin, R.N., as President. Incidents of the year included the effort of King's College to raise $100,000 with a Committee led by the Rev. Dr. Boyle and Hon. R. E. Harris, J. Walter Allison as Treasurer and Rev. Canon Vernon as Secretary, and a partial campaign netting $35,000 up to the close of the year; the grant by the Convocation on May 10 of the Hon. degree of D.D. upon Very Rev. Scovil Neales, M.A., Dean of Fredericton; Very Rev. C. S. Quainton, M.A., Dean of Columbia, with an Hon. degree of D.C.L. upon Matthew Wilson, K.C., Chatham, Ont., W. W. Blackall, B.A., St. John's, Nfld., His Honour Judge Armstrong, St. John; the award of a Rhodes scholarship to Donald G. MacGregor of Dalhousie University, and the gift of $25,000 to the same institution by Mr. and Mrs. G. S. Campbell, of Halifax; the award of an M.C. to Rev. Miles Tompkins, Professor of Chemistry at St. Francis Xavier and a Chaplain at the Front, with the conferring of an Hon. LL.D. (May 15) upon D. H. McDougall of the Dominion Steel Co., Sydney, M. J. Butler, C.M.G., Montreal, Neil Macneil, Boston, and Mgr. Arthur S. Barnes, Oxford; the winning of a Rhodes Scholarship by Lieut. Norman McLeod Rogers of Acadia University and the appointment of Dr. Frank Wheelock to be Professor of Engineering and Dean in its Department of Applied Sciences.

New Brunswick: Government Changes and General Elections.

At the beginning of 1917 for a variety of reasons the Conservative Government, which under J. D. Hazen, J. K. Flemming and G. J. Clarke had been in power since 1908, was showing signs of weakness and unpopularity, despite the fact of only two Liberals being in the House and the absence of any real leadership in that Party. The health of Mr. Premier Clarke had not been good for a year or more and on Feb. 1 his resignation was announced followed on the 26th by his death—a kindly, industrious and personally popular leader in conditions of admitted political difficulty. His successor was Hon. James A. Murray, M.L.A. since 1908 and member of the Government since 1911, and the new Cabinet was sworn in at once as follows: Mr. Murray, Premier and Minister of Agriculture; Hon. J. B. M. Baxter, K.C., Attorney-General; Hon. D. V. Landry, Provincial Secretary and Treasurer; Hon. B. Frank Smith, Minister

of Public Works; Hon. A. R. Slipp, Minister of Lands and Mines; Hon. H. I. Taylor, M.D., and Hon. A. P. Culligan, Ministers without Portfolio. The only changes were the calling in of Mr. Slipp and the appointment of Messrs. Taylor and Culligan. Preparations were at once made for the General Election—four Sessions of the Legislature having been held, and certain minor appointments, also, were made: Prof. J. W. Mitchell as Superintendent of Live-stock and Dairying and G. A. Hutchison, Judge of Probates in Kent, H. Lester Smith in Albert and R. B. Hanson in York. On Mar. 12 James P. Byrne, G. H. V. Belyea, James Friel and Richard B. Hanson were made King's Counsel.

On Feb. 3 the Legislature was dissolved and Mr. Premier Murray issued a Manifesto to the Electors asking for a mandate in view of his new appointment and because of the existence of a number of vacancies in the House, the coming of Prohibition into force on May 1, the necessity of completing the St. John Valley Railway and the proposal to provide a comprehensive plan for Soldier Settlements. He recalled the reforms in financial administration which followed the accession to office of Mr. Hazen in 1908 and the constructive legislation of the past 8 years which included reduced school-book prices; pensions to teachers on retiring after 35 years' service—the first of the kind in Canada; organization of the Public Utilities Commission and its protective work. He stated that during "the last 8 years the old Administration was in power, 1901 to 1908 inclusive, there were returned to the Crown Land Office, cut in the public domain, 1,025 million superficial feet of lumber, In the 8 years since then, 1909 to 1916 inclusive, there were returned in the same way 2,152 million superficial feet"—the difference involving revenue returns of $250,000 a year additional.

As to ordinary bridges—which, Mr. Murray said, were in a nearly ruinous condition when taken over in 1908 and with a feeling then that they could not be maintained out of revenue—the Conservative Government had since spent upon them $1,380,586 out of current revenues; it also had "built great modern steel bridges, by public tender, at the lowest cost, wherever the need for such structures had been shown to exist, by adding to the bonded debt of the Province an amount in excess of two million dollars"; Good Roads were an essential of prosperity, something had been done and much more would be done as proposed by the Minister of Public Works; the Department of Agriculture had been organized and placed upon a well considered and efficient basis, much work had been undertaken, based upon agricultural education and two agricultural schools had been established in the Province; the work of the Department had been emphasized and broadened by the introduction of modern methods and the employment of experts as members of the staff; for demonstration purposes, machinery had been purchased and with the sympathetic co-operation of agriculturists throughout the country the Government had been able to place agriculture upon a basis which had proven most satisfactory; an accurate and detailed examination of Forest resources and the classification of lands according to their nature of soil, as well as their forest pro-

duction, had been carried out, and, the policy of the Government would be to set aside such portions of the public domain as were suited wholly for lumber purposes and extensive areas of land, not now available, which were found to be suitable for farming. Advanced legislation as to Colonization after the War was promised and the immediate completion of the Valley Railway from Centreville to Westfield with running rights over the C.P.R. to St. John and connection at Andover with the National Transcontinental; the Workmen's Compensation Act would be further improved along the lines of Ontario and Nova Scotia Acts; technical schools were promised together with utilization of water powers along lines of electric lighting and cheap industrial power; credit was taken for the Prohibition Act of 1916 as "the strongest and most efficient measure in Canada"and enforcement pledged; the increased Debt was described as a sign of progress, a necessity of development and the credit of the Province as higher than ever. As to the rest, he appealed for vindication:

> I would also ask you to compare the policy of the present Administration as carried on in the past and as proposed for the future, with that of our opponents, who, without a recognized leader, have not placed before the people of the Province any well-defined policy for adoption, should they regain the reins of power. In their extremity and inability to define a policy that will appeal to the people, they have resorted to the most violent and pronounced criticism, charging against individual members of the Government almost every crime that could be conceived. They have, during the last few years, indulged in a campaign of vilification and abuse. To such an extent has this been done, that thinking people throughout the Province realize that men holding public office are not necessarily dishonest and dishonourable and have come to understand that public life is public service, and that men honestly attempting to discharge their responsibilities should not be subjected to public abuse and violent accusations.

On Feb. 5 Hon. F. B. Smith issued an elaborate statement to the Electors regarding past policy and proposed plans of the Public Works Department—especially as to better roads and highways. He pointed out the great changes in this respect and stated that improved highways had brought in a revenue which in 1917 would total $50,000; based upon this he proposed to borrow $500,000 on bonds of a serial character with principal and interest to be retired in 15 years. The Fund thus raised would be "used for the purchase of improved machinery and for the building of gravel roads, for ditching and draining, and the installation of concrete and arch culverts throughout the Province." An Inspector of Highways would be appointed in each municipality and be responsible to the Minister, a reformed system of road construction adopted, modern equipment used and a system of motor-patrolmen formed to ensure careful maintenance of the roads. To build and build well was to be his policy. The Premier followed with speeches in which he charged the Opposition, though under new leadership, with bringing back into the Legislature, or trying to do so, the men of days before 1908 who were subject to the alleged political discredit of that time —Robinson, Legere, Veniot, Tweeddale, Ryan, Jones, Sweeney, Burgess, etc. This and the record of the pre-1908 Government were

made issues of the campaign though, as a matter of fact, three-fourths of the Opposition candidates were absolutely new men. The Government devoted time and space to the record of the Premier as Minister of Agriculture and the steady work of that Department along progressive lines; the prosperity of the people in farming, mining and industry was made much of; the Prohibition Act was supported and the Opposition Referendum policy of 1916 described as an excuse, evasion and cause for delay, while it was claimed that Messrs. Dugal and Pelletier, the only Opposition members, had absented themselves from the House when Prohibition was voted upon; personalities were practiced on both sides and those of the Government speakers were devoted chiefly—apart from attacks on the old Government of 1908—to E. S. Carter and P. J. Veniot, the organizers of Provincial Liberalism in recent years; the statement was made and figures given to show that the Stumpage dues, 1884-1907, under Liberal rule had totalled for 24 years $2,672,709 or $111,363 per year, while a similar amount of $2,752,758 had been collected in 8 years of Conservative rule—or $344,005 a year; Labour-helping amendments to the Workmen's Compensation Act were promised and Hon. Mr. Baxter expressed pride in his recent appointment of a Commission composed of F. J. G. Knowlton (Chairman), L. W. Simms and J. B. Cudlip, manufacturers, and J. L. Sugrue and T. W. Daley, Labour leaders, to inquire as to further improvements; it was alleged that the old Government had expended in 1899-1907 $1,885,829, or a yearly average of $209,536, upon Education and the Conservative Government in 1908-16 a total of $2,462,968, or an average of $273,683; the charge was made by G. B. Jones, ex-M.L.A. for King's, that E. S. Carter had accepted a "rake-off" of $4 a thousand on lumber supplied for wharf construction, and the charge was backed by an affidavit from an employee of the contractor—which Mr. Carter not only denied but produced also the emphatic denial of the contractor. Meantime there was little outside or Federal aid in the campaign and though Mr. Murray spoke at a number of meetings in the Province—Hampton, Westfield, Greenwich, Hampton a second time, Moncton, Newcastle, St. John, Sussex—there was no prolonged campaign throughout the Province by either Leader. The Ministers, leaders and candidates stayed largely in their own constituencies.

Meanwhile the Liberal Opposition had been putting up a great fight. During the past year and following the retirement of Hon. C. W. Robinson from the leadership, it had been in commission with W. E. Foster, a popular and well-known St. John merchant, as Chairman of a Committee in charge of Party affairs. Mr. Foster had run for St. John in 1912, though unsuccessfully; he had been for some years President of the St. John Board of Trade and the Arboriculture Society; in the middle of February, 1917, with the battle called by the Premier he had, finally, accepted the leadership after F. B. Carvell, K.C., M.P., under Mr. Foster's insistence, had been offered the position and declined it. Mr. Foster took up the issue at once, was nominated in St. John to oppose the Attorney-General, Hon. J. B. M. Baxter, and issued a Manifesto explaining

his position, denouncing the Government for its sins of omission and commission, and declaring that he would, "if successful, carry on the business of New Brunswick with care and devotion to business principles, and would associate himself with men of known probity and ability." He declared that his political career dated only as far back as 1911, and that he had never been a partisan in politics. "This Province," he added, "needs business men more than politicians. We must have less partisanship if we want improvement. If the electors are satisfied that the affairs of the Province have been efficiently carried on since 1912; if they believe that there was no reason for the appointment of two Royal Commissions, and that no reliance should be placed in their reports and findings, then they should support the Murray Government." This was the chief issue of the contest so far as the Opposition could make it so—and they did it very effectively. The charges against ex-Premier J. K. Flemming* as to mis-appropriation of public moneys for Election purposes; the Report of the ensuing Royal Commission which indicated loose conditions and corruption in lumber contracts and the Valley Railway matter, but cleared Mr. Flemming of direct personal contact with the issue; his retirement from the Premiership and recent nomination as a Conservative candidate for the Federal House, were again threshed out, though, as a matter of fact, the situation had greatly damaged the Government's popularity before the elections began. In his Manifesto Mr. Foster deprecated the St. John Valley Railway policy as involving relations to the C.P.R. of a subsidiary, instead of competitive, character through making Westfield its junction with the C.P.R. instead of running into St. John; claimed that the Public Debt had been increased from about $5,000,000 in 1908 to about $17,000,000 in 1917, with only the unfinished Valley Railway to show for it; proposed to place the management of Crown Lands in the hands of a non-partisan Commission and to take the administration and construction of Highways out of politics—where, it was charged, political favourites pocketed a large proportion of the annual appropriation; undertook to straighten out the alleged financial tangle and extend the Valley Railway, as originally intended, to Grand Falls. In the main, the platform was that adopted by the Liberal Convention of Jan. 15, 1916,† including the Crown Lands and Highway policies as above stated, a promise to amend the electoral laws so as to promote simplicity and prevent corruption, pledges of a careful investigation of the financial situation and alleged mismanagement, and to assist the farmers, extend Education and promote immigration.

In the charges against the Government the Opposition were helped by the appearance of J. K. Flemming at two Conservative meetings, while the Government tried to prove that Mr. Foster and his friends were in close touch with Hon. Wm. Pugsley, M.P., a one-time Provincial Liberal leader, and others at Ottawa. In their campaign the Opposition claimed that the Dugal charges and in-

* See preceding volumes of *The Canadian Annual Review* under New Brunswick affairs.

† See pages 621-2, *The Canadian Annual Review* for 1916.

vestigations of 1916 had forced the retirement of one Premier, while more recent irregularities had impelled two Conservative members of the Legislature to retire; that alleged but uninvestigated charges of Government collections from liquor License-holders in St. John were true; that J. K. Pinder, M.L.A., had received $100,000 subsidy from the Dominion and Province to build the Southampton Railway with only about half that amount expended on the road; that the Farm Settlement Board policy for assisting settlers and purchasers of abandoned farms had been turned into a political patronage department; that H. F. McLeod, a former Provincial Secretary, in an effort to obtain money from ex-Premier Flemming for a political fight in York, dictated a letter in which he stated the Government had received $100,000 from one builder of a railway section and other amounts totalling $237,000 for Party funds; that this and more had been available for the Elections of 1912. There were complications in the Prohibition matter. Mr. Foster promised that he would not interfere with the Act as passed by the Government but the latter's supporters pointed to the Liberal platform of 1916 which declared that a Prohibition Act would be passed by them subject to a Referendum and, if favourable, to enforcement by proclamation one year afterwards. The situation was met in part by candidates of both parties being asked by the Temperance interests to accept pledges as follows: "(1) Will you, if elected to the Legislature, support the present Prohibitory law as it now stands upon the Statute book? (2) Will you oppose any amendment intended, or likely to weaken the Act or render it ineffective or hinder its becoming operative on May 1, 1917? (3) Will you use your influence and vote to secure the proper enforcement of the law?" By Feb. 20 the Premier, W. E. Foster, C. W. Robinson, Hon. J. B. M. Baxter, Hon. A. R. Slipp, Hon. B. Frank Smith, E. S. Carter, J. F. Tweeddale and Robert Murray had signed, with others, to a total of 31 Conservatives and 23 Liberals. On Feb. 24 the Election returns showed a contest in every constituency, 96 candidates in the field, and results close—with, however, a cutting of individual Government majorities and large personal Liberal majorities. The figures showed 21 for the Government and 23 Opposition with Gloucester deferred until the 26th; if its 4 members were elected to support the Government there would be a small majority. But it went the other way and chose Peter J. Veniot and three other Liberals—giving the Opposition a majority of 6 in a full House. The details were as follows:

Counties	Candidate Elected	Politics	Vote	Candidate Defeated	Politics	Vote
Albert	Lewis Smith	Cons.	984	W. J. Carnwath	Lib.	911
	John L. Peck	"	967	S. S. Ryan	"	903
Carleton	Hon. B. Frank Smith	"	2,797	W. F. Jones	"	2,051
	W. S. Sutton	"	2,789	G. W. Upham	"	2,047
	G. L. White	"	2,739	A. McCaln	"	2,052
Charlotte	Hon. H. I. Taylor, M.D.	"	2,555	W. F. Todd	"	1,914
	S. D. Guptill	"	2,454	Burton Hill	"	1,942
	R. W. Grimmer	"	2,489	H. R. Lawrence	"	1,924
	Harry W. Smith	"	2,451	Joseph Gaskill	"	1,877
Gloucester	J. P. Byrne	Lib.	3,652	F. C. B. Young	Cons.	1,717
	P. J. Veniot	"	3,648	J. B. Hachey	"	1,706
	S. Leger	"	3,647	M. J. Robichaud	"	1,647
	J. G. Robichaud	"	3,578	A. P. Robichaud	"	1,639
Kent	A. A. Dysart	"	2,356	G. A. Hutchinson	"	1,886
	P. P. Melanson	"	2,350	Hon. Dr. D. V. Landry	"	1,883
	A. J. Bordage	"	2,325	F. O. Richard	"	1,845

Counties	Candidate Elected	Politics	Vote	Candidate Defeated	Politics	Vote
King's	Geo. B. Jones	Cons.	2,378	F. E. Sharpe	Lib.	1,936
	Hon. J. A. Murray	"	2,342	Dr. G. N. Pearson	"	1,888
	H. V. Dickson	"	2,280	E. S. Carter	"	1,826
Madawaska	L. A. Dugal	Lib.	1,805	C. L. Cyr	Cons.	682
	J. E. Michaud	"	1,792	J. T. Clair	"	662
Northumberland	J. P. Burchill	"	2,453	L. Doyle	"	1,732
	Robert Murray	"	2,350	J. L. Stewart	"	1,688
	F. G. McGrath, M.D.	"	2,304	F. D. Swim	"	1,629
	David V. Allain	"	2,182	J. A. Gallant	"	1,397
Queen's	George H. King	"	1,199	Hon. A. R. Slipp	"	1,147
	Dr. J. E. Hetherington.	"	1,169	Alfred West	"	1,143
Restigouche	Wm. Currie	"	1,708	D. A. Stewart	"	1,513
	Arthur LeBlanc	"	1,699	Hon. Arthur Culligan	"	1,496
St. John (County)	Hon. J. B. M. Baxter.	Cons.	1,141	W. E. Foster	Lib.	1,000
	T. B. Carson	"	1,083	A. F. Bentley	"	966
St. John (City)	J. R. Campbell	"	3,695	P. Grannan	Cons.	3,483
	L. P. D. Tilley	"	3,633	W. E. Scully	Lib.	3,431
	F. L. Potts	"	3,547	W. H. Barnaby	"	3,397
	W. F. Roberts, M.D.	Lib.	3,543	J. A. Sinclair	"	3,236
Sunbury	D. W. Mersereau	"	689	P. Glasier	Cons.	600
	R. B. Smith	"	685	G. Perley	"	598
Westmoreland	E. A. Smith	"	3,585	A. J. Trites	"	2,981
	Fred. Magee	"	3,583	F. B. Black	"	2,980
	F. J. Sweeney	"	3,491	D. G. Mahoney	"	2,919
	C. M. Leger	"	3,487	A. J. Legere	"	2,868
Moncton City	Hon. C. W. Robinson.	"	1,388	Dr. O. B. Price	"	1,248
York	W. C. Crocket, M.D.	Cons.	3,376	E. Burtt	Lib.	2,818
	S. B. Hunter	"	3,363	A. J. Hughes	"	2,551
	Jas. K. Pinder	"	3,343	W. P. Lawson	"	2,457
	John A. Young	"	3,170	A. B. Kitchen	"	2,417
Victoria	J. R. Burgess	Lib.	1,371	A. E. Kupkey	Cons.	902
	J. F. Tweeddale	"	1,365	J. L. White	"	902

W. E. Foster was defeated in St. John and E. S. Carter in King's; so were D. V. Landry, A. R. Slipp and A. P. Culligan of the Government. The wiping out of such an immense majority as Mr. Murray had in the Legislature was a matter of much interest and inquiry as to causes and effects. The personal and admitted *prestige* of Mr. Foster had something to do with it; the organizing work of Messrs. Carter and Veniot had its influence; the dislike by Intercolonial Railway workmen of strict management and Federal cutting of patronage and politics in the I.C.R., with charges against Mr. Gutelius, General Manager, of appointing too many Americans, had an effect—notably in Moncton; the alleged use of anti-Conscriptionist arguments by some of the candidates with the implication that the return of the Government would aid Conscription—direct charges as to this being made by Dr. O. B. Price in Andover, A. P. Culligan in Restigouche, Senator Bourque in Kent, had influence, the public dislike of continued corruption talk with some obvious flame to the smoke was a factor; the election of Liberals with such Acadian antecedents and names as Veniot, S. Leger, Robichaud, Bourdage, Melanson, Dugal, Michaud, Allain, Le Blanc, C. M. Leger and, especially, the results in Westmoreland, Madawaska, Restigouche and Gloucester indicated that the French-Canadian or Acadian vote had gone strongly for the Opposition. The Federal leaders kept entirely out of the contest; except perhaps for inspiration and guidance by Mr. Carvell and many of the Liberal candidates were not in the field until Nomination day; Messrs. C. W. Robinson and F. J. Sweeney of the old-time Liberal Government were elected. As to the Acadian issue the Fredericton *Gleaner* went so far as to charge that the results in 18 out of 27 Liberals seats were due to this vote. It may be noted that whether the constituency had one,

two, three or four seats, each elector had as many votes as there were seats.

Whatever the exact causes a new and clean sweep in politics and government had become inevitable. A meeting of the Opposition members was held on Mar. 7 and Mr. Foster unanimously re-affirmed Leader of the Party with arrangements made for a new seat; at the same date E. S. Carter, organizer and Press agent in the Elections, told the St. John *Standard* that "the Provincial Government has nothing whatever to do with the question of Conscription as that matter is entirely for consideration by the Dominion Government." It was said by the Government press that C. W. Robinson, P. J. Veniot, E. S. Carter and F. B. Carvell, M.P., were all in line for the Premiership but this did not appear in the Conference. The seat decided upon for Mr. Foster was Victoria where James Burgess retired in his favour. Meantime, the Murray Government held office and did so until Mar. 29, despite some Opposition press protests; on that date it was announced that all arrears of business had been cleared up, including the afterwards-discussed award of a contract for erection of the Perry Point bridge in King's County. Mr. Foster was called upon to form a Government (Mar. 30) and took some days to settle the various claims and adjust conditions—with the generous aid of Hon. C. W. Robinson, the Prime Minister of 1908 days. On Apr. 4 the new Government was announced and sworn in as follows:

Prime Minister and President of the Council	Hon. Walter Edward Foster.
Attorney-General	Hon. James P. Byrne, K.C.
Minister of Lands & Mines	Hon. Ernest Albert Smith, D.D.S.
Provincial Secretary-Treasurer	Hon. Robert Murray, K.C.
Minister of Public Works	Hon. Peter John Veniot.
Minister of Agriculture	Hon. John Fletcher Tweeddale.
Minister Without Portfolio	Hon. Clifford Wm. Robinson, K.C.
Minister Without Portfolio	Hon. Louis Auguste Dugal.
Minister Without Portfolio	Hon. Wm. Francis Roberts, M.D.

It was emphatically a new Cabinet; Mr. Foster and two others had never sat in the Legislature, only Mr. Robinson had ever had Cabinet experience, Mr. Dugal was the only one who had sat in the last House. All the Ministers were re-elected by acclamation and E. S. Carter became General Secretary to the Premier. The first actions of the Government included a cancellation of the contract for constructing the Perry Point bridge; the dismissal of High Sheriff J. R. Tompkins of Carleton and the appointment of A. R. Foster; the appointment, upon recommendation of the Dominion Alliance, of the Rev. Wm. D. Wilson as Chief Inspector under the Prohibition Act; the appointment of Lieut.-Col. J. L. McAvity as A.D.C. to the Lieut.-Governor, of Myles B. Dixon, K.C., to be Clerk of the Executive Council and of W. R. Reek to be Deputy Minister of Agriculture in place of J. B. Daggett resigned; the removal of Geo. Gilbert as Judge of Probates in Gloucester and appointment of J. L. Ryan; appointment of a large Increased Production Committee which chose an Executive Committee composed of E. A. Schofield, St. John, A. E. Trites, Salisbury, G. E. Fisher, Chatham, W. W. Boyce, Fredericton, Charles Shaw, Hartland, B. R. Violette, St. Leonards, to act with Hon. J. F. Tweeddale and W. R. Reek, Deputy

Minister of Agriculture. The Legislature was at once called and opened on May 10 by His Honour Josiah Wood with a Speech from the Throne which referred to the retirement of the Duke and Duchess of Connaught and the coming of a new Governor-General and expressed regret for the death of the Hon. G. J. Clarke, the late Premier; welcomed the coming of the United States into the War and declared that "the valour and courage displayed by our Canadian soldiers on the many battlefields of France and Flanders, in which they have been engaged, and in which the soldiers of our own Province have borne such a conspicuous part, have been such as to make our breasts swell with pride and admiration"; urged the people to respond more and more generously to appeals for War Funds and indicated Government assistance for returned soldiers in arrangements for a Tuberculosis Sanatorium and Convalescent Hospital; congratulated the farmers upon an abundant crop and urged increased production; stated as to the St. John Valley Railway that "the construction will be continued as speedily as possible in order that it may be taken over and operated by the Department of Railways of Canada at an early date, and that a Commissioner has been appointed to enquire into the affairs of the Saint John and Quebec Railway Co."; intimated that a firm of Chartered Accountants of the highest reputation had been engaged to make a thorough audit of the Finances; announced that the Prohibition Act had come into operation on May 1 in certain Counties; stated that the question of permanent roads had received attention, a competent Engineer engaged and survey arranged for with a view to establishing, promptly, a comprehensive system; promised various items of legislation.

Wm. Currie, Restigouche, was elected Speaker and the Address was moved by D. W. Mersereau of Sunbury, and A. T. Le Blanc, Restigouche. An incident of Mr. Mersereau's speech was a slighting reference to Royalty which the Opposition Leader met with a "God Save the King" comment and cheers from a part of the members.* J. B. M. Baxter moved an Opposition amendment on May 15 declaring that "in view of the large number of appointments which have been made to the Public Service, by the present Administration, we desire to express our regret that the claims of returned soldiers, who have seen actual service at the Front, do not appear to have received that consideration which their services merit." It was defeated by 25 to 19 after which the Address passed without division; the Opposition press doing its best to arouse dissatisfaction in this matter. On June 6-8 Conscription was debated upon a Resolution by F. L. Potts and Lewis Smith of the Opposition, declaring that the Legislature "places itself on record as approving of the policy of securing men for Canada's fighting forces by Selective Draft at once; and of such war measures as may be deemed necessary for the control of food supplies and prices, and such measures of taxation as may be deemed to be in the best interest of Canada for

* The Official Revised Report did not contain this reference in Mr. Mersereau's speech, but it did contain the quotation and criticisms in those of Hon. J. A. Murray and F. L. Potts.

the prosecution of this great war." Mr. Premier Foster and L. A. Dugal proposed approval of the latter part of the motion but stated as to the first that "the question of raising the said forces is a matter purely under the jurisdiction and control of the Federal Government and Parliament, who are now endeavouring, by series of conferences, to arrive at a satisfactory solution thereof; therefore it would be inadvisable at this time to interfere" and added that the country at large would support "any conclusion mutually agreed upon by the Leaders of the respective Parties." J. B. M. Baxter and L. P. D. Tilley, Conservatives, moved a further amendment much along the lines of the original motion. Finally, a compromise was effected on motion of the Premier and Hon. J. A. Murray and carried unanimously as follows: "That in the opinion of this House the people of New Brunswick will loyally support any measures for the augmentation of our military strength, which the exigencies of the time may render necessary, and that it is highly desirable that any such measures should be the product of mutual co-operation by the leaders of political thought in this Dominion."

At this time a technical question came up as to the legality of the election of Hon. R. Murray and A. A. Dysart—the former holding the post of Master in the Supreme Court and the latter that of Parish Court Commissioner. J. B. M. Baxter brought up the matter on May 30, declared the seats technically vacant and proposed that the matter be referred to the Supreme Court; the Attorney-General (Hon. J. P. Byrne) disagreed with this conclusion on the ground that any remuneration received was in fees; on June 20 Messrs. Baxter and J. A. Murray moved, for the Opposition, that the matter be referred to a Committee; the Premier and Mr. Byrne moved in amendment, and carried it on division, a declaration that the subject was technical and of no injury to the House and that no useful purpose would be served by further action. Meanwhile, the question of finances had been a considerable issue in the Elections and Hon. D. V. Landry, Treasurer, under date of Mar. 15, 1917, and after the Elections, issued the Public Accounts statement for the year of Oct. 31, 1916. The direct Provincial liabilities were given as $10,800,646 in Provincial Stock and Debentures; the indirect ones consisted of $6,263,000 of Guaranteed securities, of which the St. John & Quebec Railway was responsible for $4,250,000. He showed the total ordinary revenue and expenditure during the period of Conservative rule as having only increased from $1,259,826 of revenue and $1,255,381 of expenditure in 1909 to $1,580,419 and $1,568,342 respectively in 1916. As soon as the new Government took office Price Waterhouse & Co. of Montreal were instructed to examine the books and accounts of the Province and they duly reported on June 11 deprecating certain methods, suggesting other modes of accounting, re-adjusting some items in the accounts and providing a revised balance sheet after making the St. John & Quebec Railway bonds a direct liability. The total Liabilities of the Province, therefore, became $16,262,793 as on Oct. 31, 1916; similarly the Assets were made to include the Railway assets and to total $16,262,793. The current assets were stated at $838,514 and

the current liabilities at the same figure with a stated deficit under the new system of $706,833 on Oct. 31, 1916—instead of $12,000 surplus as given by Mr. Landry. On June 7 Hon. C. W. Robinson had delivered his Budget Speech in which he stated the figures on Mar. 31, 1917, to be as follows:*

Capital Debt	$16,339,639.13
Current Debt	763,321.73
Total	$17,102,960.86
Required to complete Valley Railway, Gagetown to Westfield	1,000,000.00
Required to complete permanent Bridges	550,000.00
Contingent liability on Bonds guaranteed	2,013,000.00
Total	$20,665,960.86

The Bonded debt in 1908 was placed at $5,834,533 and in 1916 at $9,109,059. The Treasurer estimated the ordinary revenue for Oct. 31, 1917, at $1,564,365, and the expenditures—inclusive of interest on the Railway bonds—at $1,959,441. Messrs. J. A. Murray and Baxter replied at length for the late Government and handled a great mass of figures to prove the late Treasurer correct in methods and facts; Mr. Murray also reviewed the general situation and declared that the new Government could not evade responsibility for the dismissal of hundreds of competent officials from the Public Service, for appointments made without any arrangements as to remuneration, for the increase in the number of members of the Government and consequent added cost to the Province, for increased expenditure on steam navigation and for the proposed addition to the Public Debt for permanent bridges and the building of highways. All these and many other things were a part of the financial requirements of the Province and his Government had attended to them properly. At the close of the year W. A. Londoun, Auditor-General, published the figures for the year ending Oct. 31, 1917, which showed an ordinary revenue of $1,572,818 and ordinary expenditures of $1,988,267, or a deficit of $416,000; capital and other special expenditure beyond this ordinary total was $1,677,021—including $851,922 upon bridges, roads, etc. A non-partisan matter was the passage on June 22 of a Resolution, moved by Hon. Mr. Baxter (Cons.) and Fred. Magee (Lib.) and passed unanimously, which declared that:

Whereas, the growth and development of the Western Provinces of Canada have been much greater in the past than that of the Maritime Provinces, and are likely to be still greater after the War; and Whereas, the representation of the Maritime Provinces in the Dominion Parliament is not likely to increase, and possibly may be decreased if the population of such Provinces shall not increase proportionately to that of Canada as a whole; and Whereas, it is becoming more and more important that there shall be unity of aim and action among the representatives of the Maritime Provinces in the Dominion Parliament so that the said Provinces may obtain from the development of Canada such advantages in commerce and transportation as will give them a fair share in the benefits accruing from the development of our country; and Whereas, the assembling together of representative men of the Maritime Provinces in the transaction of public business would tend to promote community of aim, unity of action and a wider understanding of the needs of these communities; Therefore Resolved, that this House would favourably regard any action which the Government may be disposed to take for the purpose of ascertaining whether the Provinces

* Confirmed in the Price-Waterhouse Report.

of Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island or either of them would be willing to consider the question of Legislative Union of the Maritime Provinces.

Legislation of the Session included the creation of the post of Deputy Attorney-General; an Act for the repair, etc., of roads and bridges and public works under public tender and with the persons to whom the expenditure of moneys was entrusted having the right to a rate of 10% of the sum or to receive specified remuneration from the Minister; a measure authorizing the Government to borrow $500,000 to be expended on Permanent Bridges—the income from the Motor Vehicle Tax to be used for payment of interest—and another Loan of $700,000 authorized for the same purpose; authorization of a Government Loan of $2,190,000 in order to refund N.B. Government stock held in London, and $4,250,000 to be obtained elsewhere than London; an Act compelling Licenses of Crown Lands and exporters of pulp-wood to furnish details yearly of the lumber cut and wood exported; the imposition of a tax on wild-lands from 1 to 2 cents an acre and for better enforcement of Succession duties against evasion; an addition to the General Mining Act, providing certain rights-of-way for roads or railways connecting with a mining property under specific conditions; amendments to the Motor Vehicles Act providing for dimming headlights, for an age limit of 18 years for chauffeurs, changing the owner's annual fee to 60 cents for every 100 lbs. weight of motor cars, charging motor cycles $3.00 each and motor trucks, etc., $10 up to 2 tons and over that $5.00 for each additional ton or fraction thereof; an Act consolidating and amending the Marriage Act—enforcing the publication of banns and ceremony by a recognized Church minister; amendments of numerous character to the Game Act and for the protection of sheep from dogs; validating, under an Act to confirm Canadian Patriotic Fund assessments, the imposition upon certain counties, cities and towns of sums which for 1917 totalled $518,087; an Act to facilitate drainage of farm lands and another authorizing cities, towns and municipalities to purchase food and other necessities for the inhabitants during the War; provision for the earlier closing of shops; amendments to the Workmen's Compensation Act limiting the total in case of death to $1,500 as a minimum and $2,500 as a maximum, setting the sum for total or partial incapacity at $6 to $16 per week or 75% of weekly average wages during previous 12 months or for lesser period of actual employment, and giving the Supreme Court Judges power to issue orders for such payments; enlarging the powers of the Commission appointed to inquire into the workings of the Ontario and Nova Scotia Compensation Acts; a measure regulating and re-arranging the grants and management of Public Hospitals; an Act respecting shorthand reporting in certain Courts and another respecting Executions on judgments in certain Courts.

An important measure was that amending the Prohibition Act which had gone into operation on May 1. It strengthened the Act in certain details but the clause bringing into force the Doherty Act (Federal) under which the importation of liquor for private purposes would have been stopped was dropped by the Government; one provision was that a magistrate might, instead of ordering seized

liquor to be destroyed, have it sent to a Hospital; another permitted beer shops to keep open until 11.30 instead of ten as in the original Act. The Act as to the St. John & Quebec Railway Co. empowered the Government to extend time for the completion of the Gagetown-Westfield section and to act in respect to Dominion subsidies and agreements; to reduce the Directors to three and to issue bonds up to $1,000,000 for further construction of the Railway; to place (definite instruction) moneys received from the Government of Canada as subsidies or from the Prudential Trust Co. on account of the old Company, in a Sinking Fund; to take over satisfactory highways built by the Company or in course of construction; to expropriate and pay for lands for right-of-way and to cancel any existing contracts for building the Railway, with compensation; to enter into agreement with the Dominion Government in respect to any moneys still held from former arrangements. A second Act authorized the Government to take rails from the Northern N.B. & Seabord Railway for use on the St. John line and to arrange for compensation either by agreement or by arbitration. As to this situation Hon. W. E. Foster stated in the House on June 20 that work now under contract would cost in round figures $1,000,000: "Against this the Company should have available $168,884 subsidy due on the Gagetown-Centreville section, $256,000 subsidy due on the Gagetown-Westfield section, and $519,000 in the hands of the Prudential Trust Company, or a total of $943,885." Another measure ratified the sale of the property, franchise, etc., of the St. John Railway Co.—an electric public utility in that city—to the New Brunswick Power Co., and some financial criticism touched the fact that a 1st mortgage 5% bond issue of the former Company was eliminated and in lieu of their lien upon the whole property of the Company the bond-holders were provided with Dominion Government 5% bonds held in trust and just sufficient to cover interest and retire the issue at maturity. Woman's Suffrage, as in Nova Scotia, met with defeat. A Bill was presented by Hon. Dr. W. F. Roberts (Lib.) (May 29) with the statement that it was the final outcome of years of effort on the part of the ladies of New Brunswick and was promoted by the W.C.T.U., the King's Daughters and other women's organizations, and that it would give women equal suffrage with men. On June 20, after long discussion in Committee, it was defeated by 25 to 14 with Hon. Mr. Veniot as the leading opponent backed by Messrs. Tweeddale, Dugal, and Smith of the Government; it was voted for by Messrs. J. A. Murray, Baxter and Smith of the late Government and by the Premier, Hon. R. Murray and Hon. J. P. Byrne of the existing Government. The House was prorogued on June 22.

Following this, on June 28, the important post of Lieut.-Governor was vacated through the term of Hon. Josiah Wood having expired, and Gilbert W. Ganong, M.P. for Charlotte in 1900-1908 was appointed. His Honour died on Oct. 31 and he was succeeded (Nov. 6) by the Hon. Wm. Pugsley, K.C., D.C.L., M.P. since 1907, formerly Premier of the Province and Dominion Minister of Public Works. He was the first prominent Liberal appointee of the new Union

Government; at the same time Hon. J. D. Hazen, Minister of Marine and Fisheries, became Chief Justice in succession to Sir Ezekiel McLeod. The new post of Deputy Attorney-General under the Foster Government was filled by T. Carleton Allen, K.C., of St. John; M. V. Paddock was appointed Provincial Analyst. In September the Premier asked the Returned Soldiers' Aid Commission to suggest a war veteran for a vacancy on the Board of Motion Picture Censors and Fred. Hyatt was recommended and appointed. An incident at the close of the year was the application of L. R. Ross, President of the N.B. Power Co., Ltd., to the Public Utilities Commission for permission to increase rates in its Street railway, electric and gas services. Higher prices for everything was given as the reason and Mr. Ross, on Dec. 3, stated that "the Company used 20,000 tons of coal per year and that it had concluded to buy new cars but found that while they cost $4,000 in 1914 they would now cost the prohibitive figure of $12,000." So with wages which must be advanced: "Further money is required for the proper development of our system; we have plans by spending approximately $2,000,000 to then reduce the rate on electricity. A further $120,000 would rebuild the present gas plant or it would take $420,000 to construct a new plant on a new site. Either of these things would immediately give cheaper gas. The programme of the street railway part of our system means an expenditure of over $300,000 spread over three years and this would result then in a better service." Advertisements were put in the press and every effort made to obtain public support but in the end the application was withdrawn—Dec. 27.

A political issue of recent years involving some of the Conservative politicians and, notably, ex-Premier J. K. Flemming, in their association with the Valley Railway construction, its contracts and contributions to party funds, or gifts to promoting interests, was all threshed out again before a Commission composed of J. M. Stevens, K.C. It was appointed by the new Foster Government to inquire into conditions surrounding the Railway's independent career and final taking over by the late Government. During June, July and August a number of prominent men testified. G. Howard Lindsay, Managing Director of the Nova Scotia Construction Co., in charge of some of the Railway work, swore on June 19 that "no person connected with the late Government, directly or indirectly, had ever asked either him or his Company to contribute one dollar to any alleged campaign fund." W. B. Tennant was his Agent and partner on a profit basis in New Brunswick and was instrumental in getting and keeping contracts; to him he admitted paying $20,000 in February, 1917, and $100,000 on May 9, 1916. Another person trying to secure contracts was Thos. Nagle with whom Kennedy and McDonald were concerned. Witnesses as to certain phases of the complicated tangle of contracts and wire-pulling included men of business reputation such as Richard O'Leary, F. W. Sumner, W. S. Fisher, J. D. Palmer and other Directors of the late St. John & Quebec Railway Co. They knew nothing of the alleged graft. Alex. Macdonald, one of the contractors, swore on Aug. 4, that F. B. Car-

vell, K.C., was aware of an engagement by Kennedy & Macdonald to pay $20,000 for the purpose of securing their sub-contract, and that he, personally, dictated an agreement making Thomas Nagle a partner in the concern; Mr. Carvell stated that he had given certain legal advice and no more. He was now appearing for the Government in the case, while M. G. Teed, K.C., represented the N.S. Construction Co., and R. B. Hanson, K.C., appeared for the former Directors. W. S. Fisher, a man of high standing, stated that he had resigned his Directorship because he did not believe in new contracts and construction during the war. As to the rest the Government "gave the Company Directors a very free hand and did not interfere in any way." Like his colleagues he had not known of any payments to W. B. Tennant and did not know why such moneys should have been paid to him or anyone else. L. B. Smith and E. L. Merrithew, contractors, swore on Aug. 15 that "no political influence had been used in their behalf, that they had made no contributions to campaign funds and had given no consideration to anyone in connection with their sub-contract or the prices they received for it." Other evidence seemed to show that Thos. Nagle had received $20,000 from somewhere.

W. B. Tennant testified on Aug. 17 as to the $120,000 paid to him and two days before this P. F. Blanchet, Chartered Accountant, on behalf of the Commissioner, wrote that he had examined Mr. Tennant's bank-books and cheques and accounts and found all of this money largely accounted for in personal matters with $8,000 of political subscriptions. The Commission then adjourned and on the 20th Mr. Tennant wrote to the press summarizing the evidence brought out by the Inquiry as follows: "(1) The arrangements between the N.S. Construction Co. and myself were purely of a business nature; (2) no undue political influence was used in securing the contract; (3) no member of the Government or Valley Railway Director knew of existing arrangements between the Company and myself." Then from another source came a startling statement by A. R. Gould, an American, and former President of the St. John & Quebec Railway—in certain arbitration proceedings before Justice H. A. McKeown which arose from Mr. Gould's claim for compensation as a result of the late Government's action in taking the Railway out of his hands. The session of Aug. 16 was dealing with the circumstances under which Mr. Gould had continued the work of construction after his financial backers had failed to float 2nd mortgage bonds to the extent of $10,000 per mile. Mr. Gould testified that Hon. J. K. Flemming, then Premier, in private conversation, had assured him that he desired the witness to go on with the work, and told him how it could be arranged without the sale of the bonds. The testimony then showed how it was financed through the Prudential Trust Co. of Montreal, until the Legislature had met and agreed that the Province would guarantee the bonds in order to make them saleable. At this point Mr. Carvell asked: "Did you pay anything to Mr. Flemming for the contract?" With considerable reluctance, and at first only indirectly, Mr. Gould made the admission that he had agreed to pay Mr. Flemming the

sum of $100,000 and that he had paid more than $75,000 to the then Premier personally and the balance at his direction. The money was, he said, taken out of an advance of $350,000 made by the Prudential Trust Co. of Montreal—the payment to Mr. Flemming being in the spring of 1912 prior to the Provincial Elections. W. B. Tennant then swore that $20,000 of the money received by him from the N.S. Construction Co. went for political purposes.

Incidents of the year included the statement of Dr. B. M. Mullin on Jan. 4, that: "The St. John River from its mouth to its source is a big sewer so far as New Brunswick is concerned; sewage, refuse and garbage are thrown indiscriminately into the river and the public health continues to suffer." The Social Service Council (Mar. 28) urged the establishment of a Maritime Provinces home for Feeble-minded children and appointed a Committee to collect information and suggest working plans; the N.B. Temperance Alliance met at Fredericton on Apr. 5 and announced energetic steps for the repeal of the Scott Act in various counties, in favour of the new Provincial Act, with arrangements for the enforcement of Prohibition; on May 1st 50 retail dealers, 6 hotel bars, 12 wholesale dealers and 3 breweries discontinued local business in St. John and the new Act came into operation with the sale of liquor absolutely prohibited except that licensed dealers, under very stringent regulations, could sell it for medicinal and sacramental purposes. In an interview in the Halifax *Herald* (Oct. 27) Rev. W. D. Wilson, Chief Inspector, explained some of his large powers and stated that: "The law permits the use of liquors in private houses, providing the householder can get it there—and the Chief Inspector consents." Various organizations elected their chiefs as follows:

Royal Kennebecasis Yacht Club	Comr. F. P. Starr	St. John.
Barristers' Society of New Brunswick	W. A. Ewing, K.C.	St. John.
New Brunswick Tourist Association	J. E. Secord	St. John.
New Brunswick Retail Merchants' Association	A. O. Skinner	St. John.
Grand Lodge, A.F. & A.M.	D. C. Clark	St. John.
Masonic Arch Chapter	Jasper J. Daly	St. John.
New Brunswick Medical Society	F. H. Wetmore, M.D.	Hampton.
Sons of Temperance	James Falconer	N. Castle.
I.O.G.T. of New Brunswick	E. N. Stockford	St. John.
United Baptist Women's Missionary Union	Mrs. David Hutchinson	St. John.
Natural History Society	James A. Estey	St. John.
Grand Orange Lodge of New Brunswick—Ladies' Association	Mrs. J. A. McAvity	St. John.
Grand Orange Lodge of New Brunswick	E. H. Clarkson	Stanley.
New Brunswick Branch: Canadian Red Cross Society	Mayor R. T. Hayes	St. John.
Association for Prevention of Tuberculosis	J. A. Likely	St. John.
New Brunswick Fruit Growers' Association	R. A. Phillmore	Burton.

In connection with the Foster Government it may be mentioned that no active part was taken by its members in favour of Unionism at Ottawa; Mr. Foster was widely stated to be in favour of Union and as Mr. Carvell was so large a figure in New Brunswick politics and so influential in the events leading up to success at the Provincial polls, it was natural that they should stand together; the Hon. C. W. Robinson, however, supported Mr. Copp in Westmoreland and he was anti-Union; Hon. P. J. Veniot was said to be opposed to it while E. S. Carter, an influential politician, was reported favourable. There was no doubt as to where *The Telegraph* stood in the matter as an ardent supporter of the Foster and Union Governments.

Meantime, the annual Report of the new Minister of Lands and Mines (Hon. E. A. Smith) was being prepared for the year of Oct. 31, 1917, and it gave the net revenue as $544,191 compared with $540,386 in 1916—the stumpage dues being, respectively, $352,087 and $354,042. Dr. Smith stated that the first question he had taken up was the obtaining of accurate reports as to lumber cut on Crown Lands and that his predecessor had commenced to grapple with the problem. Scaling methods were said to be antiquated and a reform necessary, the regulated size of spruce logs was reduced; in order to meet the increased trouble of trespassers on pulp-lands, owing to higher values, the new Minister gave orders that all green pulpwood cut outside of the first ten acres be subjected to a stumpage of $3.75 per cord, and burnt wood $1 per cord, with payment to be exacted by the Department. When it was shown that the settler had complied in every way with homesteading rules, then 75% of the stumpage collected would be returned to him. The Forest Survey was good and would be retained, Forest administration was removed to a very large extent out of politics and the money ($100,000), needed for maintenance, he raised by taxes from wild lands of about $30,000, by one-half cent per acre on licensed Crown Lands ($30,000) and a grant by Government of $40,000; the resident game license was reduced from $3.00 to $2.00 with 50% more licenses taken out in the year and 20% less of non-resident licenses; the chief Coal concern, the Minto Coal Co., mined 162,205 tons as against 118,498 tons in 1916; the Great Lake Coal Co. made continued progress in development, as did other concerns; gypsum was produced and natural gas maintained its production in Albert County with the N. B. Gas and Oilfields Co. of Moncton as the chief producer—the iron, antimony, tungsten, and copper mines were still out of commission. The grants of Crown Lands in 1917 were 12,168 acres; 861,000 acres were surveyed during the year and new Timber regulations were issued and in force on Aug. 1.

The Hon. D. V. Landry's last Report as Provincial Secretary included the statement of the Provincial Hospital to Oct. 31, 1916, dealing with 625 patients in hand, 832 under treatment during the year and 420 Insane in confinement for the whole Province; the cost of maintenance in the Hospital was $94,385 or $147.25 per patient. To this Minister the Provincial Board of Health reported through Dr. B. M. Mullin, Secretary, that the year was satisfactory except as to the contamination of the River St. John; so with the Factory Inspector for the year of Jan. 1, 1917, who stated that all manufacturing plants, with very few exceptions, had been operated to their full capacity and in many cases it was necessary to work overtime while others had to continue for the 24 hours with two shifts. Mr. Kenney declared that better protection of machinery was needed and that owners left the oversight of these matters too much to foremen; that manufacturers remained negligent in reporting accidents which totalled 81 for the year; that steam boilers were rigorously inspected with no explosions in the year though he recommended that a statute should define what constituted a strong and desirable boiler; that sanitation and ventilation, though im-

proving slowly, showed lots of room for betterment; that child labour continued, with improvements noted, though in his opinion "the employment of children cannot be eradicated entirely while there are parents who are anxious to have their children employed and employers who desire cheap help." Portable mills had been found a difficulty and the inspection carried on as well as possible, and hotels were reported as dilatory in the matter of fire-guards. The Jordan Universal Sanatorium for Tuberculosis reported 23 patients.

The new Minister of Agriculture, Hon. J. F. Tweeddale, reported a continuance of active agricultural work and production. A Greater Production Conference at Fredericton on May 4 was addressed by Mr. Foster, L. P. D. Tilley, M.L.A., and Prof. J. W. Robertson and a Committee was formed, with E. A. Schofield as Chairman, to further food conservation; according to the new Secretary of Agriculture (W. R. Reek) the season was not a good one but the Department had distributed seed to 1,500 farmers with returns of $25,000 and good results in production—though potatoes were a disappointment; Labour was reported by Mr. Reek to be increasingly scarce, many leaving the farms for war and other causes when there were, already, too few available for work—women, however, were helping greatly; Agricultural schools had few pupils but District representatives of the Department were being appointed to increase the interest of boys and girls in agricultural work; the Agricultural Aid appropriation from Ottawa was $59,209 in 1916-17 and $64,110 for 1917-18; a Sheep campaign was carried on in the autumn of 1917 with $9,286 spent in improving and promoting production of this live-stock; Boys' Pig Clubs, modelled on a Kentucky pattern, were organized to encourage the raising of hogs and Boys and Girls' Poultry Clubs were also formed; apples and small fruits had a bad weather year but the Department maintained 13 Illustration Orchards and did all that was possible, with good work by the Fruit Growers' Association and a continued campaign against the Brown-tail Moth pest; Women's Institutes numbered 94 with 2,600 members and short courses in Home Economics under the Department's auspices, also 102 summer meetings held throughout the Province to interest women in house-work and farm progress. The 5th annual Convention at Moncton on Oct. 1-3, with 175 present, passed Resolutions asking for regulation of milk prices, for a woman on the Provincial Board of Moving Picture Censors, for medical inspection of schools, for women to be allowed election to rural school-boards. The Provincial figures as to production in 1917 were as follows: Oats, 190,914 acres, 4,470,453 bushels and estimated value $4,470,453; wheat, 15,331 acres, 231,860 bushels worth $602,836; turnips, 9,079 acres, 3,818,167 bushels worth $954,541; potatoes 50,406 acres, 5,631,393 bushels worth $6,143,849—a considerable reduction in Oats and Potatoes. Federal figures of Live-stock in 1917 showed 65,169 horses valued at $8,244,000; 189,677 cattle, $9,848,000; 103,877 sheep worth $1,039,000 and 69,269 swine worth $1,853,000 —a reduction in numbers and increase of nearly $5,000,000 in value. The result of increased productive effort was not wholly satisfactory



MAJ.-GEN. W. G. GWATKIN, C.B.,
Chief of Staff, Department of Militia and Defence, Ottawa, 1917.

but hay, root-crops, and small fruits did well. The Federal figures of Provincial field crops were as follows:

Field Crops	Area Acres	Yield Per Acre Bush.	Total Yield Bush.	Average Price Bush.	Total Value
Spring Wheat	16,000	12·00	192,000	$2.25	$ 432,000
Oats	190,000	22·50	4,275,000	0.94	4,018,500
Buckwheat	57,000	19·50	1,111,500	1.13	1,256,000
Barley, Peas, Beans and Mixed Grain	3,340		67,830		140,100
Potatoes	46,000	149·80	6,891,000	1.13	7,787,000
Turnips, Mangolds, etc.	7,700	300·54	2,314,000	0.61	1,412,000
		Tons	Tons	Per Ton	
Hay and Clover	568,000	1·60	909,000	10.29	9,354,000

In other lines of production it may be said that the value of New Brunswick minerals in 1915 was $916,000 and in 1916 $500,000; that the output of its Industries was estimated in 1917 at $40,000,000 and its Factory pay-roll at $14,000,000 a year; that the industrial production of St. John was 25% in the past 5-year period; that its Fisheries production averaged $24,000,000—chiefly salmon, cod, sardines and halibut. Ship-building showed marked signs of development and in April, 1917, 40 wooden ships were under construction and yards were once more busy at Parrsboro, Meteghan, Weymouth, Liverpool, etc.; H. C. Schofield stated in the St. John press on June 29 that Grant & Horne had been awarded the contract for building two large wooden ships for the Imperial Munitions Board. St. John took the highest position in 1917 as Canada's winter port, with exports and imports of $206,087,220 compared with 131 millions in 1916 and 30 millions four years before that. As to the War all Governments were the same. The Clarke Ministry in January fixed $524,790 as the Patriotic Fund assessment upon N.B. Municipalities for 1917 and succeeding Governments approved; the Attorney-General, Hon. J. B. M. Baxter, stated on Jan. 31 at Fredericton that "the genius of Britain had preserved to us our liberty and it was for our people to think out the best ways of doing their bit in this crisis of the Empire's history"; the Legislature under the Foster Government supported increased military strength and party co-operation. Mr. Premier Foster, in April, heard of the wounding of his nephew Lieut. Fred. Foster; Lieut. P. J. Veniot, son of the prospective Minister of Public Works, after seeing service in France, resigned his later Commission in the 165th French-Acadian Battalion, for reasons not announced; E. S. Carter had a son (Lieut. A. N. Carter) at the Front and Lieut. Ralph Murray, son of the Conservative leader, was wounded early in the year. The 3rd anniversary of the War was marked on Aug. 4 by addresses at a St. John meeting from Lieut.-Governor G. W. Ganong, Mr. Foster and Mr. Baxter—the Premier moving a Resolution which expressed "inflexible determination to continue to a victorious end the struggle in maintenance of those ideals of Liberty and Justice which are the common and sacred cause of the Allies"; the Provincial Red Cross Society reported on July 4 a six months' shipment of 585 boxes containing 18,831 pairs of socks, 13,422 articles for Hospital wear, etc., and the annual meeting on Nov. 15 received the resignation of Lady Tilley as Treasurer with regret but with her retention of the post of Organizing President and representative to the

Central Council; on Sept. 6 the Lieut.-Governor, C. B. Allan, J. H. Frink, R. E. Armstrong, A. O. Skinner and others aided in establishing a Food Control Committee; a Greater Production Committee was organized on May 4 with the object of obtaining work by school children in gardens and farms, granting prizes for increased farm production, obtaining the co-operation of the Educational Department and School teachers, initiating Church services and lectures and getting vacant lots planted; in October it was stated that during 2 years New Brunswick had given nearly 15 Battalions, or 15,084 men to the War.

Education in New Brunswick. The school system of this Province was in the hands of W. S. Carter, M.A., LL.D., Chief Superintendent of Education, and, as with Dr. MacKay in Nova Scotia, he had no Minister of Education to control him or his policy. In his 1916 Report Dr. Carter mentioned the recent regulation of Nova Scotia permitting the employment in that Province under certain conditions, of qualified New Brunswick teachers and urged reciprocity: "I see no good reason why this should not be done; on the border of this Province nearest Nova Scotia there are demands for the teachers of both provinces. Clergymen and others moving from one Province to the other and having teachers as members of their families are placed at a disadvantage by this lack of reciprocity. The supply of qualified French teachers of the higher classes is greater than the demand in Nova Scotia. It is much below the demand here, and we need the services of some of them." His Report for 1917 stated that the supply of teachers was not equal to the demand and that the Normal School attendance had dropped owing to war-calls from 372 in 1916 to 369 early in 1917 and 330 in September. Dr. Carter pointed out that teachers on entering the Normal School promised to pay the Province $20 if they left the service before serving 3 years as teachers; but that from various causes, these refunds were seldom made and he urged an increase to $100 with security against default. The Pensions paid in the year of Oct. 31, 1917, totalled $8,393 with 71 recipients; the total of employees in the Educational service, who were on active service on June 30, numbered 182 with 57 casualties; a Committee had been appointed to report on Technical Education, but the Superintendent considered the matter too expensive without Federal assistance; he reported much aid by the schools in increased farm and garden production. Dr. Carter described a personal visit to the schools of the West, where the intense interest in education and the energy with which its problems were handled, greatly impressed him, with free text-books as the chief subject of inquiry. He reported that: "Free readers are supplied in all the Provinces west of Ontario. Free materials in some and free arithmetics, agriculture texts, atlases and libraries in others; Montreal spends $3,000 in supplying free material and texts in Literature; Ontario supplies handbooks in each subject to each teacher. Toronto, Hamilton and I think Ottawa, supply free texts to all pupils; British Columbia is the only Province which supplies free texts throughout." As illustrating the way the West took teachers from the East he stated that in Saskatchewan during 1906-16, 4,235 had been engaged from the Maritime Provinces, Ontario and Manitoba—New Brunswick 221. He urged that free text-books be supplied by school districts till after the War—with the Western books utilized, and recommended parish School Boards instead of District, county fund to be 60 cents instead of 30 cents per head of population, and that all property, wherever situate, be taxed for the support of schools. Manual Training Departments throughout the Province numbered 21 and those of Domestic Science 14, while 107 Home Efficiency Clubs were organized to help in war-work and food conservation; the N.B. School for the Deaf had 30 pupils and there were several successful consolidated schools. The following were the statistics for June 30, 1917:

	1st Term	2nd Term
Number of Schools	2,021	1,981
Number of Teachers	2,166	2,129
Number of Pupils	65,193	64,776
Total number of different pupils in attendance during the Year	71,981	
Proportion of population at school	1 in 5·39	1 in 5·43
Number of Boys	31,535	32,025
Number of Girls	33,658	32,751
Average number of pupils daily present	48,956	45,380
Provincial Grants for Schools (Oct. 31, 1917)	$282,635	

The University of New Brunswick reported for 1916-17 an enrolment of 95 with 19 graduates. The students included 57 in Arts (27 women) 22 in Engineering and 12 in Forestry. Of the graduates 15 received the B.A. degree, 2 the M.A., and 2 the M.Sc.; the Hon. degree of LL.D. was given Dr. W. W. White, M.A., of St. John, and Lieut.-Col. Murray Maclaren, M.D., of the Overseas forces; that of Hon. M.Sc. was given to A. Gordon Leavitt of St. John. The enlistments of the year were 20 and the fatal casualties to date were 22, with 16 graduates or students winning Honours. Donations were received from Lieut. P. P. Loggie, R.F.C., and Mrs. W. T. Whitehead, Fredericton, while Dr. A. P. Crocket of St. John established a Scholarship in honour of his father. Military drill was made compulsory and the Legislature gave a special grant of $850.89 to meet the deficit of 1915-16. Chancellor C. C. Jones feared that a deficit would continue until the War was over. Mount Allison University at Sackville had its Convocation on May 22, with 12 graduates as B.A., 1 as Mus.B., 5 as M.A. The Hon. degree of LL.D. was granted to W. J. Gage, Toronto, and Hon. John A. Robinson, St. John's, Nfld., and that of D.C.L. to S. M. Brookfield, Halifax. Mount Allison Ladies' College received a new Principal —Rev. Hamilton Wigle, B.A.,—and its registration of pupils was 311. The University attendance as a whole was much reduced owing to enlistments which totalled 70% in 1915-16—most of pupils in 1916-17 were below the age, but 24 of them joined the army by the end of the year with a total in all war-years of 410. In its list there were 2 brigadier-generals, 4 colonels, 16 majors, 52 captains and 70 lieutenants. The University of St. Joseph at its commencement exercises on June 14 had Bishop Le Blanc in the chair with addresses from Senator Bourque and Hon. J. B. M. Baxter, K.C., and 10 recipients of M.A., B.A., and B.L. degrees with a number of graduates in special courses. It may be added that Dr. W. S. Carter was elected President of the Dominion Educational Association at its meeting in Ottawa on Feb. 1-2—the Vice-President being Hon. Cyrille F. Dêlage, Quebec, and R. H. Cowley, Toronto, and the Secretary, Dr. J. H. Putnam, Toronto.

Prince Edward Island in 1917. This Province, with its population of a little over 100,000 and its Government system upon the same basis as Provinces of 2,000,000, had political conditions of a distinctively strenuous type in 1917. Its people were largely of Scotch and French-Acadian origin, nearly half and half, Catholic and Protestant, with a pretty close political division in its Legislature. This body met on Mar. 15 in the 2nd Session of its 38th General Assembly; its Speaker was the Hon. John Martin and the Hon. J. A. Mathieson, K.C., had been a Conservative Premier since Dec. 2, 1911, with J. H. Bell, K.C., as the Liberal leader since 1915; the majority was three without the Speaker, but J. A. Dewar (Cons.) was uncertain and during the 1917 Session voted mostly against the Government. The Speech from the Throne was read by Lieut.-Governor A. C. Macdonald, who referred to the departure of the Duke and Duchess of Connaught and "the undaunted courage with which the resources of the Empire are being marshalled for victory against the foes of freedom and justice"; dealt with the excellent work of the Development Commission organized in 1916 for the planning of means to meet after-war problems and promised a measure to open up unused lands for soldier settlement; described Education as becoming more popular with larger grants and improved equipment, despite the enlistment of many experienced teachers; mentioned the prosperity of Agriculture and the increasing success of Education along this line in the Prince of Wales College and the Public Schools; described the Province as prosperous in farming, fisheries, trade and revenues. The Address was moved by A. J. MacNevin and A. A. McDonald and, after a debate lasting till Mar. 27, it passed without division. An Opposition amendment to the War and Health Tax (Mar. 30) proposals declared that in view of the current re-valuation of the farm-lands of the Province and consequent increase of revenue, because of the rigid economy which should prevail in Government matters and because of the fact that a war gratuity of $10 had been given to some of the soldiers on leaving, therefore the Government should grant that sum to all soldiers on service—if funds were not sufficient then debentures should be issued for the shortage. It was ruled out of order by the Speaker as were other amendments and the ruling was supported by a majority of 15 to 13 in each case. The 3rd reading of this Bill was 13 to 12.

In connection with certain charges made by G. E. Hughes (Lib.) as to officials in the Provincial Hospital at Falconwood a Special Committee was appointed composed of A. P. Prowse, R. J. McLellan, A. J. MacNevin, J. H. Bell, K.C., and A. C.

Saunders, to inquire into and report upon the charges. The Committee divided on political grounds and submitted a majority and minority report—the former declaring the management of the institution excellent and the charges against an official name Byrne unfounded, the latter declaring the Hospital management to be clearly guilty of persecuting a cripple named Murphy whose legs had been amputated, and reviewed other sordid evidence in most unpleasant detail. The House accepted the majority report by 16 to 13. The sums voted on April 11 for the Public service included $27,955 for administration of Justice, $18,100 for Agriculture, $174,055 for Education, $65,320 for the Falconwood Insane and Tubercular Hospital and Infirmary, and $46,000 for Interest, $38,000 for roads and bridges—a total, with certain minor items, of $480,118. A Liberal vote of censure (Messrs. Bell and Hughes) was proposed (April 23) against the Government for making alleged unauthorized expenditures and incomplete statements to the Auditor; a Government amendment eulogized the Audit system and condemned the Opposition Leader for not attending the Public Accounts Committee meetings; the latter was carried by 14 to 12. On April 26 a Special Committee in this connection reported the Public liabilities on Dec. 3, 1915, at $1,088,786 and in 1916 at $1,062,151. It may be added that the Receipts on Dec. 31, 1916, were $513,906, including $372,181 of Federal subsidy, and the Expenditures $513,183. The question of Fuel shortage and the development of Peat bogs was discussed on April 13 and a technical expert to look into the matter unanimously appointed on the 23rd. A Prohibition Commission proposal was carried on a 3rd reading by 14 to 12.

The legislation of the Session included a measure authorizing the extension of date of payment in Provincial debentures and advancing the interest from 4% to 5% payable half-yearly; continuing for another year the Act to levy a War and Health tax and levying, also, a tax of $1.50 for every $100 of Income derived from the sale of Foxes kept in captivity, with elaborate details as to collection and penalties; authorizing a Government Bill to assist in development of vacant lands and to help returned soldiers by settling them therein whenever willing, with due compensation and consideration for the owners and an appeal to the County Court, with power, also, to issue debentures not exceeding $20,000 for this purpose. The Opposition strongly opposed this Bill on the ground that the expropriation principle was unsound and dangerous to the farmers; that it would cost $1,000 to establish a ready-made farm for a soldier, that 3,000 men had enlisted from the Island, and that the expense of providing for even one-third of these (if they could be prevailed upon to accept the offer) would be too great a burden for the Province; that as the Conservative member, J. A. Dewar, declared, "You could not drive the soldiers with a bayonet on to unused lands"; that the scheme was socialistic and too indefinite. Another Bill created a Board of Commissioners, for the better enforcement of the laws relating to the Prohibition of intoxicating liquors, with power of control over licenses and inquiry into the conduct of Inspectors, constables, etc.—expenses but no remuneration to be paid the Commissioners; an Act was passed to consolidate and amend the various Prohibition Acts—the object of various amendments being to strengthen the administration and enforcement of the law; so with a measure dealing with the powers of stipendiary magistrates and County Court Judges and another respecting the office of Judge of Probate of Wills; another Act empowering the Governor-in-Council, under the Motor Vehicles Act, to make regulations and impose penalties and forfeitures in order to further restrict the use of the public highways by motor vehicles; the Statutes were amended to give a vote at school meetings and eligibility to act as Trustees to any married woman or widow with one or more children of school age.

An Act was passed to incorporate the P. E. Island Development Commission—composed of F. R. Heartz, Nelson Rattenbury, J. O. Hyndman, J. D. Stewart, W. F. Tidmarsh and others, with power to consider and report upon present advancement of the Province and also in after-war conditions; another Act reconstituted and incorporated St. Dunstan's College as a University. It may be added that the Government was severely criticized during the Session for not controlling more thoroughly the exploitation of the Fox industry in recent years where Companies had capitalized foxes at fantastic figures—in some cases at 30 times the intrinsic value of the animals. Of nine members of the Executive, at least eight, it was charged, were Presidents of Fox companies. On June 13 Sir W. W. Sullivan, Chief Justice of the Province, resigned after 28 years' service and was succeeded by Mr. Mathieson after a Premiership of six years. The Hon. Aubin Edmond Arsenault, a French-

Acadian and son of the late Senator J. O. Arsenault, Minister without Portfolio since 1911, acceded to the post. On July 1 the new Premier issued a Confederation message to the people full of patriotic thought and appeal to war-duty. Two bye-elections followed and the Conservatives were elected—the Premier defeating Dr. Delaney (Lib.) by 684 to 585 in the 3rd District of Prince's and J. D. Stewart winning the late Premier's seat in the 5th King's by 353 to 266 over W. W. Jenkins (Lib.). The House, therefore, remained 17 Government and 13 Opposition. In 2nd King's on Nov. 7th Dr. R. J. MacDonald (Cons.) defeated J. P. McIntyre (Lib.) by 362 to 357 and won a seat which gave the new Government 6 majority. The new Government and the late one were composed as follows:

Position	Mathieson Government	Arsenault Government
Premier and Attorney General	Hon. J. A. Mathieson	Hon. A. E. Arsenault.
President of Executive Council		Hon. A. E. Arsenault.
Commissioner of Public Works	Hon. J. A. McNeill	Hon. J. A. McNeill.
Provincial Secretary-Treasurer and Commissioner of Agriculture	Hon. Murdoch McKinnon	Hon. Murdoch McKinnon.
Minister without Portfolio	Hon. W. S. Stewart	Hon. Charles Dalton.
Minister without Portfolio	Hon. J. A. McDonald	Hon. Murdoch Kennedy.
Minister without Portfolio	Hon. John McLean	Hon. S. R. Jenkins.
Minister without Portfolio	Hon. Charles Dalton	Hon. H. D. MacEwen.
Minister without Portfolio	Hon. A. E. Arsenault	Hon. Leonard Wood.

As to the War the Island's contribution of men enlisted was 2,600 for Overseas up to April, 1917, and 400 for special duty, with an equal number of Island men enlisted in other Provinces—as estimated by Mr. Premier Mathieson; contributions to the various War Funds, both Government and public, totalled $431,730; the contribution of Government House as a Convalescent House for Soldiers and the gift of a Charles Dalton Sanatorium for 75 returned men suffering from Tuberculosis. Prohibition remained a difficult problem in 1917 with considerable drunkenness prevailing and a juror on Jan. 16 in the Supreme Court was actually guilty of the offence. This Jury on Jan. 9 reported that the law was not properly enforced and recommended that the importation of liquor into the Province be prohibited. Under the succeeding legislation a Prohibition Commission was appointed (June 21) composed of Rev. Messrs. R. G. Fulton, A. J. McLeod, James McDougall, M. J. Smith, J. J. MacDonald, D. P. Croken—all denominations represented. The P. E. Island Development Commission reported during the year through F. R. Heartz, President, a series of recommendations as to Agriculture, Education, Fisheries, transportation, cold storage, new industries, immigration, resources and products, Peat deposits and other matters incident to this Inquiry; the Education Department through H. H. Shaw, Chief Superintendent, reported for Dec. 31, 1916, 476 schools, 595 teachers, 18,362 pupils enrolled and a total expenditure by Government and Districts of $244,572 during the year. The Island was prosperous in 1916 and again in 1917 with progressive improvement in the Sheep industry, dairy herds, beef cattle and pure-bred hogs; the Fox industry was got upon a stable basis with the Fur Sales Board reporting in August 1,180 skins selling at prices which ran from $945 each to $250 and constituted 85% of a business once capitalized at $28,000,000; the completion of the Car Ferry Service in October by means of improved docks and a steamship system which ran *via* Port Borden and Cape Tormentine, virtually connected P. E. Island with the mainland by rail, and established a daily freight, passenger, mail and express service. The Live-stock of the Island totalled 38,948 Horses in 1917 valued at $3,408,000; 101,002 Cattle worth $4,998,000; 88,797 Sheep worth $1,245,000, and 35,236 Swine worth $947,000—an increase in horses and sheep only with a general advance in prices. The Federal appropriation for Agricultural Education was $30,443 in 1916-17 and $31,749 in 1917-18. The Agricultural production of the year (Federal figures) was as follows:

Field Crops	Area Acres	Yield per Acre Bush.	Total Yield Bush.	Average Price per Bush.	Total Value
Spring Wheat	36,000	14·50	522,000	$2.09	$1,091,000
Oats	201,000	32·25	6,482,300	0.80	5,185,800
Mixed Grains	7,800	38·25	298,400	0.98	292,400
Barley, Peas and Buckwheat	6,060	71·50	173,090	5.40	219,800
Potatoes	35,000	175·00	6,125,000	0.75	4,594,000
Turnips, Mangolds, etc.	8,100	505·39	4,094,000	0.31	1,269,000
		Tons	Tons	per Ton	
Hay and Clover	197,000	1·55	305,400	12.67	3,869,000

Manitoba: Government, Legislation, Agriculture and Education

Sir James Aikins, Lieut.-Governor, took an active part during 1917 in public affairs and made a number of speeches notable for clear thinking and careful data. To the Agricultural organizations of Manitoba on Feb. 14 he stated that "as it is the people's privilege to govern themselves, it is the people's duty to defend themselves, and, for this, military training should form part of the education of every boy and girl"; declared that "speculators holding vacant lands should be compelled to cultivate them or dispose of them at resaonable terms"; stated that "many causes, after the War, will combine to multiply farm produce, but prices will be lower in all countries and you must lower the cost of production"; declared that "there should be compulsory farming education in the schools and that after the War simple living and economy would be imperative as Canada will be pitched into a vortex of nations struggling desperately to recover themselves while Germany, disappointed in extorting vast indemnities to pay her debts, will endeavour by lower-priced production and transportation to make us pay her way." The gist of this and other addresses was that an after-the-war War must be fought and won with the weapon of thrift. To a Provincial Teachers' gathering on Apr. 11 His Honour urged as of primary import the teaching of religion in schools, the inculcation of self-discipline, training in the science of things and the roots of knowledge, devotion to duty by teachers, Pensions given by the State. During a visit to Springfield, Illinois, early in May Sir James was formally welcomed by both Houses of the Legislature and the British National Anthem sung at a State luncheon; he opened, on July 6, a Returned Soldiers' Rest-House situated near Winnipeg. The War and its support was a never-failing subject of earnest speech on many occasions.

The Hon. T. C. Norris as Prime Minister, in speech and policy and legislation, expressed similar feelings. Speaking in Winnipeg on Jan. 4 he declared that there were a number of people opposed to the statesmen of the nations who had decided that the right thing to do was, and is, to fight: "We have gentlemen in Canada who think they know better. These people should have been interned a year ago. . . . The struggle is not a quarrel between two nations. It is the most terrific struggle between two great ideals that has ever been fought in the history of the world. Where shall we be if Britain is defeated?" Speaking in the Legislature on Jan 16 the Premier stated that three members were on active service: "The oldest son of the Leader of the Opposition has declared that he must go and Mr. Préfontaine has told him to do his duty; the Provincial Treasurer (Mr. Brown) has one son at the Front and another ready to go, while the Minister of Agriculture (Mr. Winkler) has his only son in the trenches." Mr. Norris visited St. Paul,

Minnesota, on Feb. 5, and received honours similar to those accorded Sir James Aikins at Springfield; to the Army and Navy Veterans (Feb. 18) he denounced seditious utterances and deprecatory remarks about returned soldiers and declared, as a whole, for equal Pensions to men and officers; in response to an invitation to help in the stimulation of patriotism and registration he spoke at a mass-meeting in New Orleans, La., on June 4 and also to the local Chamber of Commerce. With Mayor F. H. Davidson of Winnipeg he had motored from Winnipeg (May 18) by way of the famous Jefferson Highway and, all along this route of 260 cities, towns and villages to New Orleans, they had been met by delegations, crowds, streets decorated with British flags and the Stars and Stripes, singing by children of *God Save the King* or *The Maple Leaf* and calls for war speeches. Through Minnesota and Iowa, Texas and Oklahoma and Louisiana, this was the reception and in one day the Manitoba Premier had made 11 speeches. A typical statement which never failed to evoke loud cheers was the following: "This fight is a fight to a finish between democracy, as we know it under the Union Jack and under Old Glory, and autocracy, as the German Kaiser knows it. It has got to be settled, and it will be cheaper, in blood and in money, to settle it now and forever in Flanders."

Thousands of Union Jacks and Canadian flags were carried by the party and eagerly accepted all along the route. Another side of the trip was specified by Mr. Norris to the Kiwanis Club in Winnipeg on June 26: "Travelling from Winnipeg to New Orleans by automobile on an Inter-national highway, on a time schedule, and arriving not 60 seconds out, is to my mind a demonstration of what automobiles may do towards making new channels for trade and commerce between Canada and the United States." He added that 100 addresses had been delivered to at least 100,000 people. In his Dominion Day message to the Province the Premier declared that this was a time for "hard-headed, honest stock-taking" as to the measure of duty and responsibility which was assumed at Confederation and more fully accepted in this great War; on Aug. 14 he issued a call for men to help in the harvest fields, declared that farmers had done their full duty in planting up to the limit of capacity, stated the Allied need to be great and the duty of citizens everywhere obvious. In an address on Sept. 19 he spoke of Manitoba's great natural wealth—the yearly revenue of $1,000,000 from lumber, of $750,000 from Fisheries, of $2,000,000 from Furs, of $226,000,000 and more from Agriculture, of $46,000,000 from Cattle; predicted great pulp mills in the near future and the development of water-powers; declared that "the mineral wealth of the Province in gold, silver, copper and iron is the greatest on the continent, that within 100 miles of Winnipeg there is quartz being produced with a very high richness of gold and that 3,000 tons of copper ore have already been taken out of the mines north of The Pas with a return of $100 a ton at the Trail, B.C., smelters." He made an earnest appeal on Nov. 21 to Manitoba farmers to raise as many hogs as possible with high prices assured for some time to come—with immediate action ensuring also that Manitoba's pork product would be trebled

or quadrupled in 1918. There were some changes in the Norris Government during the year, resulting from the retirement of Hon. A. B. Hudson, K.C., as Attorney-General. Mr. Hudson's health had not been good, he had been associated closely with the Union Government negotiations, he was supposed to have personally favoured a Western Liberal party distinct from all others. Following these events he took advantage of the situation to retire on Nov. 10 as it was understood he had wanted to do for some time. J. B. Hugg, K.C., of Winnipeg, E. A. McPherson of Portage La Prairie, S. E. Clements of Brandon had been suggested for the post but on the above date the Hon. T. H. Johnson was transferred from the Ministry of Public Works to the post of Attorney-General and Minister of Telegraphs and Telephones, while George Allison Grierson, M.L.A. for Minnedosa since 1914, was appointed Minister of Public Works. The latter was re-elected on Nov. 30. At a bye-election in Roblin, caused by the resignation of F. Y. Newton (Cons.) who was mixed up in a Roads scandal of 1914 and 1916, the seat was carried by W. J. Westwood, (Ind.-Lib.) over I. L. Mitchell (Govt.-Lib.).

Of the Ministers other than the Premier Mr. Johnson was the most notable in his advocacy of Conscription and Union Government; he acted as Prime Minister during the absence of Mr. Norris in May-June; to 4,000 citizens in Winnipeg on June 4 he "voiced the unanimous co-operation of the Manitoba Government with Sir Robert Borden" in his Conscription effort; after his return from a Highway Convention in the United States he reported on June 14 the greatest interest there in Canada's war-effort and policy. His Department reported through S. C. Oxton, Deputy Minister, for the year of Nov. 30, 1917, that the Agricultural College Inquiry and that into the new Parliament Buildings were at last closed; that the tenders for completion of the latter work were opened on Feb. 12 and the general contract awarded to J. McDiarmid Co. Ltd., for $1,783,868; that separate contracts were awarded for Electrical work, heating and ventilation, plumbing, internal stonework and the steel work of the Dome structure at a price not specified—the first four items totalling $356,488; that construction of the new Law Courts and the new Central Power House for various public buildings was steadily progressing; that during the year a change in methods of purchasing supplies had been initiated by the creation of a Purchasing Department which, also, was being utilized by the other Departments and which provided "a carefully thought-out system of requisitioning, securing of competitive quotations, and ordering of various commodities required"; that the Fair Wage Board, of which Mr. Oxton was Chairman, had been compelled to meet a building men's strike by a new and elaborate schedule of wages. Many other reports were presented to this Minister. The Good Roads Board found that unsettled war and land and labour conditions kept municipalities from doing very much in necessary money by-laws but during the 1917 season 73 contracts were approved. A system of Provincial Highways under Government control was under consideration; work was started on improvement

of the Portage Highway at a cost of $165,000 for 27 miles—the municipality's share being $55,000; the total amount expended on all roads by the municipalities in 1917 was $297,834 and on bridges $169,111, and by the Government $143,048 and $77,948 respectively; the earth roads constructed were 174 miles in length and the gravel roads 90 miles, while the bridges numbered 230. Under the Factories Act the Department of Public Works, through its Bureau of Labour, had 1,478 inspections made, 1,369 safety orders issued and 157 orders as to sanitation, with 48 others affecting children; under the Shops Regulation Act, 744 inspections were made and 766 orders issued; 539 industrial accidents were reported in 1917 and, under other Acts, 4,168 steam boilers were inspected with 1,906 inspections of freight and passenger elevators; 8,546 public buildings were inspected and 6,277 orders issued. There were 125 Trade Unions in the Province and 6,203 members compared with 8,009 on Jan. 1, 1914—before the War. The Brandon Hospital for Insane reported 1,921 admissions and 90 discharges, with 565 patients under treatment on Nov. 30, 1917; the Selkirk Hospital had 662 under treatment, the Portage Home for Incurables and Old Folks Home had 334 inmates on Nov. 30.

The Hon. Edward Brown, as Provincial Treasurer, made his Budget Speech on Feb. 14 and declared that "in spite of disturbing elements on account of the War and of the partial failure of our 1916 wheat crop on account of rust, the affairs of the Province are in a satisfactory condition. Business in all lines is being conducted on a sounder basis than ever before; we have more money in the Banks, representing the savings of the people, than at any time in our history; the credit of the Province has reached new high levels." The financial condition of Manitoba had been bad, he said, when the Norris Government took office: "We found an overdraft on current account and unpaid bills exceeding $1,000,000. The Provincial lands, which had hitherto been a large source of revenue, had almost disappeared. Every branch of the Public service was inefficient and required re-organization. Serious overhead charges, on account of interest on funded debt arising out of the construction of Provincial buildings, completed and in the course of completion, had been created." The controllable portion of a total expenditure of $6,157,381 was only $2,292,078. The total Assets of the Province on Nov. 30, 1916, were $66,576,712, the total liabilities $33,277,893; the Revenues were $5,982,432, the expenditures $6,157,381 and deferred receipts, due but not paid, from Succession duties, etc., were $1,072,228; the cash in hand totalled $3,145,190. The estimates for 1917 totalled $6,665,704 of Revenue and $6,785,152 of Expenditure with estimated capital expenses (Parliament Buildings, etc.) of $1,061,000. The total figures of production (Farm and Dairy) in 1915 were $261,239,868 and in 1916 $226,511,161. He concluded his speech with a War reference: "We are under no misapprehension as to what we are fighting for. We are part of the British Empire, and we never have been prouder of that fact than we are to-day. When the Empire is at war Canada is at war. Further, we are fighting for our own firesides just as

truly as if the insolent German aggressor was hammering at our own doors." A possible direct tax-levy, based upon assessments of real property, was hinted at and the story told of Manitoba's initiative action in the mobilizing of Provincial securities in London—endorsed by Winnipeg and Saskatchewan and approved by J. P. Morgan & Co.—for the purpose of aiding the British Exchequer. The coming of the United States into the War made this and other proposals unnecessary upon a large scale, but in 1917 the bonded indebtedness of Manitoba was reduced by $440,000 profit on a partial conversion.

Supplementary estimates of $2,041,000 were presented by Mr. Brown on the 26th; the chief Opposition criticism was as to the increase of expenditures and liabilities when a decrease had been pledged during the Elections. For the year ending Nov. 30, 1917,* the deficit was $184,000 compared with $175,000 in 1916 and no new methods of war taxation were resorted to; the Assets had increased $4,500,000 to a total of $70,000,000 and the Liabilities included $18,000,000 of revenue-producing Debt and $14,000,000 of non-productive Debt—an increase in the year of $2,000,000; the Court actions, Official Inquiries and Commissions had compelled a refund of $1,441,550 on account of various Roblin Government contracts and a saving of $246,300 on the Power House and Law Courts—less $309,300 as the costs of all investigations; the actual Revenue was $6,348,000 with unpaid sums of $1,133,745, the Expenditures were $6,532,175, the cash balance on Assets' account was $3,863,487. To Mr. Brown was submitted (May 1) the Report of the Superintendent of Insurance (A. E. Ham) showing on Dec. 1, 1916, that 53 licensed Insurance companies were doing business and of these 28 had total Premiums of $514,966 and Losses of $356,737 with $23,466,368 of new business and amount at Risk, Dec. 31, 1916, of $81,153,464; while 144 registered outside Companies had Premiums in the Province of $7,200,565 and losses of $2,973,926. The Fire losses of 1917 totalled $1,362,156—including 102 barns and other farm buildings.

As to other Departments the Premier was Provincial Lands Commissioner and dealt in his Report with collections from Land sales, etc., of $162,339 in 1917, with deferred payments of $2,321,000 and 48,060 acres available for sale; as Railway Commissioner he dealt with 4,463 miles of Railway in the Province and reported progress on the Hudson Bay Railway with track laid for 332 out of 425 miles and grading completed to Port Nelson; Mr. Norris also pointed out that the recent C.N.R. legislation at Ottawa might result in the Province being relieved of an indirect liability of $25,502,873 represented by 1,863 miles of railway. The Hon. J. W. Armstrong, Provincial Secretary, had a revenue of $41,093 in 1916, granted 163 Company letters-patent involving $27,651,000 of capital, and issued 667 commissions. As Municipal Commissioner the statistics for 1917 were submitted by his Deputy, E. M. Wood, and showed 160 municipalities, a total Provincial population of 500,748, 55,656 resident farmers, an area of 21,268,608 acres of which

* Statements by Hon. Mr. Brown in Legislature on Feb. 4 and Feb. 13, 1918.

17,490,088 acres were taxable, a Land assessment of $504,761,748 of which $253,667,790 covered property in Winnipeg, Municipal taxes of $11,373,801 of which $4,312,352 were in Winnipeg, and a debenture Debt of $57,625,311 with Winnipeg standing for $40,553,679. Other official Reports of the year included the statement of 17,393 automobiles having been licensed in 1917 or 6,000 more than in the previous year; showed 136 Grain Elevators in the Government system, located at 109 different points and operated at a loss of $5,296 for the year after payment of $49,322 interest had been met on Bonds; the Chief Inspector under the Temperance Act reported 473 convictions in 1917 and the collection of $85,762 in fines with many infractions of the Act in Winnipeg. It had been found that the Act permitted a brewery to deliver beer direct when purchased from someone outside the Province; the number of export liquor warehouses had increased to 52, of which 40 were in Winnipeg, and they supplied much liquor to Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia—all of which Provinces had closed them up locally; the Commission houses ceased business on May 8 by virtue of current legislation.

There were several Commissions appointed during the year. The Manitoba Government Commission to administer the Mothers' Allowance Act, and of which George Fisher, Winnipeg, was Chairman, showed in its first Report for June 30, 1917, that 129 mothers were under an allowance of $31,982 with 28 applications refused, and that 514 children were dependant upon those approved. The Returned Soldiers' Committee, with F. O. Fowler as Chairman, reported that positions had been found for 1,922 returned men in 1916 and 1917, many disputes and claims adjusted and much support given to the Military Hospitals Commission—with the co-operation of 220 other Committees in Military District 10; a Public Welfare Commission was appointed on Oct. 5, composed of Hon. T. H. Johnson, D. B. Harkness, H. J. Symington, K.C., Mrs. W. L. Copeland, Mrs. Ethel Johns, Robt. Forke, A. T. Mathers, M.D., J. M. Thompson and W. J. Fulton, to inquire into and report upon all matters and things respecting the establishment, control, financing and management of, or otherwise relating to, Public Institutions of the Province such as Hospitals for the Insane, the Home for Incurables, the Gaols and all charitable or benevolent institutions or organizations—the Report to cover conditions of Provincial aid, co-operation amongst the institutions, etc. An Advisory Council, under the Hotel Act, was appointed (June 26) composed of J. N. MacLean, J. M. Scott and G. Harvey of Winnipeg, W. J. Wilson, Norwood, and S. S. Simpson, Brandon. Another Commission was that appointed to investigate the operation of the Workmen's Compensation Act, composed of W. S. Fallis (Chairman), A. R. D. Paterson (Insurance interests) Comptroller A. W. Puttee (Labour); a Law Enforcement Board also was appointed, made up of R. M. Noble, D. W. McKerchar and J. N. MacLean—all of Winnipeg; still another was a Board to Revise the Equalized Assessment of Provincial Municipalities, with Robt. Forke, Pipestone, Geo. Metcalfe and Robt. Young of Winnipeg as members. Other official appointments of the year were as follows:

King's Counsel	Wm. H. Curle	Winnipeg.
Acting Deputy Minister of Agriculture	James H. Evans	Winnipeg.
Member of Appeal Board	Mrs. Edna M. Nash	Winnipeg.
Member of the Treasury Board	Hon. T. C. Norris	Winnipeg.
Secretary of the Treasury Board	Peter Whimster	Winnipeg.
Assistant Deputy Minister of Education	J. Frank Greenway	Winnipeg.
Director Manitoba Agricultural College	Mrs. Sarah Emma Leslie	Melita.
Supervisor of School Attendance	Ed. H. Dewart	Winnipeg.
Secretary of Compensation Board	Nicholas Fletcher	Winnipeg.
Statistician to Compensation Board	Wm. H. Harvey	Winnipeg.
Provincial Inspector of Legal Offices	Geoffrey H. Walker	Winnipeg.
Provincial Live-Stock Commissioner	Wm. W. Fraser	Winnipeg.
Administrator of Succession Duties Act	Geo. A. Metcalfe	Winnipeg.
Auditor of Disbursements	W. J. Logan	Winnipeg.
Member of the Advisory Board—Education Department	Mrs. Mary Stockwin	Holland.
Superintendent of Mortgage Department: Farm Loans Association	David Howatson	Winnipeg.
Provincial Purchasing Agent	E. A. Gilroy	Winnipeg.
King's Printer	Philip Purcell	Winnipeg.
Commissioner, Workmen's Compensation Act	Herbert G. Wilson	Winnipeg.
Member of Fair Wage Board	Walter Owens	Winnipeg.
Member of Fair Wage Board	J. W. Morley	Winnipeg.
Dairy Commissioner	L. A. Gibson	Winnipeg.

The Department of Agriculture was the centre of production and, at times in this year, of discussion, with the Manitoba College of Agriculture as a political pivot of past years. The Report for Nov. 30, 1916—the latest available—of the Minister, Hon. Valentine Winkler, dealt with the work of divisions or sections directing Dairy interests, cattle-branding, co-operative wool industry, milk-testing, Weeds, immigration, Farm demonstrations and the reports of the Provincial Apiarist, Chief Game Guardian, Financial statements of Hospitals, etc. During 1917 the Department (in June and July) prevented many thousands of unfinished cattle from going south by advancing money to farmers to purchase the stockers and a large number availed themselves of the opportunity. The Federal Department aided by giving free transportation back to the farms and during 1916 and 1917, over 63,000 head had thus been saved to the farms of the Western Provinces. About 60% of the wool grown in Manitoba, or a total of 168,048 lbs., was sold in 1917 at an average of 58 cents compared with 32 cents in 1916 and 20¼ cents in 1915, under the Government's co-operative wool-marketing plan. Under the auspices of the Provincial and Federal Departments a Conference in Winnipeg was held on Nov. 29 with representatives present of the Departments, the Agricultural Societies, Grain Growers, Live-stock and Dairy Associations, Home Economic Societies and Boys' and Girls' Clubs, with the Agricultural and daily press also represented. After speeches from President J. B. Reynolds of the College, W. I. Smale, J. H. Evans, Mrs. E. Cora Hind, George Batho, W. W. Fraser, Prof. G. W. Wood and others, resolutions were passed pledging all possible effort to increase production, declaring this to be "the paramount obligation of Canada," asking public bodies in cities, towns and villages to help in enabling residents to raise and feed pigs and other live-stock, describing hog production as a great essential and urging the Provincial Department to conduct an active propaganda. President Reynolds, in his speech, stated a total decrease in Manitoba Live-stock, 1914-1917, of 1,039,000 head and the normal meat consumption per capita of certain countries as follows: Australia 260 lbs. per year, United States 170 lbs., Canada 140 lbs., United

Kingdom 120 lbs., Germany 115 lbs. As to Dairy production Commissioner L. A. Gibson reported to the Minister for 1917 that creamery butter totalled 7,526,356 lbs. valued at $2,897,647, or an increase in price from 26 cents in 1914 to 38 cents and that the total value of creamery and dairy butter, cheese, milk and cream in 1917 was $5,895,631—an increase of $1,400,000 in the year. It may be stated here that the Agricultural statistics for 1917 exceeded those of 1916 by $80,000,000 and were as follows:

42,689,061	bushels	Wheat	at $	2.05	$ 87,512,575
63,372,832	"	Oats	"	.65	41,192,340
26,014,948	"	Barley	"	1.17	30,437,489
552,309	"	Flax	"	3.15	1,739,773
1,296,317	"	Rye	"	1.25	1,620,396
58,999	"	Peas	"	3.00	176,997
7,293,655	"	Potatoes	"	.80	5,834,924
2,730,666	"	Roots	"	.80	2,184,532
227,094	tons	Hay	"	15.00	3,406,410
136,732	"	Feed Corn	"	15.00	2,050,980
Dairy Products					5,895,631
413,811	Horses	head	at	$150.00	62,071,650
649,991	Cattle	"	"	75.00	48,749,325
128,943	Sheep	"	"	16.00	2,063,088
400,914	Pigs	per lb.	"	.15	10,824,678
129,716	Turkeys	"	"	.30	389,148
63,313	Geese	"	"	.25	118,711
1,676,965	Chickens	"	"	.28	1,878,200
93,186	Ducks	"	"	.25	139,779
1,000,000	lbs. Honey	per lb.	"	.19	190,000
Total					$308,476,626

The total summer farm help was 16,345 with average wages of $42 to $47 per month while Harvest help totalled 36,891 with average wages of $59 to $74; farm domestics numbered 5,117 in the Provinces during 1917 with wages of $20 to $24; the land prepared for the 1917 crop was 2,913,603 acres and the price of cultivated land ran from $27 to $31. The Department, through the work of the Agricultural College, found at this time that in 25 townships of the Province there were 9,000,000 of the gopher pest, averaging a destruction or loss of $2,250,000 a year in the grain fields; to the Department, also, came reports of the Home Economics Societies which dealt fully with their patriotic work, food preparation in the homes, nursing, dress-making, etc., and showed 98 societies in 1917 with 3,950 members, receipts of $34,465 and the raising of $20,000 for war purposes in 1917 and $14,980 in 1916. Mr. Winkler at the beginning of the year addressed a Message to the *Canada* journal in London, declaring that, as to Manitoba, "our efforts are organized, and have become a part of the daily life of a people welded together in a quiet, stern determination to meet every call to the uttermost of their resources. . . . If there is any message that Manitoba can send to the Mother Country at this time, it is one of cheerful assurance that the people of the Province will continue to do their 'bit' and will not count the cost." This Minister was somewhat keenly attacked by the Opposition press during the year. *The Telegram* on Mar. 31, for instance, declared that negotiations were going on with T. A. Crerar to become Minister of Agriculture. There had been friction for some time between the management of the Manitoba Agricultural College and Mr. Winkler and it was

* Provincial Treasurer's 1918 Budget Speech.

alleged that the Minister had over-ruled the Advisory Board, disagreed with the Teaching faculty, and made regulations which curtailed the efficiency of College work. The *Grain Growers' Guide* openly criticized him on Mar. 28 and declared that: "The Minister of Agriculture is not an agricultural expert and is not in touch with the work of the Agricultural College. Neither has he in his Department experts capable of judging the work of the Agricultural College. But the complaint against the Department does not end with the College. It extends into almost every branch of the Departmental work and it would appear that the Department is not well organized." The personal dismissal by the Minister of Prof. F. S. Jacobs at this time was one cause of trouble and there were several others. The *Farmers' Advocate* and Winnipeg *Free Press* joined in the attack but nothing more serious developed.

Meantime the College, under President J. B. Reynolds, had an excellent year and was doing good work in (1) class-room teaching of all subjects belonging directly to Agriculture and Home Economics, and other subjects such as English, Chemistry, Botany, Bacteriology, Physics, and Engineering; (2) practice in cooking, sewing, house-planning, planning meals, testing and judging grains, identifying and mounting weeds and grasses, judging live-stock, feeding and judging poultry, butter-making, concrete-work, operating steam and gas engines, carpentering and blacksmithing, testing and analyzing soils and foods; (3) through a Library well-furnished with text-books and reference books on all the subjects taught. The enrolment of 1917 was 350 in Long Courses and a similar number in Short Courses and the general work was divided into (1) Agriculture, (2) Home Economics, and (3) Extension Service. Under the Act the governing body was a Board of 10 Directors with the Minister an *ex-officio* member and full powers as to regulations and appointments provided that "such by-laws, rules and regulations shall have no force or effect without the approval of the Minister of Agriculture and Immigration." The 3-year course in Agriculture included agricultural engineering, animal, dairy and field husbandry, horticulture, entomology, physics, botany, chemistry, biology, mathematics, veterinary science, bacteriology, rural sociology, mathematics, veterinary science, bacteriology, rural sociology; the Home Economics section covered in a 5-year course chemistry, English, household art, science and construction, poultry, dairying, physical culture, history, biology, landscape gardening, and included all kinds of requirements for managing a home and conducting its daily routine of foods, clothes, etc., with, in the 5th year, University subjects of instruction; the Extension Service dealt with the work of Agricultural Societies and the practical work of the farm with short courses covering matters which could be studied at home. In 1917 the Department, with College co-operation, issued a large number of Bulletins or pamphlets dealing with many phases of agricultural life, education and work. The Extension publications of the College were termed the Manitoba Farmers' Library, and a large number of monographs were issued.

The task of the Minister of Education in Manitoba, with its racial problem and religious differences, was not an easy one. The Report of the Hon. R. S. Thornton, LL.D., for June 30, 1917, was an elaborate production and showed clear progress; in it Robert Fletcher, Deputy Minister, gave full statistics of varied conditions. During the year the public, elementary and secondary schools of the Province enrolled the names of 106,588 pupils, or 19·4% of the whole population; 100,294 or 94·1% of these were registered in the various grades of the elementary schools and 6,294 or 5·9% in the high schools. The proportion of male and female teachers in elementary and secondary schools was about the same as in 1916 with, however, one in six of the teachers men, or 17·5%. In 1917, 61% of the teachers had permanent certificates, 34%, 3rd class and 4%, interim. During this year it was decided that no permanent license should hereafter be granted except to a British subject by birth or naturalization; increased and widening influences were brought to bear upon the average Trustee's indifference, the average ratepayer's ignorance, and the absence of proper sanitary care; the co-operation of the Provincial Board of Health was encouraged and the playground as a factor was utilized; the total Government expenditure for the year of Nov. 30, 1916, was $1,072,816 compared with $295,221 in 1905; the average daily attendance in the year of June 30, 1917, was 69,209 or 64·93% of the enrolment compared with 34,947 or 54·5% in 1906. Other statistics of 1916 and 1917 were as follows:

Particulars	1915-16	1916-17
School Population	118,703	130,275
No. of Pupils Enrolled	103,796	106,588
No. in Elementary Grades	97,100	100,294
Average daily Attendance	66,561	69,209
No. of School Districts	1,835	1,896
No. of School Buildings	1,597	1,626
No. of School Departments	2,888	3,043
No. of Intermediate Schools	67	72
No. of High Schools	20	23
No. of Collegiate Institutes	10	9
Teachers with Collegiate Certificates	104	121
No. holding 1st Class Certificates	260	244
No. holding 2nd Class Certificates	1,611	1,439
3rd Class Professional Certificates	889	1,028
No. holding Interim Certificates	82	140
Teachers' Salaries	$2,195,226	$2,314,005

As to Teachers' salaries the highest paid in 1900 was $1,800, in 1915-16-17 $3,500; the average in 1900 was $449.37 and in 1917 $751.00. The total Educational receipts from all sources was $5,720,742 and Expenditures $5,333,301; the Assets were $15,242,391 and Liabilities $10,573,851. As to the Bi-lingual problem the Inspectors reported occasionally and Ira Stratton, Special School Organizer, made this interesting statement: "In the matter of teaching there is now a better understanding on the part of non-English parents. At one time they thought it an impossibility for purely English-speaking teachers to be successful with classes of beginners. The fallacy of this idea is being recognized even by the people themselves who are finding out that the children trained by such teachers learn to speak the English language so correctly and so fluently as to be under no handicap in after life anywhere in Canada." To this subject Hon. Dr. Thornton referred in the House on Jan. 17 and stated that no more Bi-lingual teaching cer-

tificates would be issued. Present holders had been granted permits to teach on them for three years when they would be invited to qualify for regular certificates, and, the Minister added: "exceptional facilities are being offered to non-English students for equipping themselves as public school teachers." At the same time the admission of students to the Normal Schools was made contingent upon passing the entrance examinations in English where, formerly, it was allowable to substitute French or German grammar and composition for English. The Brandon Normal School had an enrolment of 59 in 1917 of whom 56 were women, that of Winnipeg 73 with 65 women; the Boys' and Girls' Clubs numbered 115 central ones with 800 branches and 15,000 members; the Manitoba School for the Deaf had 176 pupils in attendance, the Industrial Training School an average of 75 boys; the Juvenile Court, under F. J. Billiarde's care as Superintendent, continued a good work which with the Children's Aid Society and those of St. Adelarde and the Dauphin had controlled 17,810 children since 1908. There were 72 consolidated schools in Provincial operation. The 33rd annual Report of the Provincial Librarian (J. P. Robertson) showed 60,000 volumes of special and useful character.

Dr. Thornton, in his address to the Legislature on Jan. 17, reviewed the excellent record of his Department in the last two years; on Feb. 20 he introduced a measure re-modelling the University of Manitoba and making it to some extent a Provincial institution. As usual with this Department he made Empire Day a great occasion for the children and issued a handsome booklet reviewing and emphasizing its significance. On Mar. 6 the Minister, and President J. B. Reynolds, addressed a School Trustees' Convention with 400 present. The former urged High School help on the farms and stated that in future "all teachers will be compelled to take the oath of allegiance to His Majesty the King." Up to the present conditions had made this impossible. On Apr. 10 he addressed a Convention of the Manitoba Educational Association at Winnipeg with 1,400 teachers in attendance; the Lieut.-Governor, Sir J. A. M. Aikins, spoke on the 11th and urged a Pension scheme; Resolutions were passed supporting the further teaching of Canadian history and the adequate celebration of Empire Day. Prof. T. W. Clark, Winnipeg, was elected President. In respect to Military Training in the schools, Manitoba was the only Province which had refused to accept the Strathcona Trust agreement as to training of Public School boys and the formation of Cadet Corps; according to Col. E. A. C. Hosmer (June 7) it was to avoid trouble with the alien element. The High and Public School teachers of the Red River Valley met at Emerson on Nov. 14 and were told by the Minister of Education that 100 schools, the greater number of them with teachers' residences, had been erected among people of alien extraction during the last few years and that about 4,500 children who had not been to school previously were now provided with schools and teachers: "The residence plan is proving a great factor in overcoming the scarcity of English-speaking teachers in foreign-speaking districts."

The 2nd Session of the 15th Legislature was opened on Jan. 11 by Sir James Aikins, the new Lieut.-Governor, with references to the retirement of H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught, the appointment of the Duke of Devonshire and the prosperity prevailing throughout the Province; with emphatic reference to the need "of thrift and economy, of avoiding wastefulness in anything and everything that can be turned to good uses, of constant thought and effort to increase production from farm and factory"; with praise for the economic and moral benefit of the Prohibition law and appreciation of a public opinion which ensured its enforcement; with eulogy of the men who had voluntarily enlisted, of the services of the troops, of the generous gifts of the people; with promises of legislation establishing a system of rural credits and making other changes in the laws. On the 15th the Address was moved by S. E. Clements, Brandon, and W. H. Sims, Swan River; the election of John Morrison (Lib.) as member for Rupert's Land had already been announced; Albert Préfontaine was Leader of a Conservative Opposition of five—less one when F. Y. Newton resigned on Feb. 22. The address was passed on the 25th after R. A. Rigg and F. J. Dixon, Socialist and Pacifist members, had caused much dissatisfaction by their speeches. In the House on Jan. 17 Mr. Dixon stated that armament rings, dukes, knights, newspaper men and Protective tariffs had caused the War; that Germany created its army because Russia had one; that "the War did not involve the principles of freedom and liberty to the extent some people believed and bore all the ear-marks of a struggle for power and the possible setting up of a Russian militarism." The Winnipeg *Telegram* reviewed the speech as a whole (Jan. 19) as follows: "He objects to our manner of carrying on the the War; to graft in war matters; to the objects for which the Allies are fighting; to war being carried on at all; and he believes he can be of more use in the cause of 'liberty and justice' here than at the Front." The result of this and preceding utterances and vigorous opposition to National Service—though he had two brothers at the Front—was a strong movement of popular protest. The Army and Navy Veterans held a meeting on Jan. 20 and urged his expulsion and that of Rigg from the House; a Petition was circulated and largely signed asking for retirement and the voluntary application to themselves of the principle of Recall, which they were trying to include in the Initiative and Referendum Act, and which would compel a member to resign upon request of a certain number of his electors. On the 22nd Mr. Rigg endorsed his colleague and declared that "National Service was primarily intended to intensify the slavery of Labour and to increase Labour's exploitation"; denied that solicitude for Belgium was the prime cause of Britain's entry into the War and also the disinterestedness of Russia's motives; declared that British navalism was as much provocative of war as German militarism. "The basic cause of the War was economic antagonism." T. D. Ferley, a Ruthenian, A. J. Lobb (Lib.), and other members, denounced these views and on the 25th D. A. Ross declared that he would not sit on Committees with men who, "like Judas of old, are betraying their countrymen and assisting the

Germans." Resolutions of protest were passed by the Board of Trade and Ministerial Association and a mass-meeting on Jan. 30 demanded their retirement. In the House, again, on Mar. 8, Messrs. Dixon and Rigg opposed the following Resolution moved by the Premier and seconded by the Opposition Leader:

> That the Legislature of Manitoba, recognizing the gravity of the times and the urgent need for a victorious ending of the War, as affording the only means to a just and enduring peace, holds it to be the duty of all heartily to assist to this end to the extent of their power; and declares its conviction that the obligation rests upon each citizen to respond to the demands which may be made upon him by the authorities entrusted by the people with the responsibility with regard both to his personal services and to his financial resources, and believes that in this crisis in our history no personal, sectional, or party views should obscure the great issue.

They were the only supporters of an amendment demanding immediate conscription of wealth and Government ownership of industries and they also voted against the Resolution itself. Mr. Rigg ran for the Commons during the General Elections as a Labour candidate with a policy enunciated on Nov. 11 as follows: "I regard human life as the supremely sacred thing and believe that if the State had adopted the policy of the conscription of money, industry and natural resources there would be absolutely no necessity for the passing and enforcing of any scheme to conscript men." He was defeated by 6,000 majority. Meanwhile a number of important Bills were passed by the Legislature—the chief, perhaps, being the co-related Farm Loans Act and the Rural Credits Act. The former, presented by Hon. Edward Brown, provided for long-term mortgage loans under an amortization re-payment plan; the latter, sponsored by G. W. Prout, provided a crop-payment short-term production credit system. The Farm Loans Act arranged for the establishment of a Manitoba Farm Loans Association, to be managed by a Board of five members. This Board would receive applications for loans, and issue shares, certificates and stocks or bonds of the Association; the capital stock was to be $1,000,000, divided into 200,000 shares of $5 each and only borrowers for farm purposes were entitled to hold stock; prospective borrowers must subscribe for stock to the extent of five per cent. of the amount of money desired as a loan. The loans were to be used exclusively for agricultural purposes or to retire existing mortgages and the Government subscribed 50 per cent. of the the stock of the Association which, it was assumed, could secure money by selling bonds guaranteed by the Government. The money was to be loaned at cost *plus* expense of handling which, it was hoped, would mean loans to farmers at about 6 per cent.; the full amount of the loan to be repaid in 30 years by a small annual payment which would include principal and interest. The Short-term Credits Bill provided that farmers could organize Rural Credit Societies with each member putting up a certain sum; the Government contributing twice the amount of the total voted by the Society and the municipality, within which the Society was formed, subscribing the same amount as the Society itself. Hence, if a Society furnished $5,000 of its members' money, the municipality would furnish another $5,000 and the Government $10,000; this would

form the margin for a credit of ten times the amount at a chartered Bank. Loan applications were to be passed upon by a Board of nine—three appointed by the Society, three by the municipality, and three by the Government. This Board would guarantee the loan and back the farmer's note for the amount as a credit at the Bank. The loan was a first charge upon the crop and upon the farmer's stock, buildings and equipment, but the real and basic security was the farmer's ability to produce. The Societies were to be subject to an Agricultural supervisor, appointed by the Government.

The Legislature also re-enacted an Act permitting municipalities to borrow up to $30,000 each for supplying seed-grain to farmers, through a $500,000 Provincial Government overdraft, the money to be repaid by Nov. 30, with the Seed Grain Act amended, to make Seed thus supplied the first charge upon the land. The Manitoba Grain Elevators Act was amended to place control under the Premier instead of the Minister of Public Works and a policy of selling Elevators, where the Government owned two or more at any one point, was incorporated. The old Agricultural Societies' Act was repealed and a new Act passed which provided that the Societies must engage in certain Exhibition and competitive activities before acquiring a Provincial grant; the grants were to be standardized upon a basis of membership and prize-moneys granted at the exhibitions. An Act was passed providing for the establishment of Demonstration farms of 320 acres each, and the old system of 40-acre Demonstration farms was abandoned. Another Act of interest to farmers and corporations provided for Provincial insurance, Departmental supervision over Hail insurance, and standardized Hail insurance policies. The Game Prohibition Act was improved and a Bill passed for the protection of insectivorous birds, nests and eggs; another Act provided for the protection of sheep against dogs, legalized the killing of vicious dogs and provided damages against the owners; an Act respecting Agents abolished commission houses through which liquor was ordered for consumption within the Province; a Board was constituted to administer the morality provisions of the Criminal Code, the Temperance, and certain other Acts. As a matter of municipal legislation Women were made eligible for all municipal offices; provision was made for the appointment of a Board to revise Assessments and a consolidated Winnipeg Act was introduced for consideration and action at the next Session; Brandon was permitted to appoint a Board of Assessment valuation and Fort Garry and St. Vital allowed to adopt the Single-tax system; a special Act validated the St. Peter's Reserve settlement—a long-standing dispute between purchasers of lands in the old Reserve and in two Municipalities; a payment of $50,000 to the town of The Pas was authorized, much against the wishes of that municipality, in "full settlement" of all claims arising out of the extension of Manitoba's boundaries and by it The Pas was made responsible for its share in the Public Debt of the old Province; the Patriotic Levy Act, under which, by a voluntary tax of 1½ mills on the dollar, $1,500,000 had been raised, was amended to increase the rate to 2 mills and the expected receipts to $2,000,000 for Patriotic Fund and Red Cross.

The Charity Act was variously amended with a view to co-ordination and a Commission of Inquiry created; another Act provided for a School for Feeble-minded and the Lunacy Act was amended to deal with mild cases of insanity in soldiers, to protect the estates of insane persons, to provide for a Psychopathic Hospital at Winnipeg and to grant $50,000 to be used, with a similar Federal grant, for a new Tubercular unit at the Ninette Sanatorium.

A Resolution was passed on Mar. 5, moved by Hon. T. C. Norris and Hon. A. B. Hudson, reviewing previous resolutions asking that Federal administration of the School Lands of the Province, with funds already received from Land sales, be handed over to the Province; declaring that such securities were worth 5% instead of the 3% now paid by the Federal authorities and that deferred and overdue payments in principal and interest on these lands was large, with interest alone totalling $463,178; stating that only $30,000 of principal had as yet been paid over from realized sales; quoting utterances of Hon. W. S. Fielding and Sir W. Laurier, and the passage of a Bill in 1898 authorizing payment of $300,000 which the Senate had rejected; urging that "the Manitoba School Lands remaining unsold be at once transferred to the Province, and in future be administered and controlled by this Province," asking that the Province be allowed to assume the collection of unpaid principal and interest on lands already sold and that all moneys, principal, interest, or revenues now in the hands of the Dominion Government derived from such School Lands be forthwith transferred to the Government of the Province.

As a result of deliberation, by a Joint Committee of the House, Election Act amendments provided a $25,000 limit on Party Funds and a $500 limit on a candidate's expenses at elections, for a measure of proxy registration, for the casting of votes by railwaymen and travellers prior to election day, for a half holiday on election days and for party organization with candidates' returns to show sources of campaign funds and total expenses in connection with the election. Another Bill expedited the decision of constitutional and Provincial questions by referring them to the Court of Appeal or any Judge thereof, without certain formalities, and a measure was enacted clothing the Exchequer and Supreme Courts of Canada with power to adjudicate upon disputes arising between the Province and the Dominion. Other Acts authorized payment to sub-contractors in a case where the Government contractor had become bankrupt; permitted Companies under Provincial charity to do business outside the Province on an equality with Companies under license; brought railways, with some restrictions, under the Corporations' Taxation Act with an expected revenue of $300,000; granted J. D. McArthur and others a charter under the name of the Central Canada Railroad and Power Co., to build a railway from Winnipeg or St. Boniface to the northern limits of the Province subject, in details, to the Government's approval; provided for the appointment of a Board of employers and employees to devise regulations for the protection of workmen on buildings or excavations; enacted that no person under the age of 16 years be employed in any shop without furnishing a

certificate or some other evidence of age to the employer; incorporated the Roman Catholic Archiepiscopal Corporation of Winnipeg and vested certain properties in the Salvation Army Canada West Corporation; provided for new Provincial borrowings of $3,250,000 and established penalties for carelessness or infraction of laws relating to Fires; made compulsory the examination and licensing of electrical contractors and journeymen. Most of these Acts were introduced and passed, with 80 or more minor measures, in the last three weeks of the Session.

The Opposition was too small to be a serious inconvenience to the Government but they objected, and a part of the Conservative press, also, to phases of the Prohibition policy as being wrong in principle and interfering more and more dangerously with personal liberty; criticized the large sums paid to Liberal lawyers in connection with the various Parliament Buildings and other Commissions —notably $24,000 to J. B. Coyne, K.C., R. W. Craig, K.C., and R. A. Bonnar, K.C.; fought Mr. Winkler's Agricultural administration with vigour and also the McArthur railway legislation as providing competitive powers in electric lighting, etc., to those of Winnipeg's vested interests; successfully defeated Hon. J. W. Armstrong's proposal to provide a literacy test for municipal candidates; denounced alleged favouritism in the Government contracts given to the J. McDiarmid Co.; criticized the Government's dismissals and appointments to office; asked a host of official questions as to all kinds of matters, relevant and irrelevant, and were refused in some cases and answered in others. The Opposition divided the House on the 2nd reading of the University Bill—28 to 4—and upon various Returns asked for and refused. On Feb. 6, by Government motion, a Select Committee, composed of J. W. Wilton, E. A. McPherson, G. T. Armstrong, A. J. Lobb, W. B. Findlater, Jos. Hamelin and Jacques Parent, was appointed to inquire into complaints about Drainage operations, contracts, taxation, etc. The House was prorogued on Mar. 9.

Meanwhile, the third year of scandal and investigation as to the construction of certain Public buildings under the Roblin Government was terminated. The A. C. Galt Commission into the Agricultural College construction was still sitting from 1916 and, on Jan. 9, a charge was made by Hugh Phillips, K.C., Government Counsel, that a cheque for $70,000, given to Kelly & Sons, the notorious Contractors, on Aug. 31, 1911, and signed by Hon. Robert Rogers as Acting Provincial Treasurer, was largely in excess of the sum then due to the Kellys; on the 10th he introduced alleged instances in which Thos. Kelly had made 100% by sub-letting contracts; R. A. C. Manning, a legal witness, on the 16th refused to answer questions relating to the purchase of certain lands which, he said, did not form part of the Agricultural College site and in which the Government of Manitoba were not interested in any way whatsoever. On Jan. 31 an interim Report by Mr. Justice Galt was submitted to the Legislature in which he dealt with Carter-Halls-Aldinger and their 10 contracts, stated that these contractors had refunded $13,066, that there was general laxity in the Public

Works Department under Mr. Rogers, and that the Carter Company had their contract price upon one occasion increased $8,700 and then gave $7,000 to the Conservative Party funds; that the Agricultural College building estimate of cost was $957,000 and the actual cost $2,361,841. The Inquiry then continued and, on May 25, the Commissioner issued a further interim Report dealing with the Kelly contracts *re* Agricultural College and stating the following conclusion:

I find that the Crown has established fraudulent overcharges in respect of contracts with the Government, made by Thomas Kelly & Sons, amounting in all to the sum of $302,789, made up as follows:

(a) In respect to the Dormitory and Auditorium Building	$202,435
(b) In respect of the Engineering Building	24,191
(c) In respect of the Chemistry Building	33,233
(d) In respect to the Horticultural Building	33,924
(e) In respect of the Dairy and Science Building	9,003
Total	$302,786

He stated that the Roblin Government had in September, 1910, bought 461 acres at $350 per acre as a site for the College and that at "about the same time the Hon. Robert Rogers, then Minister of Public Works for the Province, selected about 43 acres for himself, but instructed the conveyance of it to be taken in the name of R. A. C. Manning. Shortly afterwards, and before the site of the College was made known to the public, a large amount of other lands adjoining the College, or in its immediate vicinity, were purchased and placed in the name of Mr. Manning, amounting in all to about 1,240 acres, but the average cost of these lands was only $179 per acre. The Hon. J. H. Howden and the Hon. G. R. Coldwell, then Ministers of the Crown, took interests in these lands." The Commissioner found also that "a fraudulent conspiracy" was entered into by Robert Rogers and Thomas Kelly to "provide moneys for the Conservative campaign Fund and to provide Thomas Kelly with funds out of the Provincial Treasury, over and above what he might legitimately earn." He made no finding as to the complicity or otherwise of other Ministers in the alleged conspiracy. On the same day the Appraisal Board, appointed on Mar. 22, 1917, under order of the Court of King's Bench, and composed of S. C. Oxton for the Attorney-General; Henry J. Burt of Chicago, structural engineer, for Thomas, Lawrence and Charles Kelly, Defendants; and R. H. Macdonald of Montreal, architect, acting as umpire; reported its findings, or rather the decision of the "umpire." It summarized the facts as to the new Parliament Buildings and gave $1,207,351 as the net overcharge of the Kelly firm in construction of the Parliament Buildings with 3 years' interest also due on July 1st totalling $181,000. This replaced the civil action proposed by the Government but the Kellys claimed that the total amount paid the Contractors was $1,680,956 which was admitted as correct, that the value of work done was $1,304,724—also admitted—and the overcharge only $376,231. The other items charged were alleged to be irrelevant and illegally included. Meanwhile, on Aug. 23, Thos. Kelly was released from prison, on parole, upon the ground of ill-health, after serving nine months of a 2½ year term. The

Minister of Justice at Ottawa on Apr. 30 stated that the reasons then submitted to him were "advanced age, very bad state of health, large family, two of his sons at the Front, expressed willingness to make restitution, and imprisonment in connection with the offences, continually, since October 1915."

The Galt Commission resumed its Inquiry in October as to the Agricultural College and meantime, on June 25, Sir Rodmond Roblin former Premier of Manitoba; George R. Coldwell, former Minister of Education, and James H. Howden, former Attorney-General, all of whom had been for nearly two years under criminal charges in connection with the Parliament Buildings' scandal, were discharged by Mr. Justice J. E. P. Prendergast. The reason given was evidence that Sir Rodmond and one of the others were in a serious state of health. Early in the year, also, the Emerson Roads' scandal of 1914 was disposed of by the Commissioner, George Paterson, County Court Judge, who found on Feb. 20 that Dr. D. H. McFadden, former M.L.A. for Emerson, connived at frauds in connection with paysheets; that F. Y. Newton, present M.L.A. for Roblin, personally profited to the extent of $300 and was an untruthful witness; that there were extensive frauds for campaign fund purposes and that Dr. R. M. Simpson was paid $55,000 out of the Treasury without "value received." Mr. Newton resigned his seat and was succeeded by Arthur Rivers Boivin (Cons.). A charge was brought up on Feb. 21 by O. S. Guilbault, a former Parliament Buildings' Engineer, against the Norris Government and he stated that in the current work on this structure two or three profits had been paid in purchase of certain materials; that the Government would have saved $50,000 paid in commissions had the work been done by day labour; that it was paying too high prices and was charging work to wrong accounts, etc. McDiarmid & Co., contractors, denied everything and the Public Accounts Committee proceeded at once to investigate, called witnesses, heard Mr. McDiarmid and Guilbault himself, and on Feb. 27 found the charges to be "without the slighest foundation in fact" while Guilbault made a partial apology for having made them. The Legislature accepted the Report on Mar. 5 by 28 to 4. On the same day the McDiarmids were awarded contracts totalling $2,098,417 to complete the structure.

As to the War Manitoba did nobly in this as in previous years. Mr. Préfontaine, Opposition Leader, stated in the House on Jan. 19 that the Legislature was deeply interested in a personal sense and that Mr. Speaker had lost one son at the Front; that Hon. Edward Brown had two sons in khaki; that Hon. Val. Winkler, E. A. August, D. A. Ross, G. J. H. Malcolm, W. L. Parrish and he, himself, each had one son at the Front; that Col. G. Clingan and Capt. A. W. Myles were Overseas, with Capt. J. W. Wilton waiting to go. The Province during 1917 collected $230,196 for the Red Cross while the Patriotic Fund contributions up to the beginning of 1917 totalled $2,077,998 with 6,444 receiving allowances from this independent Provincial Fund; a gift of $2,791 was collected in January by the school children for "the boys and girls of our brave British sailors

killed in discharge of their duty"; the Norris Government gave the old Agricultural College Building to the Military Hospitals Commission and invested $600,000 in the 1st Victory Loan and $500,000 in the 2nd; a Provincial Food Control Committee was appointed on Aug. 17 composed of W. R. Allan (Chairman), President J. B. Reynolds of the Agricultural College, R. Fletcher, Prof. T. J. Harrison, J. H. Evans, G. F. Chipman, R. C. Henders, Mrs. R. F. McWilliams, and others; the Food economy pledge was largely signed in Winnipeg; the Government from its Patriotic Tax levies on municipalities obtained about $4,000,000 for the Patriotic Fund; the Manitoba Red Cross Society reported on Oct. 31 for 3 years of cash receipts remitted to head office, $419,476; for cash to British Red Cross (1915) $15,000; cash to French Red Cross, $12,503; cash for hospital beds $11,250; supplies furnished, $199,569; cash on hand and in bank, $12,244, or a total of $670,044. G. F. Galt was re-elected President.

Farmers took Victory bonds in October along lines illustrated by the Swan River Valley where A. J. Cotton took $20,000 and five members of the Caverly family $46,000; of the Cameron Highlanders, Winnipeg, it was stated that 52 men won Honours in battle, while the 90th Regiment, or Little Black Devils, won 33 Honours up to October, 1916, and boasted a V.C. and Maj.-Gen. L. J. Lipsett in its ranks of fame; the annual meeting (June 27) of the Institute of Chartered Accountants of Manitoba decided that during the continuance of the War students should not be admitted to the examinations of the Institute who were eligible in point of age and physical fitness for military service, and who had no one financially dependant on them; it was stated in the Winnipeg press of July 7 that 140 local medical men were on active service out of 300 in the city in 1914; a Winnipeg mass-meeting on Aug. 5 heard Sir J. A. M. Aikins and Mr. Norris speak and recorded "inflexible determination to see the War to victory." Other incidents of the year included a Convention on Feb. 5-7 of 165 Russian priests and farmers who passed Resolutions of satisfaction with their improved conditions, of regret at "the hypocrisy of Bishop Budka and the so-called Ukrainian press and its sympathy with the Teutonic expansive political agents," of hope that the military authorities would permit the enlistment of Canadian Slavs born in Galicia, who were of the Russian orthodox faith, and the claim that there were in Canada about 75,000 Austrian Slavs who were loyal to Russia although born in Austria. The 1st Conference of Boy Scouts of Manitoba on Feb. 14-15, held round-table discussions of varied themes and heard addresses by the Lieut.-Governor, Mr. Norris, C. W. Rowley; a notable address by Vere C. Brown of the Bank of Commerce (Feb. 13) urged a gradual change from the credit system to cash methods by discriminating in retail prices between cash and credit purchasers; there was published on Mar. 1 a correspondence which had passed in December, 1916, between the Federal Government, through Hon. C. J. Doherty, and that of Manitoba through Hon. A. B. Hudson, concerning Provincial legislation which modified the provisions determining the number of jurors to be summoned and to con-

stitute a panel, with the claim of the Minister of Justice (Jan. 31) that this legislation "was capable of an application which might prejudice the fair trial of criminal causes" and the counter-claim of Manitoba that Ottawa was trying to coerce the Province to change its law. The Social Health Congress of Nov. 25 passed Resolutions protesting against "the large and increasing number of export liquor warehouses in the Province and against the weakness of the Act in not setting a definite limit to the amount to be lawfully kept" and urged the creation of a Federal Department of Social re-construction to control (1) the educational activities of the Provinces under a Dominion Board of Education; (2) their health activities under a Dominion Board of Health and (3) to establish a Federal Bureau of Child Welfare. The winning by S. Larcombe of Birtle of the championship for the best half bushel of wheat exhibited at the International Soils Products Exposition, Peoria, Ill., was an event of interest. The following were the elected heads of the chief Provincial organizations during 1917:

Grand Lodge, A.O.U.W., Winnipeg	Johnson Douglass	Neepawa.
Winnipeg Industrial Bureau	W. R. Ingram	Winnipeg.
Manitoba Curling Association	T. H. Verner	Winnipeg.
Manitoba Amateur Athletic Union	John O'Hare	Winnipeg.
Manitoba Golf Association	F. L. Patton	Winnipeg.
Institute of Chartered Accountants	John Parton	Winnipeg.
Winnipeg Grain Exchange	J. C. Gage	Winnipeg.
Le Canada Club	Dr. Leon Benoit	Winnipeg.
Winnipeg Teachers' Association	J. C. Pincock	Winnipeg.
Manitoba Bar Association	Isaac Campbell, K.C.	Winnipeg.
Provincial Grand Orange Lodge	John Eaton	Winnipeg.
Manitoba Trustees Association	Wm. Iverach	Isabella.

The University of Manitoba and Other Colleges.

Established in 1877 and with 7 Colleges affiliated with it in 1917—St. Boniface (Catholic), St. John's (Anglican), Manitoba (Presbyterian), Wesley (Methodist), Manitoba Medical, Manitoba Law School and Manitoba Agricultural College—the University of Manitoba reached an important stage in its history during this year. Its Staff in February included 53 Professors, assistants, lecturers and demonstrators, teaching 22 subjects; its revenue derived from Fees was $26,371 in 1916, from Dominion Land grant $37,000, and from the Provincial Government grant $107,347; its expenses were $176,224. On Jan. 3 the University Council dealt with a Report of the Committee on Re-organization and by Resolution asked the Government to effect a complete reconstruction by means of legislation and along the lines of Provincial control; on the 4th, by 18 to 16, a long-discussed issue was disposed of and the existing two-language standard of entrance—any two of Latin, German and French—established; on Jan. 16 the Rev. David Christie, R. Fletcher and Rev. W. Bertal Heeney were re-appointed to the Council, together with J. J. Brown of Pilot Mound and Mrs. R. F. McWilliams of Winnipeg. To the Legislature on Feb. 20 the Hon. Dr. Thornton submitted his Bill for remodelling the constitution of the University. It provided that a Board of Governors with nine members should be created and appointed by the Government to manage all the business and financial affairs of the University—including buildings, fees, property, and university lands, and with the final decision on all matters of academic policy; it created a University Council with 27 members as compared with the old Board of 72 and with general charge of the academic work and courses; representation of Denominational Colleges was retained upon this Council though not upon the Board of Governors. In his speech the Minister reviewed the history and difficulties of the institution, quoted the Government grants as increasing from $40,000 in 1912 to $115,825 in 1916 and declared that the University had thus become dependant upon the Government for its existence; observed that "if the University is to develop further the Legislature must become responsible for further and larger grants, and it does not appear to the Government that such an expenditure of public money should be made except by a body directly responsible to the Government and the Legislature and so to the people of the Prov-

ince." The new Act established such a body, which, through a draft copy of the Bill, the University (Feb. 12) had decided to accept. As the Minister pointed out in his speech, the authority of the Board of Governors was "final and complete both as regards educational policy and business administration." The system, in a general way, resembled that of the Universities of British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan and Toronto; but the President and Chancellor were not to be Governors. Capt. J. W. Wilton on the 26th opposed the Bill because it did not provide for a complete Provincial University and because special representation was given to special interests, with four denominations—Presbyterian, Methodist, Anglican and Roman Catholic—represented and no others. St. Boniface College also objected to parts of the legislation and would not stay in the University system unless its students of the Latin-Philosophy courses could follow in St. Boniface College a special curriculum framed by the authorities of St. Boniface and approved by the Council of the University. These and other difficulties were met and in due course the Bill passed and the University, for the first time in its history, came metaphorically from a backstreet and took its place as a great Provincial institution. The Government on May 18 announced the Archbishop of Rupert's Land as being re-appointed Chancellor for three years—an honour to which Dr. Matheson was well entitled—and the members of the new Board of Governors—for three, two or one year; a little later the University Council was constituted and in its membership represented the Government (6), the Manitoba Agricultural College (2), the Medical College (1), the College of Physicians and Surgeons (1), the Faculty of the University (4), the four affiliated denominational Colleges (2 each) and the graduates (4 elected):

BOARD OF GOVERNORS

Isaac Pitblado, M.A., K.C.....(Chairman).....Winnipeg.
John A. Machray, M.A., K.C.,..(Vice-Chairman).....Winnipeg.
R T. Riley.....Winnipeg. Henry H. Chown, M.D.....Winnipeg.
John R. Little.....Brandon. James McKenty, M.D.....Winnipeg.
Sir Augustus Nanton.....Winnipeg. A. J. Cotton.....Swan River.
William Iverach.....Isabella.

UNIVERSITY COUNCIL

Most Rev. Dr. S. P. Matheson, (Chairman)
President James A. MacLean, PH.D., LL.D.
F. W. Clark, B.A., PH.D.
R. O. Jolliffe, B.A., PH.D.
W. F. Osborne, M.A.
Matthew A. Parker, B.SC.
J. B. Reynolds, M.A.
G. A. Sproule, B.A.
E. S. Popham, M.A., M.D.
D. H. McCalman, B.A., M.D.
Robert Fletcher, B.A.
Mrs. R. F. McWilliams, M.A.
William A. McIntyre, B.A., LL.D.
Frank H. Schofield, M.A.
Rev. John L. Brown.
Alexander McLeod.
R. W. Craig, B.A., K.C.
D. M. Duncan, M.A.
Daniel McIntyre, M.A., LL.D.
W. J. Spence, B.A.
Rev. Gregory Fere, S.J.
Rev. Joseph Blain, S.J.
Very Rev. G. F. Coombes, M.A.
Rev. E. A. Wharton Gill, M.A.
Rev. A. B. Baird, M.A., D.D.
Rev. David Christie, M.A., D.D.
Rev. J. H. Riddell, B.A., D.D.
Rev. A. Stewart, D.D.

The students at the close of 1917 numbered 360 in Arts, 45 in Engineering, 173 in Medicine, 1 in Architecture, 14 in Pharmacy, 82 in Law, 46 in Agriculture, 19 in Home Economics and 180 in Evening Courses with 12 in special subjects—932 in all. Under the new Act provision was made for the education of women equally with men and women were to be eligible for any appointment in connection with the University, including appointment or election to the Board of Governors or the Council. The new Act was to come into force after Graduation Day on May 11 and meanwhile, on Mar. 23, the Faculty sent a message of congratulation to the revolutionary rulers of Russia on the "emancipation" of the people; Capt. W. Burton Hurd, B.A., had already been chosen Rhodes Scholar for the year. At Convocation (May 11) the Chancellor stated that 1,100 University men were under arms for the King; the Hon. Dr. Thornton declared that "the University of Manitoba should occupy a great and important place in the life of this Province"—in pure science, in applied science, in the ethical spirit of the nation. Succeeding incidents included the re-appointment of the Staff as a whole—with the omission of Prof. W. Brydone-Jack, who had given evidence in the Parliament Buildings scandal, and a few others; a Resolution of the Board of Governors on July 4 declared that "until further order no unmarried male student who has attained the age of 20 years will be permitted either to attend lectures or to take the examinations of the University, unless he furnishes satisfactory reasons why he has not enlisted for active service"; an extension for another year of the University's option in the Tuxedo site and a request (July 11) from prominent

representatives of Winnipeg business that a University Chair of Commerce be created; a special Convocation on Dec. 6 to confer the degree of M.D. on 28 graduates, all of whom were in uniform.

Wesley College held its Convocation on Feb. 13 and the Principal, Rev. Dr. Eber Crummy, announced that 330 men were on the Honour Roll of whom 20 had died for the cause; he declared that "there has never been in any previous war so truly spiritual an attitude as is now shown in the spirit of the Allies and through which the ethical standards of education are confirmed." The Hon. degree of D.D. was conferred (Apr. 10) on the Rev. John McLean and the diploma of B.D. on 5 graduates. In August the new Principal, Rev. Dr. J. H. Riddell, took charge with Rev. Dr. A. Stewart as Dean of the Theological Faculty, Dr. W. T. Allison, Dean of the Faculty of Arts, and D. C. Harvey, B.A., as Professor of History. On June 11 it was announced that the Methodist Conference had undertaken to clear up the last 3-years' deficit of $30,000—Winnipeg to give $12,000, the rest of Manitoba $12,000 and Saskatchewan $6,000. Meantime the controversy over the dismissal of Rev. Dr. S. G. Bland and Rev. A. J. Irwin in 1916 had raged throughout this year. It was due partly to the deficit and retrenchment in reducing the Staff, and partly to the extreme views of Dr. Bland in regard to social, political and religious problems. Upon the latter point the two Professors challenged the action of the College Board and carried the matter to the public in a series of letters and speeches and to the Methodist Conference which, after studying the matter thoroughly (June 11-12), reported that financial reasons were the cause of the action, but suggested that the matter be reviewed again. On June 8 the Saskatchewan Methodist Conference had also asked the Board to reconsider the dismissal; the *Grain Growers' Guide* (June 13) declared that Dr. Bland suffered because he was "a democrat to the hilt": the Toronto *World* described him as "a great and good man," the greatest orator in the West and the feared foe of the corporations. On Sept. 20 the College Board went over the whole subject and decided not to re-instate the two Professors; an appeal was carried to the Court of Appeal of the Methodist Church, in Toronto, which decided on Dec. 29 that the College Board "acted within its power under the charter of the College, yet the summary dismissal of Professors Bland and Irwin at the time at which it was done was not in harmony with the usage and law of the Church." The annual Convocation of Brandon College (Baptist) on May 8 showed two-thirds of the graduating class at the Front and five degrees conferred; Bonds of $100,000 at 6% were issued in August to consolidate the floating debt of the College. At Manitoba College on April 4 the Hon. degree of D.D. was conferred on Rev. W. A. McLean of Winnipeg and 7 graduates were given their diplomas.

The Grain Growers of Manitoba. This was a remarkable body from several points of view. It was, perhaps, the most successful of the early movements in the Canadian West which sought to bring the farmers out of chaotic individualism into a condition of commercial, social, economic, and sometimes political combination. Started at Virden on Jan. 7, 1903, it had in 1916 thousands of members, a revenue of $6,190 and contributions to War Relief, etc., of $23,382. The annual Convention was held at Brandon on Jan. 10-12 with R. C. Henders in the Chair and a Directors' Report which dealt with various elements of work and advocacy such as cheaper money or Farm credits, Co-operative grain-grading and Elevator policy, the retirement of R. McKenzie, Secretary for years, to go to the Council of Agriculture, the accepted Farmers' platform of the latter body. Mr. Henders was also Acting-Secretary and reported as to good work done by the Association in distributing seed grain and urged (1) increase of members and financial returns, (2) more help from central to branch organizations, (3) a brief period of special training for local Secretaries. In his Presidential address Mr. Henders described this as a time for self-sacrifice and war-help, advocated the national registration of wealth and man-power, and a National Government, stated the Patriotic contributions of the Manitoba farmers at $30,000, denounced the High Cost of Living and blamed "a false system of land tenure" as primarily responsible, with the modern adaptations of "taking a part of the cost of maintenance out of the wage-earners and demanding unduly enhanced profits from the consumer." The 1st Resolution passed was as follows:

Whereas the British Empire and her Allies are engaged in a life and death struggle in which we believe the interests of civilization are at stake; and whereas the Canadian Government, in order that Canada might render more effective service in the prosecution of the War, has undertaken to make a census of the man-power of the Dominion

with the expressed view of organizing it to the highest possible point of efficiency; therefore, be it resolved that this Convention endorses the action of the Government in this regard: but while endorsing it it desires to urge in the strongest possible terms an abhorrence of private profiteering on the part of those engaged in the manufacture or furnishing of war supplies of any kind and also urges that a census of the wealth of Canada should be immediately taken with the view to imposing upon it the full share of the burden it should bear in this time of national sacrifice. And further that these resources can only be organized to their full efficiency by a National Government in which the interests of political parties shall be made entirely subservient to the interests of the State.

Other Resolutions were as follows: (1) approving the platform of the Council of Agriculture (1916) and sending it to the Locals for final action; (2) instructing the Executive to petition the British Government for protection of Canadian soldiers from intoxicating liquors; (3) asking the Dominion Government "to establish a Permanent Survey Board and to give farmers adequate representation thereon"; (4) commending the Provincial Government for granting the franchise to women, compulsory education and efforts toward the abolition of the liquor traffic; (5) approving free grants of land and public aid to returned soldiers but objecting to the grant of Scrip that might be used for speculative purposes as detrimental to settlement in the newer communities; (6) asking the Government to prohibit advertisements of alcoholic liquors through the mails; (7) protesting strongly against enlistment of boys under 18 years of age because they had not attained the fixity of character to resist temptation, because it was the policy of the British Government not to allow any such boys to go to the Front under 19 years, and because they were needed at home for farm production purposes; (8) urging the appointment of returned soldiers to Civil Service positions, etc., under a non-party plan of Provincial and Federal appointment; (9) approving of equalized pensions for all our soldiers who have served and are entitled to it without respect to rank or position in the army; (10) urging that homestead lands be withdrawn from entry by foreigners till the soldiers have returned, so that the best lands may be available for them. A Resolution was endorsed as to principle and sent to the Executive, declaring that "through enlistment of men for war service there was shortage of help for farm work with numbers of farmers unable to procure help even in the winter months; that National and Imperial interests demanded that production should be maintained at its highest possible level with all means available used to organize the Labour supply." Another Resolution approved the union of the commercial organizations of the Grain Growers in the different provinces. An ensuing meeting was addressed by T. A. Crerar, F. J. Dixon, M.L.A., and Rev. Dr. S. G. Bland, to hear the first public Western arguments in favour of the Council of Agriculture platform. As the *Grain Growers' Guide* put it "they certainly cleared the air of any protection dust and anyone who could not think straight on the Tariff after they got through ought to be laid away in the vaults of the Toronto *News* or Montreal *Star*." The Women's Branch endorsed the Homestead law changes under which the wife had to approve of any sale of the property and also the Intestacy Act under which a wife, upon the death of her husband, would get all of his estate up to $2,500 and a third of the remainder, and other amendments of Acts such as making parents equal, with equal guardianship of children, the right to hold municipal office and the right of the illegitimate mother to inherit from her child. R. C. Henders was re-elected President of the Association, J. S. Wood, Oakville, and Mrs. A. Tooth, Eli, Vice-Presidents, with the following Directors:

Andrew Graham	Pomeroy.	O. A. Jones,	Whitewater.
Geo. Gordon	Oak Lake.	F. H. Weineke	Stony Mtn.
Peter Wright	Mirtle.	W. Lathwell	Winnipeg.
P. D. McArthur	Longburn.	W. J. Ford	Benito.
Wm. Milne	Keyes.	F. Simpson	Shoal Lake.
R. J. Avison	Gilbert Plains.	F. C. Buckland,	Otterburne.

Of other Agricultural Associations the Dairymen's Association met in Winnipeg on Feb. 15-16 with 150 present and R. L. Race of Brandon in the chair. The Convention was addressed on Good Roads by Hon. T. H. Johnson and A. McGillivray, Highway Commissioner, and by others on technical subjects and Resolutions were passed declaring that (1) Oleomargarine should be barred from Canada, (2) that cream be pasteurized as a means of producing a higher grade of butter, (3) that the work of Creamery Inspectors should be continued. The Manitoba Horticultural and Forestry Association met on Feb. 16 and urged the Provincial Government to give a grant for the investigation of native plants of supposed value. The Farmers' week in Winnipeg —the third in February—brought an Agricultural Societies' Convention of 200 with

A. D. McConnell, Chairman, and a dozen organizations represented. All kinds of useful topics were discussed with a meeting also at the Agricultural College. On Sept. 1 the Manitoba Grain Growers' Grain Co. Ltd. and the Alberta Farmers' Co-Operative Elevator Co. became the United Grain Growers Ltd., with 32,000 shareholders, $3,000,000 of Assets and 300 county and other Elevators. The following Presidents were elected of some Provincial organizations:

Manitoba Horse Breeders' Association	John Scharf	Hartney.
Manitoba Cattle Breeders' Association	Walter Cummings	Winnipeg.
Manitoba Sheep Breeders' Association	George Gordon	Oak Lake.
Manitoba Swine Breeders' Association	Andrew Graham	Pomeroy.

Manitoba as a Mineral Province.

The promises and prospects of the past three years continued to develop in 1917. Northern Manitoba, with its 178,000 square miles added to the Province in 1912 and its hundreds of miles of frontage on Hudson Bay, was the seat of continuous discoveries in mineral resources, in valuable timber and pulp-wood, in lakes and rivers stocked with fish, in vast tracks of fertile soil. J. A. Campbell, the Government's Commissioner for this region, issued a valuable Report in November, 1917, which described the Flin Flon Lake region as a great property then under development with certain preliminary work proving 3,000,000 tons of sulphide ore worth, at the normal price of copper, $30,000,000; the work of the Mandy Mining Co.—a subsidiary of the Tenopah concern of Philadelphia—at Schist Lake with its first shipment of commercial ore from Manitoba—4,000 tons hauled 40 miles over the snow for shipment to a smelter 1,200 miles away—and the proving up of 100,000 tons of copper and zinc mixture with, also, gold and silver values of $5.00 per ton; the prospecting and development work of the Wekusko Lake gold-mining region with shipment by the Northern Manitoba Mining & Development Co. of 57,000 lbs. of gold-bearing quartz to a Trail, B.C., smelter and returns of $2,323 in gold or an average of $81.53 per ton. Several mining roads were under construction during the year and Mr. Campbell reported in May, 1917, that:

> The whole mining district, north of The Pas, is and has been for some considerable time, attracting very general attention among mining men both in the United States and Canada. Many of the best-known and most capable men in connection with the mining business have personally investigated or sent their representatives into this territory. Further discoveries have been made and claims staked in other parts of the above mentioned mineral areas, between Athapapuskow and Herb Lake, but no development work has yet been done thereon. Also in different parts of the northern territory outside this area 'finds' have been made from time to time at Indian Lake, Piquitona, Kettle Rapids, Cross Lake and other places. Just what these will amount to remains to be seen. But anyone who is at all familiar with the rock formation of this territory and who knows about discoveries which have already been made feels quite confident that this great country contains vast wealth in its mineral resources which are only waiting to be developed. The need of the country, however, is prospectors. Compared with other mineral districts which have been exploited, the discoveries already made have been marvellous when it is considered how few people have been engaged in real prospecting work.

J. B. Tyrell, C.E., the Toronto Mining Expert, told the Winnipeg *Free Press* on Feb. 10 that a great need of the moment was to "develop the mining lands for the best interests of the whole Province, both directly and indirectly; directly, by obtaining dividends from the mines and metals for use in production and manufactures; indirectly, by supplying the mines, and the population which will there collect, with food, machinery and supplies. That cannot be done without making investment in mines. It is only a few years ago that the Hinterland of Ontario was developed with regard to mining, and you have a greater Hinterland for mining in Manitoba than Ontario ever had." Another evidence of conditions and resources was the interest of Dr. Milton Hersey and his Montreal associates in these prospects and their assay within a year of 1,200 samples of Manitoba ore. To the *Free Press* of June 2, Veldemer Melsted, Manager for this Company, stated that the most valuable of their assays "touched $30,000 a ton, while single specimens ranged as high as $100,000 a ton"; that if such samples as had come from Rice Lake were brought from an American Western State there would be a camp of 10,000 on the spot long before this; that the future of Northern Manitoba was beyond prophecy with gold, silver, nickel, copper, platinum, molybdenite and asbestos amongst the valuable minerals whose presence was established—"though the whole field was, mineralogically speaking, an unexplored country"; that "practically, wherever a prospector has gone into this belt he has found minerals, and that if no more discoveries were made the Flin Flon and Schist

Lake would alone ensure the great mineral development of the Province; that the Flin Flon from the surface appears to be one of the biggest copper deposits in the world, and Schist Lake, while very much smaller, has even a higher percentage of metal in the ore."

The chief points of interest, as yet, during this year were the McCafferty lode, to the extreme north of the staked area, the Nemo, Trapper, Centre Star, Bingo, Le Roi and Ballard claims and, of course, the Herb or Wekusko district, the Kiski-Wekusko claims, the Moose-Horn mine, the Rex group and the Elizabeth-Dauphin group. Before the Canadian Manufacturers' Convention in Winnipeg on June 13 Prof. R. F. Ruttan of McGill, a member of the Federal Research Council, described the efforts to find some means of utilizing lignite coal in which Manitoba had become aware of large resources: "We have recommended the Government to work those lignite mines under a process which will make the finished product equivalent in thermal value to anthracite coal, and enable it to sell at a price that will be about two-thirds the price of anthracite." He declared that $400,000 was necessary to work out the scheme and T. R. Deacon of Winnipeg responded with the remark that if the basis was sound the money could be obtained any afternoon in Winnipeg. F. H. Kitto, D.L.S., of the Interior Department, Ottawa, told a Winnipeg meeting on June 19 as to the district north of Lake Winnipeg, of The Pas and Norway House, that "no one knew how really wonderful the country was." He believed that within a few years the Hudson Bay Railway would be carrying minerals out of the country in far greater tonnage than railways had ever carried grain from the southern portion of the Province." J. M. Wanless of The Pas told the Winnipeg *Telegram* (June 30) that in the Flin Flon and Schist regions "the quantity of ore proved up by current operations has an aggregate value of $100,000,000." At this time the mining people of the continent had begun to take an interest in these reports, and every train northbound during June, July and August, carried a number of mining men from New York, Boston, Chicago and other United States centres, while every train from The Pas had men going south to obtain funds with which to engage in the mining industry. On Aug. 25 it was reported that a discovery of free milling molybdenum ore had been made about 75 miles east of Winnipeg and samples were placed on exhibition. The original discovery had been made some years before by Wm. Gordon, but the mineral then had no specific value and it lay dormant until now Gordon revived and confirmed it in view of current needs.

Saskatchewan: Government, Legislation and Politics

The Hon. W. M. Martin, in his first year of office, had to carry his Party through a general election and to meet difficulties of which Union Government complications were by no means the least. It was a prosperous year for the Province with the enormous production and agricultural values of $609,000,000; it was a war-year which he met in the spirit of his New Year's greeting on Jan. 1, 1917 —"Every effort must be put forth by every man and woman in our Province to the end that our future share in the great struggle may be well and faithfully performed"; it was essentially a political year with the opening event an auspicious one for his party —the Interim Report of the Wetmore Commission and the afterwards final Report clearing the preceding Scott Government, in the main, of corruption charges laid in 1915-16.* This Royal Commission reported (1) under date of Dec. 23, 1916, and (2) on July 6, 1917; it had Counsel for the Government and for J. E. Bradshaw, M.L.A., who, originally, urged the charges upon the Legislature; it had Auditors in constant attendance, examined 136 witnesses, received 335 exhibits for fyling, had 9,000 road and bridge vouchers audited, heard 16,000 pages of evidence and cost about $90,000. Composed of Hon. E. L. Wetmore, Chief Justice, H. G. Smith of

* For details see 1916 volume of *The Canadian Annual Review*.

Regina, and G. D. Mackie, C.E., of Moose Jaw, it had been appointed on Mar. 7, 1916, and after 9 months' inquiry its first Report showed the fact of extensive road-frauds in the Public Works Department, the collusion of some members of the Legislature and the incapacity or worse of members of the Highway Board, but it relieved the Government or any of its members of knowledge as to these frauds or participation in any electoral corruption as a result of them. It left the Hon. Walter Scott, in his days of ill-health and retirement, free from any worse fault than the defalcation of some trusted employees in a Government Department; it left Mr. Martin in a better condition to carry on his Government beneath clearer skies.

W. B. Willoughby and J. E. Bradshaw of the Opposition had fully believed (1) that the Government itself was involved in these frauds in much the same manner as the Roblin Government had been involved in the Parliament Buildings graft at Winnipeg, and (2) that the frauds were carried on for the purpose of providing a campaign fund for the Liberals with the proceeds devoted to that purpose. Hence their keen fight in the Legislature and the importance of the findings of this Commission. Early in 1917 the Legislature, by special Act, confined the Commission in future inquiries to specific charges, except in the case of the Saskatoon Bridge, and Mr. Bradshaw intimated a little later that he had no new particulars to advance or charges to make. The final Report declared (1) as to the Saskatoon Bridge charges that "the three expert witnesses examined were of the opinion that the Bridge was constructed, generally, according to the contract, plans and specifications," that the structure was a good one and that the Government received full value for the money expended—in which the Commissioners concurred; (2) as to Brown highway frauds the Commission stated that there was no evidence of their being initiated for, or used for, the purpose of political corruption; (3) it censured A. J. Macpherson as Chairman of the Highways Board for holding stock in one of its contracting companies but found that neither the Government nor his colleagues knew of this fact; (4) it was intimated that the Deputy Treasurer and certain other Departmental officers, in departing from Government regulations, had rendered the frauds of Brown, Devline and Simpson possible; (5) it was pointed out that the Government already had taken steps to institute improved methods of accounting, not only in the Highways but in all Departments of the public service, and at the last Session of the Legislature, following a searching Departmental investigation, and also a survey of the systems in vogue by Price, Waterhouse & Co., an entirely new system of Departmental accounting was instituted and put into operation. Meantime the Brown-Elwood Commission (1916) had disposed of the charges as to corrupt relations of the Scott Government with the Liquor interests—Mr. Scott being, in fact, a pioneer in Western Prohibition legislation. Another Commission passed away when the Legislature, at the close of the year (Dec. 6) on suggestion of the Opposition Leader, proposed the reference of anything which might come up under the Haultain Commission of 1916 to the Standing Committee on Public Accounts.

Meantime, Mr. Premier Martin had been carrying many Bills through the Legislature and making speeches in different parts of the Province. At Estevan on Mar. 12 he made a strong impression and the local *Mercury* declared that "the Premier bears the stamp of the leader of men; and a brain which can shape thoughts as fast as his tongue can utter them must indeed be big enough and active enough to grasp all the problems that are likely to confront the people of Saskatchewan." There were two Legislative Sessions in 1917 with the Election between. The 6th Session of the 3rd Legislature was opened on Jan. 25 by Lieut.-Governor R. S. Lake, with a Speech from the Throne which expressed regret at the ill-health which had compelled the Hon. Walter Scott to resign the Premiership after 11 years of able service, and referred to the change in the Governor-Generalship; declared that in the great War-struggle Canada had striven to the full extent of her powers to bear her part and that "throughout the whole British Empire, as well as among the Allied nations, there is a grim determination to carry on the contest until victory is positively assured for the permanent establishment and maintenance of those ideals and principles which in the first instance induced the Allies to resort to arms"; approved the National Service proposals of the Federal Government, described the peace-time settlement of the soldier as a vital problem and hoped for an arrangement by which many would settle on Saskatchewan Crown lands; stated that the Patriotic Tax levy on the municipalities had met, on the whole, with a hearty response—$815,000 received and $185,000 still due; regretted the crop losses of 1916 from rust and hail which ran into millions and made a reorganization of municipal Hail Insurance necessary; mentioned the holding back of the 1913 law as to Farm Loans at low rates because of the high values of money and promised a new measure dealing with the problem; intimated measures improving the Workmen's Compensation Act; enacted some of the reforms urged by the Better Schools movement and put into law the decision of the Liquor Referendum; expressed satisfaction as to the Royal Commission Reports and stated that "as a result of these investigations, no Member of my Government has been found guilty of any improper conduct, but on the contrary the effect of the inquiries has been to vindicate the honour and integrity of every Minister of the Crown."

Robert Menzies Mitchell, M.D., member of the House since 1908, was elected Speaker and certain resignations resulting from the above Commissions and the issues involved were announced—E. H. Devline, J. A. Sheppard and H. C. Pierce. The election of Mr. Martin for Regina was intimated and the new Premier accordingly took his seat. The Address was moved by W. H. Paulson and G. A. Scott—the latter declaring that while it was necessary for Saskatchewan to send men to the War, the paramount duty of its people was to raise grain for the Allies and troops; he also regretted that 11,000 teachers had been in the Provincial schools during the past 10 years with only a maximum of 4,500 at any one time. The Address was unanimously passed on Jan. 30 after Mr. Martin had made his first speech as Premier and W. B. Willoughby, Opposition



WILLIAM DOUW LIGHTHALL, K.C., F.R.S.C.,
President of the Royal Society of Canada, 1917; One of the founders of the Great War Veterans' Association.



ROBERT J. C. STEAD,
A Distinguished Poet of Western Canada.

TWO PROMINENT CANADIAN AUTHORS

Leader, had claimed that Hon. A. P. McNab had not been cleared by the Brown-Elwood report and that Gerhard Ens and J. F. Bole should not be continued in the public service. The 1st division of the Session was on the Government's proposal to relieve Rev. M. L. Leitch of technical disqualification for having, in ignorance of the law, received $160 for certain road-work while sitting in the Legislature. The vote was 30 to 3 in his favour with Mr. Willoughby, F. C. Tate and other Oppositionists in the affirmative. Incidents of the Session included a statement by the Premier in reply to questions (Feb. 2) that information had reached his Department (Education) of the use of reading books in the Ruthenian language and instructions had at once been issued as to this being contrary to the law and involving a forfeiture of the school-grant; the refusal by the House (33 to 6 on Feb. 8) of an elaborate return asked for by Wm. Davidson and D. J. Wylie dealing with the Telephone system; the passage, after debate, on Feb. 8-11 of a Government motion expressing the thanks of the House to Judges Brown and Elwood for executing their Commission and adopting those portions of the Report in which the finding was unanimous while regretting that such was not the case in three of the matters submitted; the unanimous passage of a Resolution, moved by Mr. Premier Martin and Hon. W. F. A. Turgeon, Attorney-General, that C. H. Cawthorpe, member for Biggar, "having been found guilty by the Brown-Elwood Royal Commission of having accepted a bribe to influence him in his conduct concerning a matter under consideration by this House, contrary to the provisions of the Legislative Assembly Act, be expelled from this House; and that his Seat in this House be, and is hereby, declared vacant"; the Opposition proposal on Feb. 12 that a rebate of all Provincial duties and taxes be made on Soldiers' estates and the Government acceptance of this, together with the addition of administration fees for immediate relatives or dependants; the statement by Hon. W. R. Motherwell on Feb. 13 that in 1912-16 a total of 542 students had attended the Agricultural College at Saskatoon and in 1909-16 the students attending the University (including the above) were 2,089.

On Feb. 14 the Opposition, through Messrs. Wylie and Bradshaw moved an expression of regret at war conditions having compelled the Dominion Government to ask the Provincial Government to take over the duties of the Royal North West Mounted Police and urged that "immediately upon the conclusion of peace, the Dominion Government be requested to allow the R.N.W.M.P. to resume the full powers and duties heretofore carried on by them." A Government amendment to this was carried by 28 to 5 expressing the same regret but changing the latter terms to "the hope that upon the conclusion of peace the Government of Saskatchewan will, if it should then be deemed advisable in the interests of the administration of justice, approach the Dominion Government with a view to renewing the agreement between the two Governments which has been suspended." Both parties were now preparing for an Election and on Feb. 16 Messrs. Willoughby and Bradshaw moved for legislation along lines intended to give the absent soldier a maxi-

mum of voting power. The Resolution (1) is given below, and the Government amendment (2) outlined the policy which was approved by 28 to 3 and afterwards enacted into law:

Opposition Proposal:—That in the opinion of this House provision should be made at the present Session that any British subject, whether male or female, of the age of 21 years or upwards, serving as a soldier, chaplain, surgeon or nurse, or in any other capacity in the Expeditionary Forces of Canada, or in any corps attached thereto; or in any such like service in the Imperial Army of His Majesty, absent from Canada at the time of the next General Election for this Assembly, who, within six months immediately preceding the date when he or she was appointed or enlisted in such forces, or joined such corps or service, has been resident in any Electoral Division in Saskatchewan for a period of not less than 30 days, shall be entitled to a vote at the next General Election for this Assembly, notwithstanding such absence from Canada, and that suitable provision should be made for the taking of the votes of such persons.

Government Policy:—This House is of the opinion that provision should be made at the present Session whereby all persons who at the time of the next General Election for this Assembly are serving in any capacity in the Expeditionary Forces of Canada or in any Branch of His Majesty's Imperial Forces in Great Britain, France or Belgium, and who for a period of at least three months immediately prior to the date when each such person joined or became attached in any way to any of the said forces were residents in Saskatchewan, shall be entitled to vote at the next General Election for this Assembly. And further this House is of the opinion that provision should be made to provide the aforesaid members of the Expeditionary Forces of Canada with representation in this House and that one or more seats be provided in this House for Members to be elected by the members of the said Forces exclusively.

On Feb. 22 a Resolution passed unanimously urging the Government to continue to press upon Ottawa the necessity of transferring to the Province control of its Public Lands; the religious and educational diversities of the Province were shown by the incorporation of the Mennonite Union Waisenamt, Ruthenian Sisters of Immaculate Conception, and Les Religieuses de Jesus-Marie; a unanimous motion (Mar. 2) renewed past declarations in favour of a Federal transfer to the Province of control over its School endowment Funds; the Opposition proposal of Mar. 2 that "the entire Public Telephone Service of the Province be placed under Government management and control, and to this end that all telephone systems not now owned by the Government be acquired on an equitable basis" was defeated by a party vote of 28 to 5; the Opposition desired that any rules and regulations under the Act giving representation to the Overseas Forces should be under jurisdiction of the House and not the Governor-in-Council, but this was defeated by 33 to 6; in the matter of restricting the Wetmore Commission's inquiries as moved by Messrs. Turgeon and J. A. Calder on Mar. 9, the Opposition expressed dissent (Lieut.-Col. J. E. Bradshaw having returned on leave) by 24 to 6. The Government's Bill to prohibit the keeping of liquor within the Province for export was countered by a Resolution proposed by Mr. Willoughby and F. C. Tate (Feb. 28) which declared that "this House approves the immediate passing of a law making it illegal to consume or have for consumption as a beverage in the Province any intoxicating liquor save for medicinal purposes, subject to strict regulation," and was defeated by 30 to 6.

The legislation of the Session included amendments to the Saskatchewan Temperance Act, under which sections relating to Government liquor stores were eliminated; the sale of liquor after May 1, 1917, confined to drug-stores or, where there was no druggist, to a physician's limited prescription; prohibition of liquor-drinking anywhere except in a private house was enacted and commission-house business, with the right to canvass, solicit or receive orders, was forbidden; wholesale druggists, however, were permitted to sell liquor, keeping exact records, to physicians and retail druggists, to hospitals, dentists, educational institutions for scientific purposes, manufacturers for use in mechanical arts and for manufacturing, preserving and other purposes, and to religious bodies for sacramental purposes. Mr. Turgeon, Attorney-General, had the interesting view in this connection that (1) the Privy Council had shown that no Province could prohibit importations; that as neither Dominion nor Provincial law could add to or subtract from the other's powers, therefore the Doherty Act was of no avail; that in the case of a Dominion and a Provincial law upon the same matter clashing the Dominion law would supersede the other and the Dominion Temperance or Scott Act could be carried to supersede a Provincial Prohibitory measure and thereby cancel any prohibition of consumption. Another measure abolished Liquor warehouses and declared that "no person shall expose or keep liquor in Saskatchewan for export to other Provinces or to foreign countries"—with the exception of brewers and distillers, licensed by the Dominion Government, and wholesale druggists under Provincial permit and in the course of their business; the Seed, Grain and Fodder Relief Act gave the Government power, under a memorandum from the Registrar of Land Titles, to release lands either in whole or in part from liens or claims under the Act; the Saskatchewan Returned Soldiers' Employment Commission was incorporated for the purpose of (1) making an industrial and commercial survey of sources of employment, (2) arranging for the placing of returned soldiers in positions, (3) soliciting and distributing funds for these purposes, and (4) taking over the work of the Saskatchewan division of the Military Hospitals Commission; the Juvenile Courts Act was passed under which there was to be a Juvenile Court in every city and town in the Province with power to the Government for the establishment in any rural section, or village, and to compel the provision in all municipalities of a Detention home satisfactory to the Attorney-General; the Patriotic Revenues Act was amended to raise the Tax from 1 to 1½ mills on the dollar on all rateable property with provision, also, for interest on unpaid sums at 8% and the imposition of a poll-tax of $2.00 on every male person of 21 years or over.

Under the Dental Profession Act amendments the examination of all candidates was transferred to the University of Saskatchewan, restrictions upon personal advertising of qualifications were removed, the University was given control over the matriculation and the Dental College over periods to be articled and curriculum prescribed, while British certificates were accepted in lieu of matriculation;

under an Act respecting Saskatchewan Registered Nurses an incorporated association was created with a Council of Management composed of 5 elected from the Association and 2 from the College of Physicians and Surgeons and a set of rules for training and registration and practice established; an Act was passed to permit Government aid to the Saskatchewan Anti-Tuberculosis League up to $150,000 for the completion of their Sanatorium at Fort Qu'Appelle; the Election Act was largely amended in details with the expressed intention of improving the conditions of voting and safeguarding the polls; the School Act was amended so that every woman who was the wife of a duly qualified ratepayer was given the same rights and privileges with respect to school matters as her husband and to provide for consolidated school districts of more than 50 miles area in certain cases, to prohibit the use of Debenture moneys for any but the specified purpose, to compel every rural school district with 12 children of 7 to 14 years resident to keep a school open 190 teaching days, to enforce a penalty of $10 for using an unauthorized text-book; a School Attendance Act was passed, operative May 1, and providing for attendance officers reporting monthly to the Department with a Chief officer at Regina and penalties for all who broke the law or allowed it to be broken—parents, teachers, etc.—as to children from 7 to 14; a new Highways Act was passed consolidating most of the provisions of the old one but abolishing the Board of Commissioners and placing administration in the hands of a Department of the public service; the Treasury Department Act was also consolidated and amended so as to improve the Accounting System, establish a Contingent account not to exceed $10,000 and limit all expenditures to lawful sums, or those voted by the Legislature.

The Saskatchewan Co-Operative Creameries, Ltd., was incorporated with a view to amalgamation of existing creameries and constructing, equipping, maintaining and operating them, and others, together with cheese factories and cold-storage plants—the capital to be $500,000, the maximum holding to be 50 shares of $20 stock or 1,000 shares of $1.00 stock, the creation of a Board of 3 members, one selected by the Minister of Agriculture, one by the Directors, and one by the Company amalgamating, to appraise and take over each new concern. For cold storage purposes the Government would lend 75 per cent. of the money required to construct and equip warehouses. These loans were to be repayable in 20 years at 6 per cent. interest, but the aggregate amount of such loans was not to exceed $75,000. On such terms and conditions as were agreed upon loans could be made by the Government to the Company up to 75 per cent. of the estimated cost of acquiring, constructing, extending or remodelling a creamery, cheese factory or other necessary buildings. The Provincial Treasurer, also, was empowered to guarantee the repayment of loans which the Company might make for authorized purposes from any person, bank or corporation—the Government to be secured from loss in a manner to be approved. A strongly co-operative feature was the provision that after payment of a dividend at the discretion of the Directors, but not to exceed

10 per cent., a sum not exceeding 50 per cent. of any surplus was to be distributed on a patronage basis, each patron receiving a sum proportionate to the value of the raw material supplied by him. The balance of the surplus was to go to a reserve fund. Municipal Acts were amended to give married women a vote and the right of election to office in cities, towns, villages and rural municipalities; cities were allowed to unite with surrounding municipalities for specific construction of public works; further measures of protection were enacted for soldiers' property which was exempted from taxation up to a certain point during the War; it was enacted that candidates in villages must be British subjects. Curious clauses in the Rural Municipality Act affected farmers and their wives and declared that if the husband's taxes were not paid, he was not eligible for nomination to office, but that his wife, who was not a taxpayer, was not subject to that disqualification. Widows and others who were not wives of farmers had the municipal franchise on the same basis as men.

In this connection one man, one vote, was enacted. A new Municipal Hail Insurance Act was similar in the main to the old one as to a system of mutual insurance under which rural municipalities could co-operate to tax each other to provide compensation for hail losses but it changed the governing body, created and incorporated a Hail Insurance Association composed of representatives of the municipalities coming into the scheme with 9 Directors —3 in office for three years, 3 for two years and 1 for one year. This Board was given considerable power in arranging the indemnity, rates and permits of withdrawal—much along the lines of the Saskatchewan Co-Operative Elevator Co. An Act as to municipal assistance in emergencies from Hail destruction was passed in order to give the 139 rural municipalities in which By-laws were in force under the Hail Insurance Acts of 1912 and 1915, an opportunity to combine in assisting the owners of crops within their boundaries which were injured or destroyed by hail in 1916; amendments of detail were made in the Saskatchewan Insurance Act, the Prairie and Forest Fires Act, the Hospital Act, the Local Government Act and the Statute Law. In the latter case it was enacted that no execution could be levied against the land or goods of a volunteer or reservist during the War or for six months afterwards. This period was extended to one year after the War. Further, the expression 'volunteer' or 'reservist' was held to include the wife, but would in future include a widowed mother as well. The volunteer was not allowed to make any contract or agreement relinquishing his rights under this Act. Provision was also made by enactment whereby any two or more rural municipalities might co-operate with any number of urban municipalities in providing a Union Hospital under municipal control. Another matter was the grant of $250,000 to provide for the purchase and sale of live-stock to farmers in order to encourage the Live-stock industry, and the voting of $60,000 to assist in the establishment of Homes for neglected children. The Soldiers' Votes Act provided that all soldiers in the Province at the time of election could vote in the constituencies in

which they formerly resided, but that in respect to soldiers Overseas at the time of the Election three constituencies at large would be created with one member of the Legislature to be elected by those soldiers who were in England, and two members by those who were in France and Belgium. The qualification for a candidate was six months' service Overseas.

Perhaps the most important measure of the Session was the Farm Loans Act which proposed to create, practically, a Government Loan Company; its functions were exactly the same as private concerns, but in approving or rejecting loans, in providing for record-keeping, in settling the form of mortgage or other evidence of security, and in defining the powers and duties of the Commissioner, in all acts done and regulations made, it was subject to the approval of the Government. Its constitution was a Board of three members, one of whom was Commissioner or Managing Director, with salary, and the other two paid a *per diem* allowance and travelling expenses when on the Board's business with all legal instruments, transfers, securities, etc., to be countersigned by one of the Board besides the Commissioner; the Loans were to be first mortgages, of not more than 50 per cent. of the Board's valuation of the property offered as security, and to be for a term of 30 years, repayable in equal annual instalments of principal and interest; the proceeds were to be applied on permanent improvements, or for productive purposes, or to pay off liabilities incurred for such purposes, or, if specially authorized by the Board, to purchase land for agricultural purposes; should a borrower fail to so apply the proceeds of his loan, or should he allow his property to depreciate so as to prejudice the Board's security, the whole or a portion of the unpaid balance could be declared due and payable immediately, and the Board have the same rights as the holder of a mortgage in arrears. The working capital for the scheme provided for the raising, upon the credit of the Province, of a sum not to exceed $5,000,000 dollars, in the same way as other Provincial loans—the money to be advanced to the Board, on terms and conditions to be approved by the Government and the securities so issued by the Provincial Treasurer to never exceed the amount of the mortgage issued by the Board; at the start the Treasurer was given power to advance needed sums to the Board until necessary Provincial securities had been sold; as to Interest the rate to be charged by the Board on its loans was to be sufficient, but no more than that, to pay the interest on, and the cost of raising the money to be advanced by the Board and the expense of conducting its business. Mr. Dunning officially expressed the hope that the rate would not exceed 6½% compared with the 8% prevalent in the money market.

Following the Session (April 30) the Farm Loans Board was constituted with the following members: J. H. Grayson, Moose Jaw; J. O. Hettle, Saskatoon, and Colin Fraser of Regina as Chief Commissioner. They were all well-known financial men and Mr. Dunning announced on April 25 that no Loans would be considered until after the Elections. It may be added that on Sept. 18 following Mr. Dunning, as Provincial Treasurer, announced the issue of

10-year Saskatchewan Greater Production Loan bonds in denominations of $20, $100, $500 and $1,000, bearing interest at 5% per annum, payable half-yearly, and redeemable at par at any time upon the giving of three months' notice. The object was to raise money within the Province to provide the funds for this Board and applications from farmers had, already, been received to a total of $2,500,000. A big advertising and newspaper campaign was at once initiated along lines of (1) the investment opportunity which this class of security presented, and (2) the means of performing a patriotic duty to the Province and through it to the Dominion and the Empire. The press and prominent business men were almost a unit in praising the plan and policy—including such a Conservative journal as the Moose Jaw *News*. By the close of the year $800,000 had been subscribed and the applications had risen to $6,000,000.

Incidents of the Session included the declaration of F. C. Tate (Cons.) on Feb. 1 that rural qualification for office should include a working knowledge of the English language and the Hon. J. A. Calder's reply that in that case "a very large section of the foreign-speaking population of the Province would be disfranchised because in some places a large proportion of the adult population were not able to speak the English language"—though they were British subjects; the united effort made by Liberal members of the House following the Premier's motion *re* the Brown-Elwood Commission to obtain from Col. Bradshaw an apology for making charges which had been proven false and the declaration by Opposition speakers that charges which compelled the resignation of two members, the expulsion of another, the public reading of a fourth out of his Party by the Premier, and the gaoling of several officials, were more than justified; the claim of W. B. Willoughby that he had originally opposed the 1913 Rural Credits Act and urged the New Zealand system which Mr. Dunning and the Government now, in 1917, had adopted. The Public Accounts submitted to the House by Hon. C. A. Dunning, Provincial Treasurer, on Feb. 9, showed a total Revenue of $5,631,910 in 1917 and (Apr. 30) an Expenditure of $5,529,610 or a surplus of $102,300 with $379,011 brought over from 1915-16. The chief Receipts for Apr. 30, 1917, were the Dominion Subsidies of $1,983,721; Succession duties of $69,996; and Land Titles' fees $415,314; Law stamps, $203,450 and Sheriff's fees $303,900; Motor license fees of $251,502 and Corporation tax $188,752 with Railway taxation of $115,461; Liquor Stores System $415,000. The proceeds of Loans were $3,285,313. As to Expenditures the chief items were Public Debt interest, etc., $1,156,927; Public Works $540,775, Public improvements $254,877, and Public Works' Advance, $262,451; Education $978,359 and Agriculture $220,202; Public Health $205,496. The Telephone Department had Assets of $6,856,615 and Liabilities of $371,983; the Income, 1916-17, was $908,697, the Expenditures the same, and the cash receipts $1,663,186. The Assets of the Province (Apr. 30, 1917) were $46,812,955, including $8,107,500 as Dominion Debt Allowance, $10,526,616 as Dominion School Lands Trust Account; Public buildings and lands, Improvements and Telephone System $22,277,-

211; Co-Operative Elevator mortgages $1,718,079. In addition to these sums there was an estimated 7,270,416 acres of unsold school lands held in trust by the Dominion and said to be worth $40,000,000. The Liabilities were Debentures totalling $25,439,185 bearing interest ranging from 4, 4½ to 5 per cent. with a few miscellaneous sums. The Legislature was prorogued on Mar. 10. Mr. Dunning's Budget speech was delivered in the new Legislature on Dec. 13. He stated that expenditures and demands were increasing and sources of revenue decreasing and quoted the arrears of the School Lands trust fund as $3,800,000 in principal and interest; pointed to the $22,000,000 lent the Dominion Government in Victory Bonds by farmers who 4 years before owed mortgage Companies $65,000,000; reported the Cash deficit for Apr. 30, 1917, as $199,698.

Incidents of the year included the 1st annual meeting of the Saskatchewan Hail Insurance Association at Regina (May 30) with D. J. Sykes, Swift Current as Chairman, the receipt of the 4th Report of the Hail Commission—J. E. Paynter (Chairman), E. G. Hingley and A. E. Wilson—showing for the year of Feb. 28, 1917, a revenue of $1,524,138 with $544,825 brought forward as balance and expenditures of $1,524,138 less $2,498 surplus carried forward; heavy losses from Hail storms late in 1916 as totalling $3,650,743 for the year, of which 40% or $1,460,296 had been paid out of the above total of expenditures; a discussion arising out of Mr. Paynter's appointment of his son to a remunerative position through dismissal of another official and the election of a Board of Directors for the Association, made up of E. G. Hingley, Regina; A. E. Wilson, Indian Head; D. J. Sykes, Swift Current; C. M. Hamilton, McTaggart; Murdo Cameron, Saskatoon; J. W. Cairns, Carnduff; C. E. Long, Battleford; J. J. Lamb, Ogema; J. R. Near, Flaxcombe—with the omission of Mr. Paynter from the Board and election of Mr. Wilson as President and Mr. Hingley as General Manager. The Commission, it may be added, was a Government body based, under recent legislation, upon the Association and the new Board superseded that of three over which Mr. Paynter had presided. Other incidents included a request of the Regina Board of Trade to Hon. J. A. Calder, by a deputation on Mar. 13, for a Freight Expert to look after and explain freight classification and the Minister's reply that one such official for the three Western Provinces should be sufficient; a statement by Dr. M. M. Seymour, Commissioner of Public Health, that typhoid fever cases had been reduced in the Province from 1,100 in 1913 to 225 in 1916 and the general claim that the Health laws of this Province were the best in Canada; the fact that there were in 1917 over 18,000 motor cars in the Province, the demand for improved roads and the Government's legislation giving 80% of motor license fees for that purpose; the winning by Seager Wheeler of Rosthern at the International Dry Farming Congress, Peoria, Ill. (Sept. 25) of six first prizes which placed Saskatchewan near the top of States and Provinces and Mr. Wheeler again in a proud position; the publication of 1916 Census returns showing a population of 647,835 for the Province—363,787 males and 284,048 females—or a total of 31·55% increase

over 1911. The elections to the Presidency, etc., of the chief Provincial organizations in 1917 were as follows:

Saskatchewan Association of Architects	R. G. Bunyard	Moose Jaw.
Provincial Grand Lodge, I.O.O.F.	F. J. Walsh	Moose Jaw.
British Citizenship League	F. S. J. Ivay	Moose Jaw.
Grand Encampment, I.O.O.F.	Dr. E. D. Washington	Wolseley.
Provincial Equal Franchise Board	Mrs. F. A. Lawton	Yorkton.
Saskatchewan Credit Men's Trust Association	J. L. Hilton	Moose Jaw.
Provincial Motor League	Sheriff Calder	Saskatoon.
Provincial Nurses' Association	Miss Jean Brown	Regina.
I.O.D.E. of Saskatchewan	Mrs. W. Melville Martin	Regina.
Saskatchewan Horse Breeders' Association	Alex. Mutch	Lumsden.
Saskatchewan Cattle Breeders' Association	W. C. Sutherland	Saskatoon.
Saskatchewan Sheep Breeders' Association	H. Follett	Duval.
Saskatchewan Swine Breeders' Association	A. B. Potter	Langbank.
Saskatchewan Poultry Association	W. W. Ashley	Saskatoon.
Regina Patriotic Fund Association	R. M. Gemmel	Regina.

Americans continued to come into Saskatchewan during the year and 1,527 settlers in June brought with them effects and wealth estimated at $539,679; official statements were issued to the effect that 28,660 auto plates had been issued in 6 months up to July 31 compared with 15,975 in Manitoba and about 18,000 in Alberta; the Convention of the Motor leagues of the four Western Provinces met at Regina on Dec. 11-12 and dealt with the need for better roads, details of the projected highway from Vancouver to Winnipeg and heard what had been done along that line in the various Provinces, and what should be done, from Hon. S. J. Latta and others —the Saskatchewan League having 4,000 members and aiming at 40,000; the sudden death at Prince Albert on Dec. 25 of Lieut.-Col. J. E. Bradshaw, ex-M.L.A., was widely deplored; an address by Joseph Megas, Chairman of a Ruthenian Convention at Saskatoon, on Dec. 28, representing, it was said, 400,000 settlers in Western Canada, attracted much attention from his appeal to aid the Ruthenian-English higher education of an Institute in Saskatoon having 71 students and needing $100,000 for development—his report of their desire to act "as Canadians always true to our new land of adoption and loyal to the British Empire" and to support a Ukrainian republic as a federated part of a future Russia. Much attention was given to the Harrison Gas Producer—converting straw into gas —for which Prof. R. D. McLaurin of Saskatchewan University resigned his position in order to manage it as a commercial proposition which involved the handling of 20,000,000 tons of straw in the Province every year as the equivalent of 140,000 million cubic feet of gas worth $220,000,000 a year as power or $245,000,000 as gasoline. In October Saskatchewan's Tuberculosis Sanatorium was opened at Fort Qu'Appelle with a building costing $300,000 and intended to accommodate 200 patients—a result of the Provincial League of which Sheriff A. B. Cook was President in 1913-17.

The chief appointments of the year, not elsewhere mentioned, included Arthur Wilson, Regina, as Director of Public Accommodation; W. O. Lott, Regina, as Deputy Provincial Auditor; Mary C. Hiltz, Regina, as Director of Household Science; Wm. W. Amos, M.D., Regina, as Deputy Provincial Secretary; P. J. Collison and T. C. Goldsmith of Regina, and C. O'Sullivan of Prince Albert as Inspectors of the new Provincial Police; Dr. W. A. Thomson, Regina,

Dr. D. W. Graham, Swift Current, Dr. H. A. Stewart, Saskatoon, and R. G. Chasmar, v.s., Hanley, to the Council of Public Health; F. M. Logan as Provincial Dairy Commissioner in succession to W. A. Wilson who retired to become General Manager of the Co-Operative Creameries Ltd. It may be added that on Feb. 7 the Saskatchewan Live-stock Board was constituted, with Robt. Sinton, Regina, as Hon. President; W. C. Sutherland, Saskatoon, as President, and Alex. Mutch, Lumsden, as Vice-President; P. F. Bredt, Regina, as Sec.-Treas. and the following other members of the Board: R. W. Caswell, W. W. Ashley, Dean Rutherford, and Prof. A. M. Shaw, Saskatoon; M. W. Sharon and F. A. Auld, Regina; B. H. Thomson, Boharm; R. Follett, Duval; E. E. Paynton, Big-stick Lake; A. B. Potter, Langbank; C. V. Tomecko, Lipton; E. S. Clinch, M.L.A., Shellbach. In connection with the re-organization of the Highways' administration under the recent Act Hon. J. A. Calder, on Apr. 2, became Minister of Highways and Hon. G. A. Bell, for the time being, Acting Minister; H. S. Carpenter of Regina was appointed Deputy Minister and G. A. Palmer Acting Deputy Minister. On Apr. 5 Messrs. Calder and Bell were appointed members of the Treasury Board. On Jan. 1, 1917, the announcement of appointments as K.C. had been given out as follows:

R. R. Earle	Regina.	G. F. Blair	Regina.
W. W. Livingstone	Battleford.	T. D. Brown	Regina.
F. W. Halliday	Prince Albert.	D. J. Thom	Regina.
G. D. McPhee	Yorkton.	H. E. Sampson	Regina.
H. N. Morphy	Weyburn.	J. A. Cross	Regina.
E. J. Campbell	Estevan.	A. R. Tingley	Regina.
W. E. Knowles, M.P.	Moose Jaw.	A. L. Gordon	Regina.
A. W. Routledge	Davidson.	G. H. Barr	Regina.
Avery Casey	Regina.		

In the administration of Departments that of Agriculture, under Hon. W. R. Motherwell, was of most import to the greatest number of people. Late in 1916 and early in the next year the Minister joined with other Western Ministers, the Western Bankers' Association and the Federal Government in trying to check the wholesale export of young, immature cattle or stockers to the United States—totalling at the Winnipeg yards for three months at the close of 1915 and 1916 respectively 26,132 and 12,945 head. Not only was this process checked but the cattle were brought back from Winnipeg at the rate of 3,524 and 15,216 respectively. The Co-Operative work of the Province came under this Department with W. W. Thomson in charge and at the beginning of 1917, 309 reporting Societies had 9,444 shareholders, $92,940 of paid-up capital, $295,012 of Assets, $232,938 of Liabilities, handled $1,984,545 of supplies with a turn-over of $2,122,832 and a net profit of $54,076. On Gopher Day, when school children competed in the destruction of these farm pests, 980 schools destroyed 514,140 gophers or 524 per school—the saving of grain being estimated at $385,000. During this summer the Department arranged for Better Farming trains running over the G.T.P. and the C.P.R., with a total attendance of 19,329 people and much useful instruction given. Mr. Motherwell helped in the Food Control organization, rejoiced as a Free-trader over the Tariff adjustments in wheat, etc., opposed, personally,

the Union Government movement, and supported Sir W. Laurier. He took an active part in promoting Hog production and on Nov. 27 stated that his Department was supplying stock to the farmers, sending speakers and lecturers throughout the Province and distributing bulletins and literature; substantial aid, also, was rendered the farmer in the supply of seed grain. The Department furnished quantities of North Dakota rye to the farmers as being specially valuable feed for dairymen and creameries in dry seasons and aided the Farmers' excursions to the College of Agriculture at Saskatoon which, on July 9-14, included 2,200 persons. The Big Game season of 1917 showed 2,261 resident licenses issued and 1,806 moose, elk, deer and caribou killed.

As to this Department it may further be noted that the land area of Saskatchewan at this time was 152,340,000 acres; that the area under homesteads, pre-emption, scrip and special grants was 26,910,000 acres; that under Railway grants were 15,177,063 acres and Hudson Bay Co. 3,941,800; that under irrigation leases, timber and grazing leases were 3,804,200 acres while Forest reserves and parks took 6,195,700 acres with sundry other areas specified and 4,900,000 acres ready for entry. The immigrant arrivals, 1906-16, totalled 325,230 and the storage capacity of Grain Elevators in 1916 was 52,943,000 bushels—710 stations, 1 warehouse and 1,782 Elevators with two Interior Elevators at Moose Jaw and Saskatoon, and a movement in 1917 for one at Regina. The Department believed in advertising and its tribute in the press to the work of the College of Agriculture at Saskatoon was deserved. W. J. Rutherford, Dean of the College, drew attention, also, to the fact that its 5 months' Extension Course included English, arithmetic, field and animal husbandry, dairying, poultry, motors and implements, blacksmithing and carpentry, horticulture, veterinary and elementary science; the Department claimed that it was the first in Canada to pass legislation enabling farmers to buy meat-producing live-stock on credit terms so that any Saskatchewan farmer in good standing, or a member of any recognized agricultural association could buy live-stock from the Government of Saskatchewan to the extent of $1,000—25% of the price to be paid in cash and settlement for the balance by lien note with interest at 6% per annum; there were 18 co-operative creameries controlled by the Dairy Branch and the Live-stock, Co-Operative, Game, Weeds and Statistics Branches did varied and continuous service—as did the Bureau of Labour; there was a co-operative marketing system for live-stock, milk and cream, wool and poultry. The estimated (Provincial) value of field crops and wool, furs, poultry and animals exported in 1917—the revenue of the farmers—was $229,599,124. The total value of all products to the producer was as follows:*

Product, 1917	Yield per Acre	Price	Value to Producer
Wheat	41·2	$1.95	$229,966,900
Oats	27·2	.62	76,392,400
Barley	21·0	1.00	14,067,900
Flax	6·2	2.60	12,247,600
Rye	21·0	1.70	1,900,600
Mixed Grains	32·0	1.25	1,580,000
Potatoes	133·0	.85	7,659,000

*Provincial official statistics.

Product, 1917	Yield per Acre	Price	Value to Producer
Roots	155·5	$ 0.91	$1,572,000
Hay, Fodder.....tons	1·4	10.12	3,740,000
Butter, Milk, Cream, Ice Cream			8,600,000
Game—Furs			1,750,000
Garden Products			1,250,000
Poultry and Products			4,465,525
Sundries	20·8	25.40	969,800

Live-Stock	Numbers	Value to Producer
Horses, Mules	888,673	$142,187,680
Cows	354,403	35,440,300
Cattle	856,687	52,401,220
Sheep	127,892	1,918,380
Swine	573,938	11,478,760
Total value of Live-stock		$243,426,340
Total value of Products		$609,588,065

Speaking as to this, on Nov. 20, Hon. C. A. Dunning said: "This year the total production in the Province of Saskatchewan, with a population of 700,000 is $400,000,000, the production per capita possibly not being equalled anywhere else in the world." He estimated the clear profit to the people at one-eighth, $50,000,000; if the larger figures given above were worked out at his one-eighth figure the total—excluding Live-stock—would be $77,000,000. The Hon. George Langley, Minister of Municipal Affairs, reported for the fiscal year 1917 that municipal prosperity had increased, that there had been a general clearing of debts, an increasing number of substantial surpluses, an evident tendency toward economy and avoidance of borrowing. J. N. Bayne, Deputy Minister, stated that the Department had arranged with Prof. R. M. Haig of Columbia University, New York, to make a general survey of the incidence of taxation in urban municipalities and report thereon; reviewed the legislation of the past Session along municipal lines and compared the 3,921 school districts in the Province on Apr. 30, the 7 cities, 74 towns, 310 villages and 298 rural municipalities with the 896 school districts of 1905 and its 82 cities, towns and villages and 2 rural municipalities; described the latest statistics of the seven cities as showing a total population of 112,389, Assessment of $160,685,782, Taxes levied $4,773,988 and Debenture Debt $30,565,-894. As Minister of Telephones Hon. G. A. Bell submitted from D. C. McNab, his Deputy, a statement (Apr. 30, 1917) showing the construction of the year as 40 new toll offices, 55 new exchanges, 612 long-distance pole miles and 924 wire miles; the Government System totalled 18,669 stations, 4,274 long-distance pole miles and 18,833 similar wire miles; the rural independent systems showed 23,502 pole miles, 70,375 wire miles and 23,813 stations. On Sept. 27 the Minister received the Executive of the Association of Rural Municipalities and presented 40 Resolutions which nearly all called for changes in the laws. The Report for Apr. 30, 1917, of the Provincial Secretary—Hon. W. F. A. Turgeon, also Attorney-General—showed the issue of 238 certificates, the making of 3,243 Government appointments in the year and issue of 32,428 licenses. The appointments included 249 Notaries Public, 2,679 Commissioners for Oaths, 236 Justices of the Peace, etc.; the Licenses included the following: Marriage 4,707, auctioneers 487, peddlars 184,

motorcycles 270 and 148 renewed, chauffeurs 801 and 577 renewed, garage 443, livery 1,088, Motors 23,152, moving pictures 133. The revenue was $694,868.

The Hon. J. A. Calder as Minister of Railways had a record for his Department of 633 miles constructed in 1912—when he was appointed to this office—897 miles in 1913, 438 miles in 1914, 238 miles in 1915 but very little in 1916 and 1917. This construction had meant much to Provincial development, to farmers in the marketing of their crops, to the Province in promoting settlement and production; incidentally, it involved between 1912 and 1916 the building of hundreds of depôts, landing platforms, elevators, warehouses, freight sheds and stock-yards. As to Highways the Minister on Apr. 19 told the Regina *Leader* that in the four-year period, 1912-15, the expenditures from Revenue were: Roads, $996,337; Bridges, $607,370; other services $747,292, a total of $2,351,000, or an average per year out of revenue of $587,750; that from Capital in 1912-15 the expenditures were: Roads $4,409,629; Bridges $914,928 —a total of $5,224,553 or an average per year of $1,306,138. The total expenditure for 10 years in this connection was $5,528,289 from Income and $5,224,553 from Capital. Mr. Calder declared that in time the rural municipalities should take over the construction of all roads and bridges and meanwhile begin to do so gradually. Some classes of the work they could now do to the best advantage: "It has been stated that a political party in power, having to do with large expenditures in constituencies, is in a good political position. In my opinion that position does that party a great deal more harm than good." The work of the Local Government Board was largely along lines of Municipal financing and in 1914 the amount of Debentures authorized for cities, towns, villages, schools, telephones and municipal purposes was $7,329,793, in 1915 $2,808,513, in 1916 $3,244,844. In January S. P. Grosch, B.A., succeeded A. J. McPherson as Chairman of the Board, J. R. Bunn remained a member, and J. N. Bayne became an Acting Commissioner. Late in 1917 the Board issued a statement that: "Having in view the circumstances created by the War, and their influence on the security market, the Board has consistently directed its efforts toward reducing to a minimum the borrowings of local authorities. A larger amount of Telephone debentures has been authorized during this year than in any previous year, 391 companies having been given permission to make extensions or construct new lines at a total approximate cost of $3,000,000. This seems a large amount but it has been felt that the extension and improvement of Telephone accommodation in the rural districts would be of material assistance in the campaign for greater production."

Mr. Martin as Premier had followed Mr. Scott in assuming charge of Education and he, also, followed him in close attention to the development of the Provincial system. In January, 1917, there was a decided increase in attendance at the Normal Schools with 655 compared to 542 in 1916—1st Class 64, 2nd Class 240, 3rd Class 351. At the close of this year it was found that there were 3,670 school districts with schools in operation, about 4,000 teachers

fully qualified in charge of these schools but changing so frequently as to make exact numbers uncertain because of the permanent teachers being so often in charge for only a short interval. Up to December 745 of provisional permits had been issued in the year and 8 schools had been closed for want of teachers; Normal School Sessions had been held at 9 different centres of the Province and the school children had raised for Belgian Relief a total of $67,058 and for the Patriotic Fund $26,422. On Dec. 14 the Premier told the Legislature about the operation of the new Attendance Act: "Last year we had an examination made of 1,450 rural schools in the older settled parts of the Province and the school attendance amounted to 68%, an excellent average in those schools. In September of this year we had practically the same 1,450 schools checked up and we find instead of 68% one of 76%. We found from the School census returns that there was a total of 60,723 pupils residing in the rural and village school districts over 7 and under 14 years of age. The total number of these pupils reported to have been irregular in attendance or in non-attendance was 14,043. Courteous letters were sent from the Department to the parents of these 14,043 children and the teachers were asked to make a report. The result has been very gratifying. Out of that total only 5,510 parents had to be sent what is called the "five-day warning" or final notice that unless the law is observed action will be taken. On this final notice all reported to the schools except 935." Action was taken as to these latter with good effect and Mr. Martin noted that 22% of the irregular attendance was due to illness. The number who wrote on examinations in 1916 was 6,837 and in 1917 6,928. It may be added from other official sources that the total number of teachers in 1915 was 2,240 and, in 1916, 2,724 with 1,222 of the former and 911 of the latter trained in Saskatchewan. The Interim certificates in 1916 were 733, 3rd class 895, Permanent certificates 299, Sundries 13 and Provisional 783. It may be added that the Legislative Library at Regina was small (20,000) but valuable—John Hawkes, Librarian, drawing attention in 1917 to its possession of Sir John Macdonald's political scrap-books.

As to the War the excellent work of the Military Hospitals Commission, with Major James McAra as Quartermaster and Purchasing Agent at Regina, and Major E. J. Ashton, D.S.O., in command—with Hospitals at Moose Jaw and Regina and a Vocational Home at Saskatoon—was transferred in April, following legislation passed at Regina, to the Returned Soldiers' Employment Commission which met on Apr. 25 and elected Mr. Justice E. L. Elwood, Chairman. His Executive was composed of Dr. W. D. Cowan and J. W. Smith, Regina; R. H. Chadwick, A. B. E. Stevens and J. A. Maharg, Moose Jaw; Mayor A. M. Young, Dr. W. C. Murray and J. D. Wallace, Saskatoon; Hon. R. M. Mitchell, Weyburn; D. J. Wylie, Maple Creek; William Knox, Prince Albert; Malcolm Henderson, North Battleford; Levi Beck, Yorkton and John Law, Swift Current. This body took over 400 Welcome and Aid leagues throughout the Province; found 841 returned men to deal with, of whom 334 were pensioners, 424 under employment and none un-

employed, 155 in hospitals of whom 58 were tubercular, 101 taking vocational training, etc. The Regina Red Cross Society under Mrs. T. B. Patton, President, reported $17,132 raised in the 11 months ending Sept. 30 and the Provincial body, meeting on Nov. 9, with 140 members present, reported total receipts for the year of $435,129 and collections on "Our Day" as over $80,000 while France's Day brought $23,000. The President (His Honour the Lieut.-Governor) stated that "the Province last year contributed one-quarter of the entire cash contributions to the Canadian Red Cross Society and the largest per capita cash contribution of any Province in the Dominion." There were 1,700 members in Moose Jaw alone, 333 branches in the Province and 1,096 cases of supplies shipped. Mr. Lake was re-elected President and Mrs. W. A. Graham, File Hills, with H. L. Pope, Moose Jaw, Vice-Presidents, P. H. Gordon, Regina, Hon. Secretary. The Provincial Branch of the Canadian Patriotic League met on June 29 at Regina and the Report to May 31 showed 91 branches organized in the year with a total of 399, $720,000 received as a Government contribution and $235,290 in popular contributions. Out of $877,689 collected from the public since 1914 the large sum of $122,617 was given by the Civil Service. His Honour R. S. Lake was re-elected Hon. President, Major A. B. Perry, C.M.G., President and Dr. W. C. Murray, Vice-President, with T. M. Bee, Secretary, and Hon. G. A. Bell, Treasurer. Toward the close of the year preparations were made for a new call of $1,000,000. In 1917 this amount had been fully collected with disbursements of $80,000 a month; on Nov. 27 the Committee explained the distinction between its Fund and the Patriotic Revenues Act —the latter being designed for supplementing the general revenue of the Province, in order that the Government in its discretion might grant assistance to the cause of Great Britain and her Allies." It was, therefore, the duty of the people to continue their support to the Patriotic Fund.

The indirect War disaster at Halifax brought $25,000 from the Saskatchewan Government and Mr. Premier Martin, in the House on Dec. 11, stated that "the Government itself would act as a Central Committee with the Hon. C. A. Dunning as Trustee for all Provincial funds collected for this purpose." Meanwhile, on Aug. 21 a Provincial Food Control Committee was organized at Regina with representatives of all interests present and ex-Governor G. W. Brown as Chairman, F. Hedley Auld, Hon. Secretary. A Sub-Committee on Food supplies and Prices was appointed—G. W. Brown, J. B. Musselman and W. C. Paynter. On Sept. 5 the General Committee urged upon the Dominion Food Controller that (1) the price of flour at the mill be fixed in direct relationship to economical supply; (2) that the price of wheat be definitely fixed for the whole of the present year's crop; (3) that a standard weight for a loaf of bread be set for Canada and that the price of bread be regulated; (4) that no prohibition of the sale and use of canned fruits should apply to Saskatchewan and that the order prohibiting the sale of canned vegetables should be abrogated so far as this Province was concerned; (5) that full investigation be made into the

causes of the present undue inflation of food prices; (6) that the Committee greatly deplored the continued wasteful consumption of grain in the manufacture of alcoholic liquors. It was also stated publicly at this time that certain interests were refusing to sell to Co-operative organizations and thereby keeping up prices; on Oct. 11 the Food Council passed a Resolution urging that "regulations be issued imposing severe penalties upon any Canadian manufacturer or jobber who refuses to sell food products of any kind to any Canadian wholesale or retail Co-operative concern, respectively, on as favourable terms as they regularly sell such products." W. W. Thomson was appointed to gather further information. The Saskatchewan G.W.V.A. met in Regina on Nov. 2 and were addressed by the Premier. They promulgated a series of demands including (1) collection of Funds for soldiers' dependants by taxation rather than voluntary gifts; (2) the counting of time spent on active service as residence in home-steading; (3) amending the Moratorium Act to protect the goods and chattels as well as land of a volunteer or reservist; (4) a contribution by the Provincial Government of $10,000 to the purposes of the Association; (5) asking the Dominion and Provincial Governments to dismiss all employees of alien birth who were not naturalized; (6) urging support for the Union Government and, finally, this Resolution:

> That men in France and those whose disability is due to service, until their cases have finally been adjusted by the Board of Pension Commissioners, should remain on pay under the present arrangement. That the Government be requested to examine into the circumstances of such cases among the Forces and return to their former duties those men remaining in Canada or England who are unfitted for active service at the battlefront, unless employed at special work for which they are peculiarly fitted. Further, that those of this class who remain at present employed at other than combative services be sent to the Front. That representation be made to the authorities so that all officers who refuse to revert in order to go to the Front, be returned to Canada, so that they may be affected by the terms of the Military Service Act, 1917, in common with all of Canada's citizens.

Major James McAra, Regina, was elected President, Harris Turner, M.L.A., Saskatoon, and D. Hart, Swift Current, Vice-Presidents, and Grant McNeil, Moose Jaw, Secretary. The Victory Loan drive of December netted $21,752,250 for Saskatchewan, with $12,000,000 as the allotment. It was notable for a speech on Nov. 20 by Hon. C. A. Dunning in which he appealed to the farmers, in particular, to support the Loan to the limit. "The economic situation is now such that not one bushel of wheat can be purchased by Great Britain and her Allies, here, unless Canada extends the necessary credit. The War has been the economic salvation of Saskatchewan. At its outbreak men viewed the situation with alarm, but the Province and its people are more prosperous than ever before. The War has brought ruin and desolation to all the countries engaged in the War; it has brought money to you and me." The Saskatchewan Boy Scouts Association in 1917 showed 2,000 scouts and warrant officers with 96 troops and G. H. Barr, K.C., Regina, re-elected President. To the Belgian Relief Fund it was stated by the Premier on Dec. 10 that the Schools of Saskatchewan contributed $30,000 more than the children of any other Province; a Regina *Leader's*



Entrance Hall of the New Parliament Buildings, Ottawa.

Fund on May 1 had reached $24,267. As to the general war situation Mr. Premier Martin on Aug. 4 was explicit: "War is a new experience for Canada. Prior to August 1914 there was no military organization in Canada worthy of the name. But when the clarion call went forth for men to fight for freedom and justice, Canada was not found wanting. The Dominion responded to the call of the Empire and our men went forth from every section to do battle for right. The War to-day is a stupendous undertaking. . . . But with it all there is a silver lining. We know that the British Empire to-day is more of a unit than ever before. There is a greater unity within the Empire by reason of the War than we could have hoped for in 25 or 50 years of ordinary history and Canada has done her share nobly in this gigantic struggle." Notable casualties of the year were Lieut.-Col. T. E. Perrett (Principal of Regina Normal School) wounded; Lieut. W. M. Scanlon of the Regina *Leader*, killed, and Lieut. J. C. Smith (Provincial Live-stock Commissioner) also killed.

The Temperance issue had some ups and downs during the year. Its March legislation was along lines of closer restriction and a Saskatchewan Sunday School Convention at Regina on Mar. 22 expressed regret at the Dominion Government failing to realize the extent to which the people of the Dominion were prepared to go in the enactment and enforcement of Temperance legislation; urged a Dominion Prohibition measure and expressed appreciation of the final closing of Government liquor stores in Saskatchewan and the abolition of the export and commission houses. The vote under the Provincial Referendum of Dec. 11, 1916, as published in January, showed 95,249 votes in favour of doing away with the Government sale of liquor, 23,666 against abolition and 4,005 spoiled ballots. On July 14 Mr. Justice H. W. Newlands declared the Provincial Act prohibiting the export of liquor from the Province as *ultra vires*—the Hudson Bay Co. being charged with the shipment of liquor outside the Province. The wisdom of the Attorney-General in making this a special Act instead of involving the whole legislation in danger was thus confirmed. The Regina *Leader* urged the Dominion Government (July 16) to enact a law making it an offence to carry liquor into any Province which prohibited the sale of such liquor and not to await Provincial legislation making it a crime for a man to have or consume liquor in his own house—to which, it was claimed, the Temperance people were unanimously opposed. Legislation to meet the situation was passed at the December Session of the Legislature.

Saskatchewan General Elections: 1st Session of New Legislature.

The two Parties had, meanwhile, been preparing for the Elections which were imperative under the five-year term—unless legally extended, as was done for one year in Ontario and at Ottawa. The Martin Government was an extension of one which, for 11 years, under the Hon. Walter Scott, had administered affairs with a great material growth and much expansion in directions such as Education. During these years the Liberal Government

claimed to have: (1) Established the Provincial University and Agricultural College and a system of secondary schools; (2) launched the "Better Schools Movement" and arranged for a thorough Survey to be made of the whole educational system, created Juvenile Courts and granted the franchise to Women; (3) taken progressive and consistent action in dealing with the Liquor problem and enacted laws and regulations affecting the health and protection of workmen; (4) created the Saskatchewan Co-Operative Elevator Co. and inaugurated a Provincial-wide telephone system; (5) adopted and carried out a Railway policy that had resulted in a more rapid development in Saskatchewan than in any part other of Canada; (6) provided Government assistance for the construction of main highways leading to market towns and distributed the revenue from automobile licenses to rural municipalities to assist in the maintenance of main-roads; (7) inaugurated a system of co-operative Hail insurance, controlled by municipalities which voluntarily adopted the policy and enacted laws to regulate and control the sale of Farm machinery; (8) adopted various measures to protect the property and interests of all soldiers who had enlisted for Overseas and to provide for their dependants left behind; (9) made provision for a Provincial system of loaning money on long terms, and at cost, upon the security of farm mortgages; (10) established a Bureau of Public Health with activities which made Saskatchewan one of the healthiest Provinces in Canada—provided also for Municipal Union Hospitals. The scandals and troubles of 1916 and its Royal Commissions had largely passed away in political effect through the re-organization and the appointment of the Martin Government; while the skilled hand of Hon. J. A. Calder remained as a factor in moulding and managing public opinion. Women were at once given a vote by the new Martin Government and the Temperance legislation strengthened, while Free wheat, though a Dominion matter, was made a popular issue—and eventually granted. The returned soldiers were skilfully dealt with by protective legislation and given three members in the Elections under special Act. The handling of this question and that of Education had been done with a minimum of friction, so far as the large alien-enemy or foreign vote was concerned.

Arrangements were made for the holding of a Provincial Liberal Convention at Moose Jaw on Mar. 28-9—the first since the organization of the Provinces in 1905. About 800 Delegates were in attendance: C. M. Hamilton, Yellow Grass, was elected Chairman, Mrs. G. B. Cleveland, Saskatoon, Vice-Chairman; a Resolution Committee of 72 was carefully constituted, with one-half women, and G. A. Maybee of Moose Jaw as Chairman; S. J. Latta, M.L.A., was chosen Secretary of the Convention and Conservative press representatives were excluded. The earlier motions approved were personal—(1) declaring confidence in Sir W. Laurier as "the true exponent of the aims and principles of Liberalism"; (2) pledging support to the Martin Government and belief in its power to continue "the splendid record of past achievement"; (3) paying tribute, amidst hearty cheers, to Hon. Walter Scott and his eleven years of work for Saskatchewan and Western Canada. Varied tributes

and frequent cheers were accorded to Mr. Scott during the Convention with many wishes for his full recovery in health. A special Resolution of thanks for services to Provincial Liberalism was accorded to Mr. Calder and Hon. G. Langley paid tribute to his renunciation of the Premiership in 1916. Another Resolution expressed adherence to those Liberal principles which had been "the guiding light in Saskatchewan's political history" and it was decided to constitute a Provincial Liberal Committee in charge of political organization which, later on, was done with Hon. J. A. Calder as Chairman, J. F. Cairns, Saskatoon, as Vice-Chairman, and C. F. McLellan, Regina, as Secretary. Mr. Premier Martin in his speeches took high ground as to Educational and racial conditions: "Let me say right here that any man who at this critical time attempts to raise religious discord or racial questions in this country, is not a true friend of Saskatchewan, Canada, or the British Empire. . . . I have no sympathy with people who get up on public platforms and say we should disfranchise men—whom they call aliens—men who have been enfranchised in the years past." He added that it was "the duty of the state and the citizens of this Province to see that every child in this Province gets an efficient knowledge of the English language." If the present law was carried out: "It will in the end create a condition of affairs where everyone will properly understand the English language." In another speech he declared it "important that the Province should be assured of being a British Province in years to come." The tariff should, he added, be changed "for reciprocity, for free wheat, for free agricultural implements, for free entry to this country of everything which enters into the production of grain. Then, too, there should also be an increase in the British preference, with a view, ultimately, to free trade with Great Britain." The following Resolutions were reported to the Convention by its Committee and approved as the Party platform in the coming Elections:

1. EDUCATION: (*a*) The continued improvement of our educational system with the object of assuring to our children efficient elementary education, special care being taken that by strict administration of the school law and regulations every child obtains a thorough knowledge of the English language; (*b*) The creation of conditions that will have an ever increasing influence in improving the efficiency of all teachers and in making the teaching profession more permanent; (*c*) The adoption of such measures as are necessary to guarantee that a larger proportion of our rural children will be able to secure in suitable schools nearer their homes the advantages of a high school education which should be more closely related to our rural life.

2. SOLDIERS: The adoption of whatever measures necessary to enable our soldiers upon their return to Saskatchewan to once more take an independent place in our civil life; the resources of the Province and the activities of every branch of the Public Service should be utilized to bring about this end as rapidly as possible.

PUBLIC HEALTH: (*a*) An extension of the activities of the Public Health Bureau and the Municipal Department with a view to further relieving the conditions that prevail in our more distant and sparsely settled communities, respecting medical attendance, hospital accommodation and nurses; (*b*) The adoption of a plan whereby the health of all school children will be kept constantly under review by the teacher who shall be trained for this purpose, the plan to be such as to secure the sympathetic co-operation of all parents, physicians and teachers.

3. EMPLOYMENT FOR GIRLS AND WOMEN: The enactment of such laws and such amendments to existing laws as will provide adequately for (*a*) the health and

comfort of all girls and women employed in offices, stores, warehouses and factories; (*b*) regulating the hours of employment and for the fixing of a minimum wage for all such employees.

4. Mothers' Pensions: The inauguration of a system of pensions for mothers who for any cause are left without sufficient means to support and educate their children.

5. Vacant Lands: Owing to the continued failure of the Federal immigration policy to secure appreciable results in the settlement of our vacant lands, other than homesteads, we believe the time is ripe when the Province should inaugurate a Land Settlement scheme with the object of placing experienced farmers with families on vacant lands now owned by speculators. For this purpose the Government should obtain an inventory of all such lands, indicating their location, ownership, character, value and other necessary information; to provide for the settlement of these lands, the Province should from time to time purchase them as required for actual settlement purposes and, with the necessary safeguards, resell the lands as purchased to *bona fide* settlers on long time payments at a low rate of interest.

6. Farm Machinery: As the present high price of farm machinery is a large factor in the cost of production and as the price to the Saskatchewan farmer is higher than in many other countries for similar machinery, we believe that steps should be taken by the Provincial Government to inquire into this problem in order that knowledge may be obtained of the different factors which constitute the price, and the means, if any, whereby reduction may be effected; this inquiry should embrace a study of the cost of manufacture, the effect of the Tariff, the cost of transportation, distribution and collection and all other matters which enter into the question.

7. Branch Railways: The construction of branch railways through all settlements urgently in need of transportation facilities; while realizing that the war has undoubtedly delayed the building of branch lines, still the solution of this problem is so vital to thousands of our farming population that we believe if the railways required cannot be secured when peace is declared by the aid of bond and guarantees or other assistance, the Province itself should undertake the construction of these lines.

8. Roads: A continuation of the policy of Provincial assistance in the construction of main roads leading to market towns, the program of work to be submitted to the local Councils for approval and the work itself to be undertaken by municipalities in all cases where they have the necessary organization and equipment to do the work efficiently and economically.

9. Telephones: (*a*) The early extension of the Provincial Telephone system to all urban communities thereby encouraging the more rapid development of rural systems and at the same time increasing the usefulness of the entire Telephone system to all subscribers; (*b*) a further expression of the educational work recently inaugurated by the Telephone Department to assist local companies to maintain and operate their rural systems at the lowest cost and with the greatest degree of efficiency.

10. Live-stock and Dairy Industry: (*a*) We approve of the action of the Saskatchewan Government in appointing a Commission to inquire into the various problems relating to the marketing of live-stock and dairy products. Means should be provided, with financial assistance of the Government, if necessary, to secure greater returns for the purchaser, to improve shipping, marketing and storing facilities; (*b*) further development of the dairying industry by encouraging the establishment of additional creameries, particularly in outlying settlements that are suitable for the purpose of aiding a large number of farmers to increase their dairy herds and by assisting all creameries to operate their plants and market their product at the lowest possible cost.

11. Election Law: We believe that every effort should be made by legislation and by the enforcement of strict party discipline to stamp out everything of a corrupt nature in connection with the public life of this Province; with this end in view we believe that among other requirements provision should be made for the curtailing of expenses of elections and for requiring fullest possible publicity respecting the source and amount of all contributions for organization and election purposes. We believe further that our laws respecting protested elections should be so amended as to provide for speedy trials and that all such trials should be proceeded with regardless as to whether or not any candidate admits irregularities or offences.

Though not many women were present they took an active part in proceedings and Mrs. Cleveland, in particular, spoke upon the Federal franchise motion with much effect; they carried a special Resolution of unqualified appreciation to Hon. Mr. Scott and his colleagues for anti-liquor legislation and early support of the Provincial women's franchise. Resolutions were passed by the Convention asking for a Federal Prohibition law and another approving the Hudson Bay Railway and a Government line of steamers running from the Bay to Great Britain; a banquet on the 29th evoked rousing speeches form the Premier and Mr. Calder, Messrs. G. W. Brown, W. R. Motherwell, G. Langley and C. A. Dunning, J. G. Turriff, M.P., J. G. Gardiner, M.L.A.; a gift of a bouquet was made to Mrs. Martin with congratulation on her I.O.D.E. work. Meantime, a series of Resolutions affecting the relations of the Province and the Dominion were presented by Mr. Dunning as a Saskatchewan Bill of Rights and unanimously approved—except that Mr. Turriff thought War-time not the season to embarrass the Federal Government with complicated demands:

1. TARIFF AND MARKETS: Free access for the grain produce of Saskatchewan to the markets of the U.S.A., and all other countries willing to grant such free entry; the admission into Canada, free of all custom duty, of farm machinery and all things essential to the raising of grain and live-stock products; a general lowering of the customs duty on all necessities of life; the immediate reduction of the custom duties on all goods imported from Great Britain to one-half of the rates charged under the general tariff and a policy of gradual reduction, with a view to the elimination of all trade restrictions within the Empire, and new outlets for our farm produce.

2. NATURAL RESOURCES: The transfer to the Province of the public domain and natural resources within borders, with a view to the control and development of the same for the benefit of the Province and its people.

3. SCHOOL LANDS: Transfer to the Province of all school lands and of the School Endowment Fund, which up to the present, under Federal control, have produced scarcely more than one-half of the revenue for school purposes that could easily be obtained under Provincial management.

4. BANKING FACILITIES: Such changes in the banking system of Canada as will permit of the establishment of local agricultural banks in close touch with local conditions and the needs of the farming industry.

5. C.P.R. EXEMPTIONS: The removal of the exemption from taxation now enjoyed by the C.P.R.

6. CONTROL OF LIQUOR TRAFFIC: Such changes as may be necessary in the B.N.A. Act to place within the absolute control of the Province all matters pertaining to the manufacture and traffic in intoxicating liquors, including the importation of such liquors into the Province.

Following this event the Hon. W. M. Martin toured the Province for the Government during a period of nearly two months, while his Ministers were going through their constituencies and the Opposition was doing its part. The Educational and Language questions were conspicuous—the Conservatives charging the Government with catering to aliens and race interests in policy, legislation and speech. Mr. Martin and his supporters countered with denials and denunciation of the Opposition for arousing racial and religious strife in war-time. Speaking at Wolseley (May 17) Mr. Martin stated the Public Debt at $36.81 per head compared with $53.24 in Manitoba, $44.55 in Alberta and $45.73 in British Columbia;

moreover, $8,000,000 of it was invested in public buildings; $7,000,000 in public improvements, such as roads, and about $6,000,000 in the Telephone system with $1,900,000 invested in the Co-Operative Elevator system and a little over $600,000 in Patriotic aids. The Premier was nominated for Regina on May 28 and in his speech criticized General Embury for running in this city when he could have had one of the three seats allotted to the soldiers; deprecated the Opposition attitude of describing the Government as "a seething mass of corruption"; declared that he had recently addressed 50 meetings and did not believe that the people would accept such wild statements without proof. At Yorkton on the 30th Mr. Martin took up the charge of disfranchising the soldiers by giving them certain seats and quoted the London *Daily Mail* as approving the system; he was at Abernethy on June 1 and on the 2nd the Legislature was dissolved with nominations on June 19 and polling on the 26th. At the same time the Premier issued a Manifesto which reviewed the policy of the past 12 years, as already indicated, and described his future policy along the lines of the March Convention.

On the 4th the campaign was in full swing with Mr. Martin at Borden, Mr. Calder at Invermay, Mr. Turgeon at Imperial and Mr. Dunning at Avonlea. Mr. Calder declared that the Bradshaw charges, with all the noise and shouting of the past year, were engineered from Ottawa by Hon. R. Rogers. As to the soldiers' vote he claimed this: "There is not a soldier at home or abroad who will not have the right to vote. Of the 30 or 40 thousand soldiers who enlisted the majority were Liberals, just as the great majority of the people in the Province are Liberals. Mr. Willoughby talks about our being afraid of the soldier vote. Why should we be? What we are afraid of is the political officers and their manipulation of the vote. The Liberals of Saskatchewan are pictured as disloyal because they did not follow the example of British Columbia. But what about New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Manitoba, Quebec? General elections have been held in all these Provinces and not one of them made provision for taking the soldiers' vote overseas." He described this as a Farmers' Government and Liberalism as stronger than ever. Mr. Dunning dealt with the corruption charges: "There is one thing to be proud of and that is that there is not one blot against any member of either the Scott or the Martin Governments. After a more searching examination than has ever been conducted by any Province in Canada the members of the Government passed through the ordeal with not a stain on their character." Mr. Calder spoke at many places in the campaign—Saltcoats, Regina, and Yorkton latterly—and on June 12 told the Regina *Leader* that after spending two weeks in constant speaking he expected almost a clean sweep for Liberalism and declared that "though Premier of the Province for less than a year Hon. Mr. Martin in that short space of time has made a marked impression on the public mind." Meetings followed for Mr. Calder at Forrest, Hazelcliffe, Bangor and Melville and for the other Ministers at various points. In Regina on June 15 Mr. Martin addressed a big Liberal rally and was supported by Mrs. G. B. Cleveland who said

some clever things, such as that "the history of human freedom is the history of Liberal principles"; in his speech the Premier said that the Civil Service should be handled by an independent Commission and "Party patronage eliminated root and branch." As to the War:

> It has been said that I am opposed to Conscription. Let me say right here and now that I am in favour of Conscription. If I were in the Ottawa House to-day I would support a measure of Selective Conscription. I am also in favour of immediate steps being taken to force accumulated wealth to contribute effectively to the cost of the War and I believe that all our agricultural, industrial, transportation and natural resources should be organized forthwith so as to ensure the greatest possible assistance to the Empire in the War and to reduce the cost of living to the Canadian people.

Meantime, the Conservative press had been deserting the Opposition and, in fact, all but one paper went over to the Government. The most notable were the Regina *Post* and the Saskatoon *Star*, under the same control, and with identical articles upon important occasions. On June 16 these journals came out with special Editorials, in two pages of leaded type, stating that the Martin Government should be sustained—on the ground of experience, the calibre of the men composing it, the progressiveness of its policy and its devotion to the interests of the farmers: "The Government has done some things well, some things ill, but for the most part the things it has done well are the really essential things, the things upon which the real interests of the Province depend. It has studied closely and with remarkable success the problems confronting the farmers of the Province, and has, in most instances, improved their position considerably. Consider, for instance, the Elevator scheme, the Co-operative creameries, the Co-operative purchasing and selling organizations, the assistance rendered the Live-stock industries, the matter of long-term Rural Credits, Hail insurance, the suppression of Weeds, Gophers and other pests, provision of Farm labour, poultry marketing, wool-marketing, all the hundred and one activities of the Department of Agriculture." Mr. Willoughby, the Opposition leader, was said to have shown excellent judgment, a clear command of Provincial issues in past years, elements of progress in leadership—but he could afford to wait another five years! As to the Ministers the *Star* said: "Mr. Calder's capacity for governmental administration is the admiration of everyone in the Government or connected with it, and the admiration, too, of those of his political opponents who are in sufficiently close touch with the workings of the Government to appreciate it. . . . Mr. Motherwell has made an excellent Minister of Agriculture. His Department has been the most efficient of the Government service, and his own counsels in matters of importance have been, we believe, in the interests of the farmers. Another source of real strength to the Government is Hon. C. A. Dunning, a man who takes his responsibilities seriously, to whom public service is the chief aim. A business man and a farmer, he is thoroughly capable of handling the problems of government; Hon. George Langley is another source of strength insofar as his ideas are those of the great bulk of the population of

the Province. He is progressive, and entirely unhampered by tradition."

Of the language issue it was stated that the trouble lay in the earlier policy of the Government—not in its later or present attitude: "The Government did not insist upon rigid adherence to the School Act. It did not make sure that sufficient inspection was given the schools to insure no departure from the law. It consented to an interpretation of the School Act with regard to the teaching of languages, other than English, in the last hour of the school day, which encouraged the employment of teachers who would be able to teach the Foreign languages." As to the future "the common school and the common language are essential." The other chief point against the Government, it thought, was the maladministration of roads; the $6,000,000 voted were not enough, were not properly voted, were not, in certain cases, properly expended. The Bradshaw charges and investigations were justifiable but on the other hand "there is good ground for the Government's claim that it tracked down and punished everyone who was shown to be guilty of wrong-doing." As to Finances some extravagance had been shown but the Province's financial standing remained excellent. The editorial concluded with the hope that Mr. Willoughby, Donald Maclean in Saskatoon, James Balfour—a Liberal who had gone over—F. C. Tate, J. E. Bradshaw and 10 other Conservatives would be elected together with all the members of the Government and 9 other leading Liberals—notably Dr. R. M. Mitchell, S. J. Latta and G. A. Scott. As Election day drew on the Liberals had some strong advertisements in the press declaring, for instance, that the "Liberal Party is the People's Party, representing the producers and working classes, while the Conservative party is the Party of the Big Interests, representing the wealth of Canada"—that one stood for Free-trade and the other for Protection. The following double-leaded declaration appeared in *The Leader* of June 21: "Whatsoever things are false, whatsoever things are unjust, whatsoever things are dishonest, whatsoever things are hateful; whatsoever things are malicious; if there be any vice, if there be any infamy, all these things we now know are blended in the Conservative party." On the 25th it was alleged in this paper, under big headings, that "a vote for the Conservative candidate is a vote for the Ross rifle and for the Big Interests who were responsible for the using of the rifle when condemned at the Front by General Alderson and the boys of the 1st Contingent." Editorially on June 9 the *Leader*, as the chief Liberal organ, presented these four questions as the issue of the campaign:

1. The settlement of our vacant lands.
2. The carrying out of a policy whereby all farmers can secure the funds they require on satisfactory terms.
3. The relieving of our producers from unjust and burdensome tariff taxation and extortionate prices for all needed articles on the farm.
4. The removal of all restrictions now preventing free access by our farmers into the markets of the world, and particularly our nearest and natural market to the south.

The few Conservative members in the Legislature—Willoughby, Tate, Wylie, Bradshaw and Davidson, began the struggle in March, though there had been a Provincial Conservative Convention at Regina on Jan. 18. With local leaders throughout the Province the members held three meetings to draft a party platform and formulate a policy; candidates were nominated and legislation developed, or opposed, so as to bring out the Party ideas. Brig.-Gen. J. F. L. Embury, K.C. (Conservative candidate in 1912), was nominated in Regina on May 8 and a Resolution unanimously passed by the Convention on the language issue. It declared that: (1) No person should teach, or be taught, any language except English in any public, separate or private primary school in Saskatchewan up to the 6th grade; (2) no person should be permitted to teach in any public, separate or private school in Saskatchewan who cannot speak the English language fluently; (3) all text books should be in the English language and no unauthorized text books should be permitted to be used; (4) no person should be permitted to teach who has not been duly qualified by a Normal School and holds a teacher's certificate." A little before this General Embury had written home as to the soldiers' vote a letter which was published on May 11 and declared that: "There should be no politics in the army, and this Act is calculated to introduce them in such a way as to affect all ranks. No responsible officer who had ever commanded a body of men would support such legislation." On May 25 Mr. Willoughby commenced a Provincial tour which included 15 centres and wound up at Regina on June 8. Meanwhile the Conservative platform, promulgated at a final Conference on Apr. 25, had been circulated everywhere as the Party pledges of performance if returned to power:

1. PUBLIC DOMAIN. The immediate renewal of the negotiations for the transfer to Saskatchewan of the Provincial lands and natural resources at present controlled by the Dominion Government on the basis of the terms put forward by Premier Haultain prior to 1905.

2. FARM LOANS. That the Farm Loans Commission be furnished as needed with the necessary funds to exercise the powers given to it, in addition to the making of loans by buying and selling land to settlers for agricultural purposes under the parent New Zealand system. More urgent than farm loans is the need of providing better facilities for granting short date loans and we pledge ourselves to find a solution of this problem.

3. LIQUOR TRAFFIC. The complete prohibition of the liquor traffic of the Province by making the consumption of intoxicating liquor as a beverage an offence against the law.

4. GOOD ROADS. The creation of a Good Roads Commission, whose members shall be answerable to the Legislature only—the Commission to have general jurisdiction over the building and maintenance of all roads and bridge construction, but the initiation of all roadwork to be undertaken by the municipalities affected who also will retain control of the expenditures.

5. SCHOOLS. That prompt changes be made in the law respecting schools and education and in the regulations respecting text books and the qualifications of teachers as will provide in every school in Saskatchewan whether public or separate, private or parochial, adequate and efficient instruction in reading, writing and speaking the English language.

6. EDUCATION. While unwilling to make Education a purely party matter, we deplore the inefficiency of the present school system and hold the Government respon-

sible therefor. We suggest immediate amendment in legislation and administration along the following, among other lines, having in view more particularly our rural schools; pensions for teachers; minimum salaries for teachers graded according to qualifications and experience; the erection of school residences for teachers; simplification of the curriculum, laying more stress on the essentials; the compulsory teaching of civics and practical patriotism and of the elementary rules of sanitation, hygiene and personal cleanliness; extending to rural schools facilities for secondary education, and to the urban schools facilities for technical training; public boarding schools and the making of the school a community centre; a large increase in the number of inspectors; the consolidation of school districts and abolishing the office of school district inspector.

7. Hail Insurance. The institution of a Hail Insurance system which shall be voluntary for all residents and positive, the deficit in any abnormal year being borrowed from the general revenues of the Province.

8. Women. The enactment of legislation for the bettering of the social and economic conditions of women and for the elimination of those legislative handicaps under which they are placed by reason of their sex; the principle of equal pay for equal work between men and women; a minimum wage for all women wage-earners, regardless of occupation; pensions for all mothers who through need or other disability are unable to bring up their families; the establishment of a detention home for girls and the passing of more humane laws dealing with the arrest and detention of women prisoners, financial assistance to qualified maternity and general nurses working in the sparsely settled districts of the Province; the enforcement of rules respecting the hygienic condition under which women work.

9. Live-stock. The active encouragement of co-operatively-owned mills, abattoirs, packing plants and cold storage warehouses by loans and such other steps as may seem advisable.

10. Returned Soldiers. The granting of supplementary pensions to the dependant mothers and widows of members of the C.E.F., who have given their lives for their country and who resided in this Province before enlistment, payments to be continued while such beneficiaries retain their domicile in Saskatchewan.

11. Industrial Research. The appropriation of a sufficient sum to create and maintain a branch of Industrial Research in connection with the University of Saskatchewan.

12. Civil Service. With the idea of establishing an efficient and permanent Civil Service, all appointments thereto to be based on a system of competitive examinations under the administration of a Civil Service Commission, preference being given to returned soldiers, all Government supplies and contracts to be let by tender and the appointment of a purchasing agent to be immediately made with control of the buying of supplies.

13. Telephones. That the entire public Telephone service of the Province be placed under Government management and control and that all the telephone systems not now owned by the Government be acquired on an equitable basis.

14. Referendum. Such measure of direct legislation as can be constitutionally enacted and carried out.

15. R.N.W.M.P. The return of the R.N.W.M.P. to the performance of the work in which they were long engaged, when the special task in which they are now employed shall have terminated after the War.

16. Gaol Farms. The extension of the gaol farm system and the establishment of a Prisons Board to have authority over all gaols and lock-ups in the Province and power to extend the parole system.

17. Grand Juries. The establishment of a Grand Jury system with wide powers of investigation into all matters of civil administration and in the enforcement of law and order.

18. Railways. All future railway legislation to be drawn with a view to the nationalization of the railway systems of Canada.

19. Election Reform. The compulsory publication of the names of all those contributing to party campaign funds and the amounts of their contributions. The simplification of the law respecting disputed elections.

The Government was condemned for its Soldiers' Vote policy though no alternative was suggested, for building alleged political railways, for extravagance in a Public Debt increase of $18,000,000 in five years, for political jobbery, graft and corruption, for political appointments throughout the Province. It was claimed by Liberals that no woman had a hand in drafting the above policy while several score had helped in that of the Government. D. J. Wylie spoke in Regina on June 4 with much violence of language and the interesting final statement that the Regina *Leader* had received $1,400,000 from the Government since 1905—presumably for public printing. Mr. Willoughby in his Regina speech of June 11 had the aid of D. D. Ellis, G.M. of the Provincial Orange Order, and of Mrs. Newcombe of Saskatoon; Donald Maclean of Saskatoon proved a useful aid in the campaign, while the *Daily News* of Moose Jaw tried to make up for the six daily papers which had passed over to the Government. Much was made by the Conservatives of the non-report of the Haultain Commission and the Opposition evidence put before it was proclaimed as so unanswerable that the Government could make no defence and as the Commission had not been called together to hear the Government side, there was no easy reply. The language issue was a vital one—both in its appeal to the Foreign vote against the Conservatives and to the so-called British vote against the Liberals. While the Liberal Convention was being held at Moose Jaw (Mar. 28) a National British Citizenship League had been formed with this platform:

(1) Firm and steadfast allegiance to the King, flag, constitution and laws of the British Empire and of Canada as an integral part thereof.
(2) The protection of British rights against the encroachments upon the same by aggressive aliens.
(3) To insist upon compulsory education in the English language as the only authorized language in all primary schools.
(4) To make the franchise more stringent and difficult to obtain, the qualifications to be established by examination before a Judge in open Court.

The promoters of this movement were behind the Opposition; so were many who resented the pointed appeal issued by German-Canadians in 1916 for union in politics and education. Under such conditions it was natural for the support of the Germans and Austrians, who were being attacked, and of French-Canadians, led by Hon. W. F. A. Turgeon and devoted to Sir W. Laurier, to be expected by the Government. With the 30,000 soldiers in Europe removed as the considerable factor, which they would have been had their votes been scattered over constituencies where only 100,000 votes were polled at the last Election, the Opposition did not have much chance. At the same time the Liberals claimed that instead of being entitled, as claimed, to 20 representatives the soldiers being only 30,000 in a population of 600,000, were entitled to three members, which they were given. A Conservative soldier's view was presented in an unsigned circular which stated that the Government plan meant that the votes of 30,000 soldiers would be withdrawn from their regular constituencies and thereby leave the selection of members of the Legislature to those who had not

volunteered for active service and to men of alien or enemy birth and sympathies: "For, by withholding from the soldiers the right to vote in their home constituencies, the Government hands over the absolute control of the destinies of this Province to men of alien or enemy birth and sympathies. There were, altogether, 59 seats in the House for approximately 600,000 inhabitants which gave an average of something over 10,000 inhabitants for each seat and in these there were about 2,400 voters each. On this basis there should be at least 11 representatives for the 30,000 soldiers." To the Government argument that soldiers should be represented by soldiers he declared that the men who volunteered for service were citizens—though better than the average and if they had not been "hived" would have neutralized the Alien vote. The chief reply to this was (1) that most of the men Overseas were Liberals any way and would have voted so if in the country. As to Education Donald Maclean claimed on June 20 that "Austrian text books printed in Vienna were unquestionably in use in the Ruthenian schools of the Province"; Conservative speakers and advertisements declared that School attendance was the worst in any Canadian Province and 58·7% compared with 81·46% in British Columbia. The taking of the Overseas vote was a complicated matter. Both parties at home had agreed upon a pamphlet of instructions and John A. Reid, Agent-General for Alberta in London, and a highly-respected Western man, was appointed Returning Officer; instructions were published in *The Times* and *Canada* and each soldier had to swear that he was on active service in Britain, France or Belgium and that "for three months immediately prior to the date when he joined or became attached to the Forces he resided in Saskatchewan." Nominations closed on Sept. 4 with 9 received for the soldiers in France and Belgium and 5 for those in Britain—amongst the former being Harris Turner of Saskatoon, a discharged soldier of the Princess Pats, who was totally blind from shell-shock. No politics were specified, the polling was to take place on Oct. 3-13 and the votes be counted on Oct. 22 at the Returning Officer's London office. The candidates were as follows and, as a matter of convenience, the vote eventually received is attached in the List—the total vote being small and the successful candidates Lieut.-Col. J. A. Cross, D.S.O., of Regina, Pte. Harris Turner of Saskatoon, and Capt. F. B. Bagshaw, Regina:

1. FRANCE AND BELGIUM

Name	Service	Occupation (At home)	Home Address	Votes
Capt. Fred. B. Bagshaw	5th Battalion	Barrister	Regina	1,791
Pte. K. B. Crawford, B.A. LL.B.	11th F.A.	Student	Saskatoon	798
Spr. John A. Gibson	7th Battalion	Journalist	Regina	379
Lieut. Alfred W. Haigh	Engineers	Engineer	Moose Jaw	216
Sgt. Wm. E. Reade	46th Battalion	Clerk	Moose Jaw	577
Lieut.-Col. Alex. Ross, D.S.O.	28th Battalion	Barrister	Regina	978
Major Robt. H. Smith	C.A.M.C.	Physician	Moose Jaw	365
Pte. Harris Turner	P.P.C.L.I.	Editor	Saskatoon	2,938
Sgt.-Major Wm. H. Wilson	Employment Co.		Prince Albert	233

II. GREAT BRITAIN

Sgt. Sam. Barraclough	Ordnance Corps	Accountant	Saskatoon	273
Lieut.-Col. J. A. Cross, D.S.O.	15th Reserve Batt.	Barrister	Regina	2,698
Sgt. Arthur W. Eaton	128th Battalion	Farmer	Moose Jaw	504
Capt. D. C. Lochead, ex-M.L.A.	C.A.M.C.	Physician	Gull Lake	214
Capt. Alfred J. Manville	15th Reserve Batt.	Farmer	Prince Albert	691

Meanwhile, the issue had been long-settled in Saskatchewan itself and this explained, no doubt, the smallness of the soldier vote. The parties at home were trying to hold, in one case, or not to antagonize too strongly, in the other, a large foreign vote; the Farmers, closely organized as Grain Growers' Associations, etc., were sure of their strength and pretty generally were for the Government which had given them much good legislation; the Non-Partisan League appealed, however, as an American and independent organization to American farmers, of whom there were many, and was not very friendly with the Grain Growers; there was no Reciprocity issue as in 1912 and the Conservatives, therefore, had a better chance with the farmers; the Soldiers' vote at home and abroad was expected to go largely Conservative on the Education and Alien issues and the alleged injury of not allowing those at the Front to vote at the same time and for candidates in their home constituencies; the Woman vote was an unknown element which refused to take sides and every effort was made by both parties to win it—with the advantage to the Government which had given women the vote. On June 19 122 candidates were nominated in Saskatchewan; the Liberals had 55 of whom Lieut. MacBeth Malcolm, a returned soldier, was elected by acclamation for Hanley; the Conservatives had 53, and the Non-Partisan League 8, of whom one was a woman and another D. J. Sykes* who was returned by acclamation in Swift Current—Mr. Scott's old seat; and 6 Independents including Labour. The Liberals had 35 farmers running and the Opposition 32 while all the Non-Partisans, except Mrs. S. V. Haight who was a farmer's wife, with 4 of the Independents, were farmers—79 out of 122. On June 26 the result was as follows:

Constituency	Liberal Candidate	Conservative Candidate	Member Elected	Politics	Majority
Arm River	G. A. Scott	J. H. Middaugh	G. A. Scott	Lib.	421
Biggar	G. H. Harris	W. C. Dunbar	G. H. Harris	"	487
Battlefords	A. D. Pickel	A. E. Craig	A. D. Pickel	"	18
Bengough	T. E. Gamble	W. W. Davidson	T. E. Gamble	"	883
Cannington	J. D. Stewart	W. G. Connor	J. D. Stewart	"	747
Cut Knife	Wm. Dodds	S. F. Graham	Wm. Dodds	"	142
Canora	A. Hermanson	Jas. Fennel	A. Hermanson	"	1,757
Cypress	Isaac Stirling	J. B. Swanson	Isaac Stirling	"	259
Cumberland	D. A. Hall	Not available	D. A. Hall	"	—
Estevan	Hon. G. A. Bell	Jos. Hill	Hon. G. A. Bell	"	640
Elrose	Hon. A. P. McNab	F. H. Forgie	Hon. A. P. McNab	"	295
Francis	W. G. Robinson	F. W. James	W. G. Robinson	"	633
Hanley	MacBeth Malcolm		MacBeth Malcolm	"	Accl.
Humboldt	Hon. W. F. A. Turgeon	A. D. McIntosh	Hon. W. F. A. Turgeon	"	1,290
Happy Land	Stephen Morrey	W. Steer	Stephen Morrey	"	1,412
Ile a la Crosse	J. O. Nolin	Not available	J. O. Nolin	"	195
Jack Fish Lake	D. M. Finlayson	D. Anderson	D. M. Finlayson	"	129
Kindersley	Hon. W. R. Motherwell	E. G. Walker	Hon. W. R. Motherwell	"	257
Kinistino	J. R. Taylor	W. M. Sproule	J. R. Taylor	"	1,347
Kerrobert	J. Albert Dowd	A. E. Nosses	J. A. Dowd	"	145
Lumsden	W. J. Vancise	F. C. Tate	W. J. Vancise	"	184
Last Mount'n	S. J. Latta	J. J. Cameron	S. J. Latta	"	813
Lloydminster	R. J. Gordon	J. A. Hill	R. J. Gordon	"	412
Moose Jaw City	W. G. Ross	W. B. Willoughby	W. B. Willoughby	Cons.	293
Moose Jaw County	Hon. C. A. Dunning	J. E. Chisholm	Hon. C. A. Dunning	Lib.	1,501
Morse	Rev. M. L. Leitch	H. E. Houze	Rev. M. L. Leitch	"	128
Moosomin	J. C. Goodman	John Salkeld	John Salkeld	Cons.	219
Moose Mountain	R. A. Magee	W. Elliott	R. A. Magee	Lib.	109
Milestone	B. Larson	Jas. Balfour	B. Larson	"	213

* Mr. Sykes was nominated by three different Conventions—Non-Partisan, Conservative and Liberal.

Constituency	Liberal Candidate	Conservative Candidate	Member Elected	Politics	Majority
Melfort	G. B. Johnston	J. A. McDonald	G. B. Johnston	Lib.	653
Maple Creek	A. John Colquhoun	D. J. Wylie	A. J. Colquhoun	"	285
North Qu'Appelle	J. G. Gardiner	G. W. Balfour	J. G. Gardiner	"	581
Notukeu	Geo. Spence	A. Marcotte	Geo. Spence	"	315
Pipestone	R. J. Phin	R. L. Kidd	R. J. Phin	"	182
Prince Albert	Chas. McDonald	J. E. Bradshaw	Chas. McDonald	"	1,017
Pelly	M. O. Ramsland	R. J. M. Parker	M. O. Ramsland	"	1,015
Pheasant Hills	J. A. Smith	Dr. Arnold	J. A. Smith	"	1,318
Redberry	Hon. G. Langley	John McKeen	Hon. G. Langley	"	1,117
Regina City	Hon. W. M. Martin	J. F. L. Embury	Hon. W. M. Martin	"	856
Rosetown	J. A. Wilson	W. T. Badger	W. T. Badger	Cons.	71
Rosthern	W. B. Bashford	Geo. Braden	W. B. Bashford	Lib.	1,342
Saltcoats	Hon. J. A. Calder	H. Leppington	Hon. J. A. Calder	"	1,604
Saskatoon City	P. E. MacKenzie	Donald Maclean	Donald Maclean	Cons.	697
Saskatoon County	Murdo Cameron	R. A. Locke	Murdo Cameron	Lib.	584
Swift Current	D. J. Sykes		D. J. Sykes	N.P.	Accl.
Shellbrook	E. S. Clinch	B. Horner	E. S. Clinch	Lib.	1,262
Souris	R. Forsythe	W. O. Fraser	W. O. Fraser	Cons.	441
South Qu'Appelle		Jos. Glenn	Jos. Glenn	"	344
Tisdale	H. E. Jones	Robt. McLean	H. E. Jones	Lib.	80
Turtleford	A. B. Gemmel	Hugh Lockhardt	A. B. Gemmel	"	568
Touchwood	J. M. Parker	J. E. Jobson	J. M. Parker	"	1,326
Thunder Crk	A. Beaudreau	A. D. Gallagher	A. D. Gallagher	Cons.	206
Vonda	James Hogan	D. McKellar	James Hogan	Lib.	1,734
Wadena	J. A. McMillan	W. T. Potts	J. A. McMillan	"	810
Weyburn	Hon. R. M. Mitchell	O. S. Mitchell	Hon. R. M. Mitchell	"	799
Wilkie	Reuben Martin	Tim Curtin	Reuben Martin	"	778
Wynyard	W. H. Paulson	John Venn	W. H. Paulson	"	1,145
Willow Bunch	A. J. Hindle	James Lambe	A. J. Hindle	"	1,361
Yorkton	T. H. Garry	J. A. M. Patrick	T. H. Garry	"	1,601

Only the Liberal and Conservative candidates are given above as Mr. Sykes was the only Independent who seriously interfered with the Party vote.* The result was a Government sweep with 51 Liberals, 7 Conservatives and 1 Independent and, with the 3 soldier members the total was 62. The notable Opposition defeats were F. C. Tate, Lieut.-Col. J. E. Bradshaw and D. J. Wylie—veterans of many victories—and James Balfour, K.C., who ran in Milestone as an Independent; other well-known Conservatives defeated were W. W. Davidson, Dr. Wm. Elliott, General Embury who lost to the Premier in Regina by a large majority, J. A. M. Patrick, K.C. The election of Donald Maclean in Saskatoon was a satisfactory detail in a disastrous record where even Mr. Willoughby came near defeat with a divided vote against him, while 16 Conservative candidates lost their deposits. The Opposition claimed that 14 of these constituencies were controlled by the foreign vote and that the size of the Liberal majority could be gauged by the size of this vote. The Liberal plurality in the Province over Conservative and Independent votes combined was 23,180; the Conservatives claimed that had the soldier vote been distributed over the constituencies with a possible 30% of it given to the Liberals the Government plurality would have been 10,000 or about the voting strength of the foreign-born women who exercised the vote for the first tine and were said to have gone Liberal. On the other hand the Liberals were able to say that the Liberal vote, which in 1905 was 17,785, increased to 105,571 in 1917; while the Conservative vote, which in 1905 was 16,274, only reached 69,720 in 1917. On June 27 Mr. Premier Martin

* The names of these candidates were R. Mitchell, E. R. Powell, N. McVean, J. J. Cameron, W. G. Baker, E. W. Granger, J. F. Wilke, W. S. Simpson, John McLeod, T. A. Campbell, Mrs. S. E. Haight, A. M. Eddy, D. Railton, J. Burns, D. J. Haight.

issued a Message of appreciation and thanks and an appeal for continued effort:

> The fires of bitterness and animosity which have been stoked up during the campaign will soon die out. They will be forgotten. The average citizen, however, does not, and cannot, forget the record of the Government's progressive and beneficial legislation, and it says much for the commonsense and unerring instinct of our people that, in spite of all the frenzied appeals made to them, their acceptance of our record of the past, and of our aims for the future, has been hearty and complete. We must, therefore, persist in the programme which we have laid down to obtain all those great measures of reform upon which the aspirations and hopes of the Liberal party are fixed. . . . I have only one thing to say upon the result of the election which is controversial, and it is this: In the days to come we must not relax the fight for Saskatchewan's Bill of Rights as formulated by the Liberal party, to assist in large measure our producers and consumers. The people by their verdict have again signified in a very definite manner that relief is necessary from Conservative policies of high tariffs, restricted markets, etc. The fight must be one to a finish.

Dr. Wm. Elliott (Cons.) of Wolseley issued an address to the Wolseley electors, stating that three English polls, named, had given him 71% of votes polled and 3 foreign polls 88% to his opponent. He claimed the result as due to "unscrupulous politicians who misled them into the belief that a vote for me was a vote for the conscription of their sons to fight against their Fatherland and that a vote for me would mean that their lands in this country would be taken and given to returned soldiers." The Liberal press responded to such statements with the declaration—when the figures became available in October—that not only was the Martin Government sustained at the polls by the largest vote ever recorded in the Province, but by one of the largest popular majorities ever accorded a Government in this Dominion—the Liberals polling 17,988 more votes in 1917 than were cast for all parties and candidates put together in 1912; and that all eight Ministers were re-elected with aggregate majorities totalling 7,550, or an average majority of 945, whereas the Conservative leader only secured 293 majority in a three-cornered fight. It was pointed out that in Moose Jaw, Estevan, Kindersley, Elrose and Regina the "foreign" vote could have been eliminated and a large Liberal majority left. Following the Elections varied minor events occurred which have been elsewhere specified but one not recorded was the statement of Hon. W. M. Martin before the Regina Canadian Club on Oct. 2 that the values of the wheat, oats, barley and flax crop of 1911, 1913, 1915 and 1917 were as follows: $107,776,522; $116,438,909; $236,611,049; $361,008,840. On Oct. 22 it was announced that W. B. Willoughby, K.C., Conservative Leader in the Legislature since 1912 had resigned and been appointed to the Senate of Canada. Two days before there had been a Cabinet re-organization owing to Mr. Calder's retirement to join the Union Government at Ottawa and Hon. W. M. Martin became President of the Council and member of the Treasury Board, as well as Minister of Education; Hon. C. A. Dunning, Minister of Railways as well as Treasurer, and Samuel John Latta, member since 1912, Minister of Highways. A Saskatchewan Labour Party was organized at Regina on Nov. 9 with James Sommerville, Moose Jaw, as President and Resolutions passed which (1) condemned the War-times Election Act as unfair to the loyal women citizens of Canada who were

excluded and unfair to the electorate because of the way in which it was left wide open for unscrupulous agents of the Government in power to manipulate the soldiers' vote; (2) urged the amalgamation with its Party of all existing Labour bodies in the Province; (3) declared itself in favour of a Government in Canada "that will organize the entire resources of the Dominion, eliminating all private profit on industry and administrate our industrial activities for the prosecution of the War and the protection of the people as a whole"; (4) demanded Labour representation in Parliament and (5) asked that the Returned soldiers of Canada be given pensions on the basis of equality to all and abolition of the present difference between commissioned and non-commissioned ranks.

The 1st Session of the 4th Legislature was opened by His Honour R. S. Lake at Regina on Nov. 13 with a Speech from the Throne which declared that "Great Britain and her Allies still stood firm in their determination to continue the war-struggle until tyranny was crushed and humanity liberated"; regretted that the crop of 1917 had not been greater but pointed out that it was excellent in quality and price and had only been exceeded on two occasions; urged public thrift and ever-increased production; mentioned the appointment of Dr. Foght, an eminent American authority, to survey the Provincial elementary School system and his Report which would shortly be published; described the beneficial effect of the Farm Loans Act as already visible and promised legislation dealing with Provincial revenue and taxes, a Mothers' pension system, various amendments to existing Acts. R. M. Mitchell, M.D., Speaker of the lately dissolved House, was elected again unanimously; Donald Maclean of Saskatoon was chosen at an Opposition Caucus (Nov. 14) as Leader in place of Senator Willoughby; Pte. Harris Turner was introduced by Mr. Maclean amid general cheers and thus proved to be a Conservative; the Address was moved by J. A. MacMillan, Wadena, and T. E. Gamble, Bengough, with a very short debate shared in by the two leaders, Mr. Turner and D. J. Sykes —who stated that despite his triplicate of nominations he was Liberal; T. H. Garry, Yorkton, was appointed Chief Whip of the Liberal party. The legislation of the Session included a Supplementary Revenue Act levying a tax of one cent per acre upon every owner or occupant of land in the Province; an Act replacing the Patriotic Tax by a measure which levied annually a special rate or tax equal to two mills in the dollar on all rateable property in a municipality —for the support of Patriotic and relief funds, the civic re-habilitation of soldiers and after-war reconstruction; a Wild Lands Tax of one per cent. of assessed value—subject to specific exemptions and including the appointment of a Provisional Tax Commissioner; provision for the taxation of persons owning, controlling, holding or operating, Timber areas to the extent of one cent for every acre of such timber area or berth with a minimum tax of $25.00; the imposition of an annual Tax of $1,000 upon every brewer, distiller, compounder or other person licensed by the Dominion Government to manufacture or compound liquors or keep a stock of liquors for export to other Provinces or Foreign countries; the passage of an

Act respecting Mines which revised the regulations as to operation, management, inspection, registration of employees, precautions for safety, reports and official returns, authorized the Minister in charge to close up any mine in which the Act was evaded or disobeyed and covered the power and functions of Mine officials and the penalties to be imposed—with an elaborate set of general rules; a measure for the protection of Neglected and Dependant Children which provided for the appointment of a Provincial Superintendent to encourage and control Children's Aid Societies and assist in their establishment, to provide Children's Shelters and obtain the appointment of Probation Officers by municipalities, to apprehend and safeguard such children, to supervise their maintenance and select foster homes for them, to do many other things along the line of helpfulness and of judicious penalties and care for Juvenile offenders

An amendment to the Saskatchewan Loans Act gave the Government power to issue from time to time securities sufficient in amount to provide for re-payment purposes, despite any increase of the Public Debt which would ensue. The Succession Duties Act was amended in varied detail and the Corporations Act changed to more accurately define a Trust Company and the meaning of Gross Premiums, to impose a Tax of 1% on such Premiums received from Saskatchewan business, to tax registered Land Companies 40 cents for every $1,000 of business done in the Province and Loan Companies the same on the funds under investment in the preceding year. The Land and Title Act was an elaborate affair of 89 pages in the *Statutes* of 1917 and it divided Saskatchewan into 10 registration districts with power to the Government of increasing the number and to establish Land Titles Offices; provided for a Master and Deputy Master of Titles, a Chief Surveyor and a Registrar in each District; defined the rules and methods as to registration of all land and property, the law as to title and certificates, mortgages and leases, transfers and sales, legal actions, ownership and tenancy. The Act respecting Trust Companies was also an elaborate legal instrument with incorporation, stock regulations, books, contracts, trusts, liabilities, powers, investments, penalties, etc., defined or amended; the Medical Profession Act was amended to broaden the entry of practitioners under the College of Physicians and Surgeons and their regulations, to make 6 months of each year for 5 years the legal term of study in Medicine, Surgery, etc., to give the Medical Council power to issue special permits of practice apart from the qualifications required by the Act; the Farm Implement Act compelled all vendors of large implements in the Province to fyle particulars of their implements on the 1st of February in each year with the Minister of Agriculture—retail prices, horsepower required, terms of cash or credit and rates of interest, and provided contract forms for sale with details of agreement; the city, town and municipal Acts, the Volunteers' Relief and other measures were amended to still further protect and aid the returned or absent soldier; a special Act regularized the practice of drugless healing, or Chiropractic, and prescribed a University course and examination. The Mothers Act authorized support or partial support for any

mother who was a widow and unable, through poverty, to take proper care of her child or children, and permitted the Attorney-General to order the municipality, in cases of one year's residence by the women therein, to pay a sum not to exceed $3.00 per week for each child; a Reclamation Lands' Act tried to cope with drainage difficulties due to the divided jurisdiction between the Dominion and Province as to unalienated public lands within the Province; another measure dealt elaborately and in detail with town planning and rural development; the People's Insurance Co., Le College Catholique de Gravelbourg, the Catholic College of Regina, were incorporated. The Temperance Act was amended with stringent details for enforcement; License fees were increased on Theatres and Cinematographs; municipalities were authorized to borrow money for Seed-grain distribution; a new Hotel Act authorized municipalities to assist Hotels in case of need.

On Nov. 27 the Legislature debated plans for increasing Hog production and Mr. Motherwell promised an effective Departmental campaign to provide hogs—as in the last few years it had helped with cattle and sheep—with purchase, credit and shipment all to be arranged. In introducing his Public Revenues Tax (Dec. 3) Hon. C. A. Dunning made an important statement: "Our people may as well get accustomed to the idea that direct taxation for Provincial purposes has come to Saskatchewan and I believe has come to stay"—though for the present it was only required for patriotic purposes. The Legislature adjourned on Dec. 14 after Harris Turner had moved a Resolution calling upon the Government to replace men "in the Civil Service capable of combatant military service by those not so competent to take their places in the fighting ranks." The Premier and other Ministers defended the Civil Service for its enlistments and contributions (226 men had enlisted up to October) but admitted that exemptions had been requested for a number of necessary men. He asked the House in an amendment to approve the Government's action and this was carried with Mr. Harris as the only dissentient.

The Grain Growers and Non-Partisan League.

The Grain Growers' Association of Saskatchewan continued to progress in 1917 with a representative in the Ministry, a Provincial Government policy directed in many ways to the carrying out of its proposals, a place in the war-work and Union Government and Federal elections of the year. Its District Conventions—notably No. 8 at Regina, No. 9 at York, and No. 4, also held at Regina; No. 6 at Saskatoon, No. 1 at Moose Jaw, and No. 10 at Humboldt—met and discussed conditions and passed Resolutions of which many were welded together and approved at the Provincial Convention. The 1917 Convention for the Province met at Moose Jaw on Feb. 13-16 with 1,800 Delegates present and 300 women members holding their separate Convention. J. A. Maharg presided and the most important business was the acceptance of an offer from the Saskatchewan Co-Operative Elevator Co. to take over the Trading Department of the Association—which for two or three years had been thought by many to detract from the educational features and objects of the Association; it also found difficulty in building up a large business on small capital. Other matters were the unanimous endorsation of the Farmers' Platform of the Council of Agriculture; a declaration of President Maharg in his annual address against any centralized government of the Empire in the form of a Parliament; criticisms of J. B. Musselman, Secretary, for certain comments as to race problems and a general opinion that racial and sectarian issues should be excluded by the Association; the

statement that C. E. Flatt of Tantallon, a Director of the Association, had been appointed by the Minister of Education to help in revising the Provincial course of School studies; the decision of the Executive, which was confirmed, not to join their Elevator Company with the similar business concerns of Manitoba and Alberta, which would have made Winnipeg the centre for the marketing, terminal warehousing and exporting of grain for the whole West. The Secretary's report indicated strained relations between the Grain Growers' Grain Co. of Winnipeg and the Saskatchewan leaders. The Executive in this report stated that the 1916 Patriotic acre plan had contributed 3,200,000 pounds of the best Saskatchewan flour put up in 40,000 bags, each bearing the emblem of the Association in colours, and containing 80 pounds of flour which were shipped to the Imperial Government—the estimate of total contributions to Patriotic objects to date being $200,000 in value, with 2,300 reported enlistments, and an estimated total of 5,000. The paid-up membership was 27,347 and the business handled by the Trading Department was $1,089,000 with net earnings of $15,389 and a capital of $48,235 built up out of surplus earnings. Mr. Maharg was re-elected President and A. G. Hawkes, Vice-President, while Mr. Musselman remained Secretary; Hon. George Langley retired as Director-at-Large and Thomas Sales of Langham with the following were elected: J. B. Musselman, Regina, Mrs. J. McNaughtan, Piche, John Evans, Nutana, and H. C. Fleming, Tate. The chief Resolutions passed, with a number of others left to the Board, were as follows:

1. Endorsing the Government's Educational Survey of the Province and urging that the Civil Service be removed from control of Party politicians.
2. Favouring compulsory Education and English as the language of Instruction in Public Schools.
3. Urging that executions be registered against land only and that the land be so described as to make clear the execution debtor and declaring that a judgment debtor should be allowed to retain 160 bushels of seed grain and a sufficient portion of the crop to sufficiently provide for his family for 12 months instead of 6 months as at present.
4. Favouring a Dominion direct tax on all land values, and a graduated income tax on all earnings, sufficient to cover all the cost of the War to take the place of Patriotic Fund and other collections.
5. Endorsing the work and objects of the Single Tax Association.
6. Urging the Dominion authorities to provide a Laboratory for inquiry into the Swamp fever which had carried off many farm animals—especially horses.
7. Impressing upon the Dominion Government the absolute necessity of maintaining control of the Hudson Bay Railway, also of the water-front at the terminal and their operation as public utilities; urging also that after the War the services of the R.N.W.M.P. be continued.
8. Approving the payment of pensions to all disabled soldiers and that such pensions be in proportion to the disability, irrespective of rank, and asking that provision be made by the Government for the support of dependants of soldiers, killed on service, until such time as the regular Pension Fund is made available.
9. Urging the Provincial Government to accord the right for rural telephone companies to have the use of the long-distance lines and failing this, that liberty be given to string a line connecting up adjoining rural systems.
10. Asking for municipalities a fair share of motor-car license revenue, suggesting the formation of a Government Teachers' Bureau and restriction of the sale of Ether —used by foreign settlers as an intoxicant.
11. Asking for legislation designating a Chattel mortgage as a Live-stock Lien and simplification of registration; protesting as to the yearly losses from grain classed as "no grade" and asking for a Board of Appeal for re-inspection.
12. Requesting the Dominion Government to make provision for supplying seed-grain to farmers who had suffered from hail and rust, with applications to be brought before a Municipal Council and ratified before acceptance, with payments extended to two years.
13. Declaring the gasoline quality in Saskatchewan as unsatisfactory and asking for Provincial legislation creating standards and appointing Inspectors to control the sale of gasoline, kerosene, fuel and machine oils; the official standards and guaranteed analyses to be stamped on each barrel; that Inspectors be given power to enforce the giving of correct weights where sold by the gallon.
14. Urging that the Dominion Government, in order to remedy the shortage of labour, should (1) accept 4 months instead of 6 months in each year as residence for homesteaders—subject to certain qualifications; (2) consent that men who had enlisted but were yet in the Dominion be released for service more freely during seed time and harvest and not deprived of their military pay after one month; (3) take active steps at once to allay all suspicious fear of Conscription that intending workers may not be deterred from coming in from the United States.
15. Declaring for reciprocal demurrage rates on Railways. asking for completion of certain branch lines, urging greater protection to farmers from defective cattle-guards and carelessness and for 48 hours to load cars of grain instead of 24.
16. Declaring that no applications for homesteads should be received from alien enemies till after all the Canadian soldiers have opportunity to return to Canada.
17. Favouring legislation to qualify and protect practitioners of Chiropractic as a Science and to place them under public rules and regulations.

During the year some important occurrences included the Federal settlement of the price of wheat through its Board of Grain Supervisors and the support given to fixed

prices by the Saskatchewan Association whose Executive reported at the close of the year that "practically every organization outside of those which held membership in the Council of Agriculture requested the Board not to fix the price of wheat, but to set a maximum and a minimum price, with a wide margin between, their purpose beyond all doubt being to leave full opportunity for those skilled in the business to buy the farmers' wheat as near the lowest price as possible and to sell the same to the Allies' buyer as near the maximum as possible." The appointment of H. H. McKinney as Superintendent of Organization was an important step and to this Department the Co-Operative Elevator Co. voted $5,000, while a Legal Bureau was established and found effective; Trading activities continued and increased although a portion of the duties of this Department were transferred to the Elevator Company —the business for 1917 being $1,643,000 with a 4-years' total of $4,000,000 and a present capital of $85,000. The Women's Section of the Association met at the same time and place, with Mrs. J. McNaughtan presiding and addresses from Mrs. S. V. Haight, Mrs. Irene Parlby of the Alberta organization, Hon. Geo. Langley as to Hail Insurance, T. A. Crerar of Winnipeg. Mrs. J. McNaughtan was re-elected President and Mrs. S. V. Haight Vice-President, of the Women's Grain Growers' Association, as it now had become. The objects of the Non-Partisan League were debated at length and the following Resolutions passed:

1. Demanding that medical certificates of health be required by both sexes before a marriage license be issued.
2. Asking for Woman's Franchise and urging means for obtaining more efficient help for farm-women and by municipalities for acquiring District nurses.
3. Urging the compulsory and proper fencing of school grounds and condemning the Hudson Bay Co. for shipping liquor out of the Province.
4. Declaring that there was a lamentable lack of medical aid and nursing facilities in rural districts, with great difficulty experienced in overcoming the situation, and urging a Provincial Government investigation and report.
5. Stating the loss to the nation incurred by the sale of eggs and poultry of an inferior quality to be many millions of dollars and asking for Dominion legislation requiring the sale of eggs and poultry on a quality basis.
6. Asking the Extension Department of the University to loan rural districts pocket libraries, material for debates, outlines for studies and lantern slides.
7. Urging municipal franchise to wives and daughters of ratepayers, the granting of homesteads to women, the enforcement of medical examinations in schools and attendance of a teacher at noon-hour.
8. Supporting the organization of co-operative bakeries and laundries.

The Co-Operative Elevator Co. continued its record of prosperity. Between 1911 and 1917 49,900,000 bushels of Saskatchewan grain had passed through its hands and the Bulletin of the International Institute of Agriculture declared that there was nothing in the world like this and the other two Western organizations—with the handling of a total of 90,000,000 bushels of grain or a third of Canada's market production, with assets of $8,000,000 and 48,000 shareholders. The annual meeting of the Association was held at Regina on Nov. 21-2 with 277 Delegates present and J. A. Maharg, M.P., in the chair. On the year's operations of the Company a net profit of $350,752 was shown, a cash dividend of 8 per cent. was declared—totalling $70,945, and the authorized capital increased to $3,500,000. The Directors' report showed that over 34,538,637 bushels of grain had been handled through 258 elevators, and 2,198,912 over the platform, during the year. The Construction Department had built 37 elevators and four others were purchased; there were 302 locals organized with 19,317 shareholders, holding an aggregate of 55,567 shares; the retiring Directors, J. A. Maharg, President, Hon. Geo. Langley, M.L.A., Vice-President, and John Evans, Director, were re-elected by acclamation; a feature of the meeting was the presentation of an illuminated address to Hon. Chas. A. Dunning, former Manager of the Company, and now Provincial Treasurer. Incidents of the meeting were the statement of a Roll of Honour with 496 shareholders and 44 employees, with 38 men killed in action; and the publication of the *Co-Operative News* with 22,000 circulation and Association plans for the erection of a Terminal Elevator at Port Arthur. On Jan. 3-5 the 117 Agricultural Societies of Saskatchewan met in Convention at the University, Saskatoon, as did those interested in Live-stock and Dairying on Jan. 9-13; every kind of topic along these various lines was discussed and addresses given by specialists on different subjects; an important Resolution was passed by the Sheep-Breeders stating that as "Canada is an immense consumer of woollen goods which are not at present, but are capable of being produced in this country, and as the embryonic industry of sheep-raising is showing signs of expansion and growth which bid fair to develop into a great national industry"—therefore the Dominion

Government should not allow an embargo on the free marketing of wool. The following presiding officers besides those mentioned were elected in 1917:

Saskatchewan Horse Breeders' Association	Alex. Mutch	Lumsden.
Saskatchewan Cattle Breeders' Association	Hon. W. C. Sutherland	Saskatoon.
Saskatchewan Sheep Breeders' Association	H. H. Follett	Duval.
Saskatchewan Swine Breeders' Association	A. B. Potter	Langbank.
Saskatchewan Poultry Breeders' Association	W. W. Ashley	Saskatoon.
Saskatchewan Dairymen's Association	L. C. Wirtz	Wadena.
The Saskatchewan Live-Stock Board	W. C. Sutherland	Saskatoon.
School Garden Association of Saskatchewan	A. Kennedy, M.A.	Weyburn.

Meanwhile the Farmers' Non-Partisan League had been making steady progress in Saskatchewan. Originating in North Dakota in 1915 it had, in a short time, gained 65,000 members there, elected the Governor and secured control of the Legislature; in 1916 S. E. Haight, one of the promoters, came over to Canada, made his headquarters at Swift Current and preached unceasingly the Dakota platform—which by that time had extended into other Western States and also Alberta. The membership scheme was unique with a Saskatchewan Fee of $15.00 out of which the organizer was entitled to a commission of $4 and the balance went into the central fund. One of the demands upon this Fund was made by a small four-page weekly newspaper called *The Non-partisan Leader*, published in Swift Current as the official organ of the League. Every farmer could be a member and also an organizer, and thus earn $4.00 for each new member he obtained. In April, 1917, there were 3,000 members in Saskatchewan and the organization contested 7 seats in the Provincial Elections and elected D. J. Sykes by acclamation. S. E. Haight was President, while the President in the United States, A. W. Townley, stumped North Dakota against the Liberty Loan and opposed any farmers' subscription in support of the War—in the Loan case the call was for $10,500,000 and the response was $2,500,000. The platform in the States and Canada was practically the same and these were the main points:

1. Nationalization of banking and credit systems, railroads, telegraphs, telephones and steamship lines (registered in Canada), and all other means of public transportation and communication.
2. Nationalization of all industries organized on a national scale, and in which competition had virtually ceased to exist.
3. The extension of the public domain to include all coal mines, water powers and forests.
4. A Federal Direct Legislation Act, including the recall and equal and unrestricted suffrage for both men and women.
5. A graduated inheritance tax law; a graduated income tax law; the enactment of a national compulsory Insurance law covering accident, illness, old age and death.
6. The free administration of justice; the abolition of the Canadian Senate and no Court to be legally competent to declare as unconstitutional any Act of the Parliament of Canada.

The Regina *Leader*, the Grain Growers and others resented the incoming of an organization such as this: the assumption that administration of justice in Canada was not free, that its Senate was useless or injurious, and that its appeal to the Imperial Privy Council must be abolished, were significant.

The Public Schools in Saskatchewan. On Mar. 1st the Report of the Hon. W. M. Martin, K.C., as Minister of Education was issued for Dec. 31, 1916, with a statement by R. F. Blacklock, Acting Deputy Minister, as to the growing cost of education and the fact that: "The time has almost arrived when a greater proportion of the cost must be raised by a general rate on all assessable property in the Province. At any rate lands not at present included in any school district should bear a portion of the cost of education." As to Teachers, an adequate supply was a still more serious problem: "During the year we granted regular certificates to 1,566 new teachers, 1,116 of whom were trained in our Normal Schools, while 450 were granted standing on the strength of training obtained elsewhere." Though only 4,279 teachers were required 5,677 were registered as having taught in 1917. The War, with the men, and marriage with the women, were the twin difficulties: "The numerous changes of teachers, the short-term schools and the irregular attendance in our country districts explain the backward condition of the children in many of our rural schools." There was also a decline in those coming from other Provinces from 66% to 25%. It was declared a regrettable fact that thousands of boys and girls were growing up in the Province who had never got beyond Grade IV and stated that unless action was taken at once the present genera-

tion of boys and girls would in a few years be thrown on the world poorly equipped for their life's tasks. The distribution of free text-books had been most beneficial with 73,688 issued during the year or an increase of 5,700; tribute was paid to T. E. Perrett, of the Provincial Normal School and A. H. Ball, Deputy Minister, for joining the colours; the Better Schools movement of 1915 was described as making great progress and the Report of Dr. Foght of Washington as to future reforms was looked forward to as important. The general statistics of 1916 were as follows:

Number of School Districts in Existence	3,878
School Districts having Schools in Operation	3,608
Number of Departments in Operation	4,279
Number of Pupils Enrolled	125,590
Average attendance of Pupils	69,455
Number of Pupils enrolled in:	
Rural Schools, 74,387; Village Schools, 19,518;	
Town schools, 15,174; City Schools, 16,511	125,590
Average attendance of pupils in:	
Rural Schools, 39,785; Village Schools, 10,486;	
Town Schools, 8,997; City Schools, 10,187	69,455
Teachers employed during the Year:	
Male, 1,490; Female, 4,187	5,677
School debentures Authorized	$ 559,260.00
School debentures Registered	649,300.00
Amount expended on Sites and Buildings	1,105,764.55
Amount expended for Teachers' Salaries	2,956,665.77
Amount expended for all Purposes	10,353,219.58

The Saskatchewan School Teachers' Association met at Regina on Apr. 10-11 with 1,200 Delegates, Miss Christina MacGregor in the chair, and the delivery of a most patriotic speech; it was announced that 231 teachers had enlisted; an elaborate Address on conditions and progress was given by Mr. Premier Martin. An address by Dr. Sandiford of Toronto University attracted attention with the fundamental statements that in 1917 20,000 Canadian children of school-age received no formal schooling at all; that another 20,000 attended schools which were open for 20 days or less each year; that Canadian education, in general, was too uniform with carpenters and mechanics trained in exactly the same way as the lawyer and the preacher." J. F. Bryant spoke on Educational Reform and dealt with the Foreign issue through a variety of statistics showing that the total foreign population in 1911 was 162,610 and that of these 35,482 or 22½ per cent. came from Austria-Hungary, 8,300 or 16·69 per cent. from Germany; that the foreign-born males in the Province of all ages were 96,781 and those of foreign extraction over 21 years of age 65,345; that of the total number of foreign-born males over 21 years of age 33,518 or 51·29 per cent. were naturalized and 31,827 foreign-born males over 21 years of age were not naturalized. His comments on this condition reflected upon the Government and were not acceptable, so that it was unanimously decided not to publish this speech in the *Proceedings*. To these comments the Premier also took strong exception and at Moose Jaw on May 7 dealt with the subject at length and stated, finally, that out of 4,000 schools only 28 gave the Department any serious language difficulty. Meanwhile H. H. Smith of Saskatoon had been elected President and J. T. M. Anderson, M.A., President of the School Inspectors' Association, which was meeting at the same time. In connection with the Confederation Anniversary a handsome pamphlet was issued by the Minister giving an historical account of the Province and its educational progress. On June 16th Mr. Martin appointed a Provincial Council on re-education of soldiers to act with the Military Hospitals Commission as follows: Dr. W. C. Murray and Dean W. J. Rutherford, Saskatoon; William Grayson, Moose Jaw; F. C. Baker, Prince Albert; Peter McAra and T. M. Molloy, Regina. Dr. Foght, after investigating the Provincial system, under instruction from the Minister, summarized his opinions at Regina on Oct. 24 in a statement that the strongly centralized system of Saskatchewan Education had been of great preliminary service but that now the people were getting the worst of their investment of 8½ millions a year for these reasons:

(1) People have failed to use the schools as fully and liberally as they should have done; (2) the system of organization and administration prevailing in rural districts is no longer adequate; (3) abnormal opportunities in other occupations have made it difficult to train and keep in the profession an adequate number of well-prepared teachers; (4) the courses of study do not in all respects meet the demands of a democratic people in a great agricultural country; (5) the schools in their internal organizations are planned less for the normal child than for the exceptional child; (6) the system of examinations

is a questionable form of the average pupil's ability, maturity and fitness for advancement; (7) bodily health and hygienic conditions, which are essential to effective study, have received very little attention.

Incidents of the year included the able addresses of Principal Norman F. Black (Regina) before the Educational Association, in Regina on several occasions, and at Rouleau and other places; the fact of the Graton Separate School Board, Regina, losing in April its claim to a portion of the 1916 levy on corporation lands, assessed for school purposes in the city of Regina and the judicial finding that notices as to the proportion claimed, etc., were not sent in time; and the amendment to the Schools Assessment Act in December providing that in future School taxes from all Companies must be divided by ratio of the religious beliefs of the District irrespective of the religious belief of the stockholders.

The University and Higher Education in Saskatchewan.

The annual Convocation was held on May 3 at Saskatoon with an able address by President W. C. Murray, reviewing the year's work, in which he declared that "it took the University 3 years, from 1910 to 1913, to complete its first group of buildings and nearly as long to complete the new Students' residence, Qu'Appelle Hall, which furnished more accommodation than expected"; that the Department of Education had asked the University to assist in a Summer School in Agriculture and Science for the benefit of teachers, and so successful had the course been that a strong request had come for enlargement so as to include University degree work; that new duties had been placed upon the University by the Legislature in respect to Dental examinations and licenses and the registration of Nurses; that the Extension Department was doing splendid work, with the Grain Growers taking up studies along associated lines—in economics, history and literature, as well as in topics more closely connected with Agriculture, in debates, illustrated lectures and reading circles with library facilities; that Industrial and Scientific Research was a great issue of the day with the University doing something and fitted to do more; that attendance, owing to the War, was only 291, with Arts and Engineering branches especially affected, while 5 members of the Staff had enlisted in the past year; that the University was co-operating in the re-education of returned soldiers in steam engineering, in the gas tractor and motor mechanics courses, and that this work was growing rapidly—with about 150 returned soldiers now asking for re-education. Finally, he added: "The University reflects the life of the Province. Within its borders are many peoples differing in customs, ideas, history and hopes. . . . It is a pleasure to report that the students have never been conscious of racial animosities; as they have lived and worked together, they have come to appreciate each other better." The graduates of this occasion numbered in the degree of B.A., 35; in B.Sc., 1; in B.S.A., 5; in LL.B., 9; in M.A., 6.

Regina College was the chief Methodist institution of the Province and 1916-17 was its most successful year. On June 4 its annual meeting with President E. W. Stapleford in the chair showed 21 teachers on the staff, 106 boys and young men as students, with 84 on active service, and 308 girls, or a total increase of 100%. Dr. Stapleford and the Chairman of the Board (Hon. J. T. Brown) stated in their report "that the doors of Regina College were open wide to all, not one-half of the students being Methodists, and others coming from Presbyterian, Anglican, Baptist, Catholic and Lutheran homes." The Conservatory of Music was flourishing with 240 students; 49 young women were studying Household Science with a dress-making department added; there was also a special course for farmers in business, book-keeping and agriculture; annual expenditures of $64,165 and revenues of $53,772 with the deficit made up by personal contributions, and a Debt of $212,447. On Oct. 29 Mr. Justice Brown presided at a Banquet of 150 and described the College as growing rapidly while Mr. Premier Martin paid tribute to its excellent courses and dealt with Education in general—describing a recent tour of the foreign settlements and schools with the Union Jack flying at each school and no sign of any non-English books; President Murray and Judge J. W. Hannon also spoke. By the close of the year accommodation was lacking for all the students in attendance.

Alberta: Government, Legislation and General Progress.

At the beginning of 1917 Dr. R. G. Brett, Lieut. Governor, addressed the people of his Province, with a background of prosperity, increased production and population during the past year, in a Message which rang with confidence and War determination: "We hear the enemy is proposing negotiations to discuss peace, but we think that those who fight, and those who stand ready, with all those who know the priceless value of the sacrifices which have been made, will agree with me, when I say, that so long as that wicked, misshapen and horrible thing, conceived of evil and brought forth in Germany—military domination—which has so terribly cursed suffering humanity, continues, there can be no abiding peace." He reviewed the call for men, the call for money, the call for production, the need for saving, and believed that the great West would fittingly respond. The Hon. A. L. Sifton, in his seventh year as Premier of Alberta, though of a retiring personality, became one of the Western figures of Dominion politics and his astute handling of difficult questions brought him a third victory at the Provincial polls and a seat in the Dominion Cabinet. As Minister of Railways and Telephones he presided over a most important section of Provincial development—the Railways of which the total mileage on Dec. 31, 1916, was 4,566 divided into C.P.R. with 1,920 miles, C.N R. 1,250, G.T.P. 707, Edmonton, Dunvegan and British Columbia 417, Alberta and Great Waterways 223, and Central Canada Railway 49 miles. During 1916 the increase was 143 miles compared with 91 miles in Manitoba, 24 in Saskatchewan and 54 in British Columbia. The Guarantees in force at this date were for 2,656 miles of which 1,707 miles, or 74% were in operation. Federal figures gave the total Provincial liability in this respect (1916) at $58,736,750.

As to Telephones W. J. Harmer, Deputy Minister, reported that it was impossible to undertake the construction of any new rural lines, exchange or long distance lines, owing to the inability of manufacturers to guarantee deliveries of material in sufficient quantities within the necessary specified time, or at a price that would warrant or justify the Department in undertaking any new extensions to the System: "All wire manufacturing plants are taxed to their utmost capacity in turning out munitions of war which were and must still be considered of the first importance. Hard-drawn copper wire is not obtainable at any price, iron wire has more than doubled in price and is still advancing, while the limited output is of most inferior quality. In addition to the almost prohibitory conditions, already stated, the scarcity of labour and, particularly, experienced telephone construction men, would in all probability prevent the successful completion of even a limited construction programme." This, of course, was a general condition and applied to all the Provinces in different degrees. To the long-distance farmers of the West, however, it meant privation and the demand for extension in Alberta was considerable. During the year, Mr. Harmer added: "The Department has been connecting Farmers' Mutual Lines with our switchboards, irrespective of the class of lines constructed and in



THE HON. CHARLES STEWART, M.L.A.,
Appointed Prime Minister of Alberta, 1917.

each and every case they are given unlimited interchange service with all other rural and exchange subscribers connected through the same switchboard." The Telephonic area of Alberta at this time was 80,000 sq. miles with 612 district communities securing telephone service under the Government system which was in operation and which claimed to have the lowest rates of any similar system anywhere:

Particulars	Residence	Business	Rural
Up to 100 Subscribers (Magneto)	$15.00	$24.00	$15.00
Up to 500 Subscribers (Magneto)	18.00	28.00	18.00
Up to 1000 Subscribers (Central Energy)	21.00	36.00	18.00
Up to 5000 Subscribers (Automatic)	24.00	42.00	20.00
Over 5000 Subscribers (Automatic)	24.00	48.00	20.00

The Exchanges had 37,567 subscribers' stations—18,003 local, 10,977 rural and 8,279 others, with 159 connecting farm-line stations and 149 toll stations—the Rural line system comprising 32,444 wire miles and 9,620 pole miles with service to 10,977 subscribers. The gross earnings of the year were 12·14% on investment and the surplus earnings $70,710; the revenue was $1,112,920 and the net earnings $519,171; the capitalization of the Operating plant was $9,166,154. As to Railways in 1917 the progress was considerable, despite difficulties. During the Session the Minister presented Railway legisation authorizing (1) an extension of time for construction of the Athabasca Valley Railway from one to three years—projected to run from Busby on the E.D. & B.C. to Holmes Crossing on the south side of the Athabasca River, almost directly opposite Fort Assiniboine, and through a well-settled agricultural country; (2) the Central Canada Railway Co. to construct certain extensions and to increase its capital stock by the sum of $7,500,000, bringing it to $10,000,000, so as to run from Waterhole in a general westerly direction to the boundary, a distance of 60 miles, and through a country which was being taken up by settlers; (3) allowing a second extension from Peace River in a northerly direction parallel to the Hay River in the northern part of the Province—a distance of 286 miles; (4) authorizing a third extension for 75 miles from or near High Prairie on the E.D. & B.C. in a southerly direction to, or near, Snipe Lake and thence in a westerly direction to the 6th principal meridian, in a country adapted to farming with, also, timber limits of about two billion feet. On Mar. 8 it was stated by R. H. Douglas, Provincial Engineer, that rapid progress was being made in the construction of the Alberta & Great Waterways Railway: "Steel is now laid to Mile 240, within 50 miles of Fort McMurray, and most of the intervening mileage will be laid by the middle of April when the line will reach the Clearwater River by which merchandise can be freighted to McMurray." The contractors had commenced the laying of steel from Mile 202 on Dec. 17, 1916, and, under all circumstances, excellent progress had been made.

As to this S. C. Ells, B.A., B.SC., of the Dominion Field Survey, stated on Feb. 5 that there was great mineral wealth in this region —deposits of bituminous or asphaltic sand covering an area of not less than 750 sq. miles; deposits of higher grade clay, serviceable

for pottery and brick and tile manufacture; oil resources already under exploitation with, also, a prospect of tremendous salt deposits being opened up in the immediate future. This bituminous sand was of special importance to Edmonton with which the Railway would bring the city in touch and it comprised three types of surfacing —sheet asphalt, bithulic and bituminous concrete. Mr. Ells declared that commercial extraction of the McMurray deposits was quite possible. On Oct. 29 J. D. McArthur announced that the Edmonton & Dunvegan Line was progressing steadily and that motive power to handle the North country grain would be available by the end of the year; a number of engines had been secured from his Hudson Bay Railway, on which construction work had been stopped, and these, with additional rolling stock from other lines, would afford the facilities required to get the output of the Peace River and other northern districts to the markets of the world; ballasting and steel work on both the A. & G.W. and the E.D. & B.C. were carried on from time to time with bridges under construction and an improved service between Edmonton and Peace River.

A matter of great public interest, with which the Premier was associated as a matter of policy was the retirement of the Royal North-West Mounted Police from all Civil duties after 43 years of continuous service throughout the West in both military and civil work. The action of the Dominion Government in announcing the withdrawal of the Police in this respect and its re-organization as a purely military body had not been unopposed; the Government of Saskatchewan had protested and that of Alberta had requested two months' extension from Jan. 1; the Presidents of many Live-stock and Agricultural associations in Alberta had petitioned against the step and described the R.N.W.M.P. as essential to the enforcement of criminal law and as widely respected for its probity and fearlessness. Meanwhile the work of organizing a Provincial force was under way and on Feb. 5 Mr. Premier Sifton announced that the Alberta Provincial Police Force had been established by Order-in-Council and would be administered by a Commission composed of Major P. C. Primrose, Police Magistrate of Edmonton; Lieut.-Col. G. Edward Sanders, P.M. of Calgary, and A. G. Browning, Deputy Attorney-General: "This Commission will be in entire and absolute control of the law enforcement in the Province. No member of the Government nor any member of the Legislative Assembly, will take any part in recommending the appointment of anybody to the Force, or the appointment of any official of any kind. The Superintendent of the Force will, consequently, be appointed by the Commission, and all his subordinates. Major Primrose will be Chairman of the Board, and Mr. Browning Secretary." On Mar. 1 96 men of the authorized 150 were sworn in under Supt. A. E. C. McDonell—a power in Mounted Police work of many years throughout the West and the Yukon with the current rank of Major and high reputation as a veteran of the 1885 Rebellion. It was estimated that the new Force would cost $250,000 a year; four veterans of the R.N.W.M.P. were appointed Inspectors and the uniform decided on included a blue tunic and stetson hat—similar

to the Natal, South Africa, Police; the Force was to be a foot force but must know how to ride and in some sections would be mounted; W. C. Bryan of Macleod, an ex-Mounted Police man, was, in December, appointed Deputy Superintendent.

As Provincial Treasurer the Hon. C. R. Mitchell presented the Public Accounts to the Legislature on Jan. 16 with details of Revenue and Expenditures for the year of Dec. 31, 1916. The former totalled $5,281,694 and included a Dominion Subsidy of $1,589,075 and Telephone income of $1,052,720; the latter totalled $6,018,894 or a deficit of $737,199 and included $945,033 expended on Public Debt, $597,434 on Public Works, $1,070,836 on Education, $348,346 on Agriculture, $1,011,901 upon Telephones. The net Public Debt was stated at $28,632,009; the Federal grant for Agricultural Education was $61,747 in 1916-17 and $66,965 for 1917-18; the total Bank balance on Dec. 31, 1916, was $678,597 and the arrears due on wild lands and other taxes totalled $621,121. As to the net Debt it was explained by the Department that of the total about $16,000,000 represented the amount upon which interest charges had to be paid; the other part of the Debt represented interest-paying bonds or projects. The Assets of the Province, including public buildings, bridges, loans, advances to school districts and unsold lands of 7,236,925 acres worth $84,588,074, totalled $125,301,515. Mr. Mitchell delivered his Budget speech on Mar. 6 and stated that if arrears had been paid there would be no deficit; for 1917 he estimated the Income at $6,908,875 and the Expenditure at $6,681,535 or a surplus of $227,340. Against the $28,000,000 Debt he placed revenue-producing Assets of $28,910,061, Assets made up of public buildings, etc., totalling $13,315,849 and deferred Assets or unsold School Lands valued at $84,448,979, or a total of over $126,000,000—with unlimited assets in productive resources. In closing the Treasurer made this suggestion:

> The Federal Government imposed a duty on imported machinery sufficiently high to prevent the American-made goods competing with Canadian goods. This duty, of course, has to be paid by the farmer. It seems to me, during the War, when the implement manufactories are engaged in making munitions, that the high tariff on farm machinery should be, temporarily at least, withdrawn. If this were done the manufacturer could devote all his time to the making of munitions with no loss to himself, while the farmer, by being able to buy his manufactured goods cheaper, could apply the saving to heavier production. In this way all would be benefited.

Edward Michener, the Opposition Leader, criticized a Treasurer with so many Assets for not eliminating his liabilities altogether; expressed doubt as to the Telephone system being a revenue-producing utility; pointed out that British Columbia, though a difficult country geographically, had a Debt $5,000,000 less than that of Alberta and a Sinking Fund of $2,000,000 compared with $368,190 for this Province. He argued that when the Railway guarantees authorized were taken into account there was a Provincial indebtedness of $90,000,000 which meant a debt of $900 for every farmer of the Province. If they only included the Guarantees that had been executed it would mean $750. He claimed that the Debt was not a reasonable one for the Province and yet the Government was going

to borrow an additional $2,500,000! Mr. Premier Sifton in reply declared that the Telephone system was not only paying maintenance and a portion of the interest charges on the bonds, but had a surplus of some $40,000 and that in the case of British Columbia, that Province did not own its Telephones and its Debt of $20,000,000 was not paying interest on investment as was a similar debt in Alberta of about $16,000,000. It may be added that the estimates and supplementaries passed by the House on Mar. 22 totalled $8,734,624 charged to Income and $2,676,911 charged to Capital; at the same time a Bill was passed authorizing a Loan of 2½ million for Provincial purposes. On Aug. 18 $1,000,000 of these bonds were sold to a Toronto syndicate—5% for 5 years. To this Minister was addressed the Insurance Report as prepared by Supt. W. V. Newson and his Deputy, R. L. Nicolson, and showing on Dec. 31, 1916, 33 Insurance companies registered as Provincial or Foreign, and 139 under Dominion licensed bodies. There was a German Mutual Fire Co. at Wetaskiwin and a German-American Insurance Co. at Calgary. In Fire Insurance the outside Companies had $2,170,146 of Premiums in the year and $1,042,492 of losses; the Life concerns $2,534,174 of Premiums and $19,867,272 of new Insurance written; the total Hail premiums were $1,237,349 and expenses or losses $1,381,721; automobiles, accidents, sickness, guarantees, employers' liability, plate-glass, live-stock, burglary, tornado, steam-boilers, explosion, sprinkler's leaking, were all subject to Insurance but the business was small; Fraternal Societies from outside—Canadian or United States—did a considerable business in Alberta with 8,552 members, a total amount at Risk of $12,046,422, and benefits paid during the year of $104,998.

The Hon. Charles Stewart, as Minister of Public Works, issued an elaborate and illustrated Report for the year 1916 which stated, through L. C. Charlesworth, Deputy Minister, that "the scarcity of labour and the high cost of material, due doubtless to the War, has increased the cost of all work, but every effort has been put forth to carry on the work with economy." He added that the matter involving the largest expenditure, and which, from its nature was of greatest importance to the largest number of people of the Province, was the Highways Branch covering roads and bridges and ferries. Owing to the greatly increased cost of steel structures it had been considered in the public interest to limit such work, while high prices continued, to as small a number as possible. The largest steel bridge during 1916 was that over the Red Deer River at Hagen's Crossing, west of Olds. It consisted of three 125-foot spans on concrete piers and abutments, two 50-feet timber truss spans, and 180 feet of pile trestle: "The work on roads was carried out along the same lines as in previous years, but serious difficulties were met with in parts of the Province owing to wet weather and the great depth of water in the sloughs. This condition, of course, led to the consideration of drainage, and the Drainage Act passed at the last Session of the Legislature will doubtless, in the near future, be taken advantage of in many parts of the country." He dealt with the Architectural Surveys, Mines and Steam Boiler

branches. The Mining production of 1916 was 4,648,604 tons of coal or 1¼ millions above 1915, the number of coal mines 279 with 2 copper mines, the average number of employees was 5,536. In this connection something may be said of Mineral conditions during the year and one point was the large home consumption of Provincial coal—2,866,670 tons in 1916; another was the great resources available and a third the Labour troubles which had persistently hampered development right through the three War years. Part of the above production was bituminous, 2,335,259 tons, and the rest was Lignite with the exception of 140,544 tons of anthracite from Banff. In July it was announced from Calgary that large deposits of manganese dioxide, extremely valuable as an iron toughening material and in great demand for war munition purposes, had been found in the Cypress Hills of south-east Alberta; that 800,000 tons, worth approximately $54,400,000, had been blocked out by ordinary post hole augers in a few months and its product sold to the British War Office. It was stated that J. F. Reilly, the Engineer in charge, represented Hersey and other Montreal interests. Another story from Edmonton in August was that large Nickel deposits had been found by H. V Dardier, a Vickers-Maxim engineer, and 20 other men, in the Fond-du-Lac district—2,800 miles north of that city.

There also was steady development in the Oil industry. The Viking district supplied Edmonton with ample natural gas and in the Calgary oil district there were 9 producing wells in August, 1917; there also was a considerable gasoline output with the Southern Alberta Refining Co. paying a 10% dividend; New York capitalists during the year went into the Athabasca district with a view to its immense new resources taking the place of the depleted American wells; in the Commons on June 14 Hon. Frank Oliver asked for a bounty on Alberta oil as was given in Ontario and Sir Geo. Foster promised consideration; the proven Calgary oil-fields were put at 12,000 acres; J. J. Rutledge of Peace River told the *Bulletin* (Oct. 29) that Peace River Oil Co. samples, which he showed, stood 140 feet in the well and poured in as fast it as was baled out—with a quality of 50% lubricant and 50% illuminating; Lord Rhondda's agent in that region (W. J. George) who also was in Edmonton at this time, expressed absolute faith in the oil prospects of Northern Alberta—as did J. D. McArthur upon many occasions. The activities of Hon. Duncan Marshall as Minister of Agriculture continued during this year. His Report for Dec. 31, 1916, described a successful year for the farmers with the average yield of wheat as 28 bushels per acre compared with 20·16 bushels in an 11-year period, 45 bushels of oats against 36·99, and 30 bushels of barley compared with 26·60 in the 11 years. H. A. Craig, Deputy Minister, dealt with various branches of 1916 work or development and the Provincial Schools of Agriculture which had been such a successful branch of Mr. Marshall's policy and gave the following facts: Claresholm, 100 students for 1917 with W. J. Stephen, B.A., B.S.A., as Principal, and 12 other instructors; Olds with 134 pupils, W. J. Elliott, B.S.A., as Principal and 13 others on the Staff; Vermilion

with 71 students, F. S. Grisdale, B.S.A., Principal, and 9 others on the Staff. The War had made a difference in the attendance, many of these pupils were girls, others, no doubt, were taken by the voluntary call of 1917 or the Conscription law of a later period. Reports were given from the Provincial Veterinarian, Live-stock and Dairy Commissioners, Superintendents of Fairs and Institutes, Women's Institutes, and Seed and Weed Branch, the Poultry Superintendent and by other officials as to Brands, Game, Fires, Sanitation, Provincial Laboratory, Public Health, Publicity and Crop Statistics. Vital statistics showed 13,331 births in 1916, 4,230 marriages, and 4,058 deaths.

Federal statistics showed that between 1911 and 1916 the number of farm holdings in Alberta increased from 61,496, with an acreage of 17,751,899 to 67,977 holdings with an acreage of 23,062,767, and that 23,062,767 acres or 14·24 per cent. was occupied as farm land out of a total of 97,000,000 acres estimated as being available for crop production. The total acreage planted to field crops in 1916 was 5,505,872 acres, as compared with 3,378,362 acres in 1911, being an increase of 2,127,510 acres or more than 62·9% in five years. The total value of these field crops in 1915 was $95,586,907 compared with a total value of $18,015,274 for the crops of 1910 and the average value of crops per farm in 1915 was $1,400 as compared with $277 in 1910. During these six years, in the number of horses and mules, there was an increase of 227,035 or 55·8%; in cattle of 420,365 or 56·8%; in sheep 159,028 or 119%, and in Swine 366,043 or 153·9%.

Meanwhile farm values were greatly increasing—around Edmonton the *Bulletin* estimated the increase at 50% on Nov. 12; the total value of Agricultural products in 1916 was estimated at $174,000,000 and of Live-stock at $118,000,000—by the Provincial Statistician. The Minister of Agriculture aimed at increasing production and assisting Live-stock. On Feb. 14, 1917, Mr. Marshall said at Calgary: "The Government is prepared to assist the stocking of Alberta with the best stock, to encourage the formation of neighbourhood Associations of five men who will back each other's notes to the extent of $500 each and secure further backing to that amount from the Government, the money to be expended in live-stock but no more than $500 for any one man." On Mar. 15 the Minister told the Legislature that 4 more Agricultural Schools would be built—one of them at once: "Our experience in connection with these schools has been that 80% of the boys come from within a radius of 75 miles. If it had not been for war conditions our three Schools would have been crowded out last year." At the close of the year Mr. Marshall took up the increase of Hog production and announced the sale of breeding animals to farmers at cost with 600 immediately available. The total Agricultural product of Alberta in 1917 was nearly $89,871,154 in excess of 1916 and the values of Live-stock $19,230,298 in excess. The Provincial official figures were as follows:

ESTIMATED YIELDS AND VALUES

Crops	Acreage	Bushels	Yield per Acre	Price	Revenue
Spring Wheat	2,845,647	52,644,469	18½	$2.00	$105,288,938
Winter Wheat	51,693	1,214,785	23½	2.00	2,429,570
Oats	2,537,883	84,384,610	33¼	.60	50,630,766
Barley	472,112	10,504,492	22¼	1.00	10,504,492
Flax	139,827	1,115,572	8¼	2.50	2,888,920
Rye	30,883	787,516	25½	1.50	1,181,274
Other Grain Crops	49,114	393,912	18	1.00	393,912
Hay (Tons)	492,522	493,522	1	10.00	4,925,220
Potatoes	48,917	7,337,550	150	.60	4,402,530
Turnips	5,746	1,149,200	200	.50	574,600
Carrots	5,199	1,039,800	200	.50	519,900
Animals slaughtered and sold					45,000,000
Dairy Products					25,000,000
Wool clip (2,086,633 lbs.)					1,181,682
Game and furs					2,000,000
Horticultural					175,000
Poultry and product					3,500,000
Total acres (grain) 6,127,159, 1917—Total Value					$260,596,804

INCREASE AND VALUE OF LIVE-STOCK

	Number	Price	Value
Horses	718,317	$100	$ 71,831,700
Swine	730,237	15	10,953,555
Sheep	276,966	8	2,215,328
Dairy Cows	325,861	60	19,551,660
Calves	363,583	10	3,635,830
Steers	187,538	40	7,501,520
Other Cattle	616,671	30	18,500,130
Bulls	41,861	75	3,139,575
Total, 1917			$137,329,298

The Hon. Wilfrid Gariepy as Minister of Municipal Affairs dealt in his annual Report with the changes of condition in the fluctuating and far-flung municipal population. He had in John Perrie an efficient Deputy Minister and his analysis of the situation stated that "for many of our smaller urban organizations the year 1916 was a time of adjustment—a time during which they were reducing their expenditure in every possible way, levying as high a rate of taxation as they could, and striving to clean up their liabilities." In this they were largely successful but, in some, the adjustment process continued through 1917. One trouble was general—abnormal assessments of land which had accompanied the original inflated values in real estate and had left a legacy of arrears in taxes and other financial problems: "With the reduction of assessed values has come a widening of the basis of taxation. This is evidently the result of a desire to place the municipal burden as directly as possible on the shoulders of all who benefit by the existence of the municipality. . . . While the changes in taxation may seem drastic, they may be necessary, in order to bring about satisfactory financial conditions." Mr. Perrie pointed out that the operation of each city under separate charter made uniformity of legislation and unity of interests impossible and urged a special City Act; he reviewed the municipal legislation of 1917 and especially the change of Local Districts into corporate bodies with power to constitute much-needed Hospital districts; he stated that there were few municipalities erected in the year and no towns or cities and described the Hail insurance legislation as changing the tax from a flat rate on all assessable lands to a flat rate of 5c. per acre on the assessable lands and an additional rate on all lands under crop,

sufficient, together, to pay the Hail losses for the year, administration expenses, and all unpaid Hail losses for the previous year. There were at the close of 1917 6 Cities, 49 towns, 109 villages, 88 rural municipalities and 80 local improvement districts; the total of municipal taxation was $434,731,520 and the average rate (rural) was 6·62 mills on the dollar and (local) 6·13 cents per acre, in rural school districts it was 10 cents per acre; the total cash received from municipal taxation was $929,265. Mr. Gariepy took a great interest in the non-completion of the Oliver-St. Paul de Mêtis section of the C.N.R. running through his constituency and the discontent as to conditions in a wide district which he represented. Speaking in the House on Feb. 12 the Minister blamed the Dominion Government for the delay as they had lent the C.N.R. large sums of money and not insisted upon such branches as this being completed. Part of the money to do it was actually in a Bank and there was "no question that it was a splendid country; no question about its ability to produce; and no doubt that if the people had the opportunity they would be sending farm produce in large quantities to market." The C.N.R. claimed that labour difficulties were the chief obstacle and that they had 50 miles of steel and ties waiting resumption of work.

As Attorney-General, Hon. C. W. Cross was not much concerned with Reports but he did issue a handsome volume, as to Dependant and Delinquent Children, every year. During 1917 this Branch of his Department cared for 905 such children and A. M. McDonald, Superintendent, expressed strong views as to the illegitimate ones, numbering 89, with personal approval of the Norway system in which, with the Mother's permission, the child took its Father's name and inherited a claim to his maintenance and a proportion of his estate. Of many moral delinquents in Alberta, dealt with in the Report, the child's father was Overseas and the child beyond the mother's control with ages running from 7 to 16; in 19 cases the child had seen crime committed in Moving Pictures and during the year 1,500 children appeared before the 80 Juvenile Court Commissioners of the Province. The Provincial Secretary (Hon. A. J. McLean) published his Report for 1916 in March, 1917, and showed taxes or receipts of $536,889 or an increase of $137,000, collected from corporations, railways, motor vehicles, theatres and theatre patrons, licenses, etc., with the incorporation of 201 Companies capitalized at $17,386,000 and 19 certificates issued to extra-Provincial companies. Up to July 31, 1917, the Department issued 17,700 motor-car licenses compared with 9,703 in the whole of 1916.

The 5th Session of the 3rd Legislature was opened by Lieut.-Governor R. G. Brett on Feb. 6th with a Speech from the Throne which referred to the change in the Governor-Generalship and to the 12 members of the Assembly who had enlisted for active service; declared that "My Government feels that Legislative recognition is due to the many soldiers who have gone abroad in defence of the Empire and, while recognizing the practical impossibility, in face of a general election before the conclusion of the War, of taking their votes in the ordinary way for practically all the thousands of polling

divisions of Alberta upon one day, has decided as a special recognition to create by legislation two constituencies at large for the Province of Alberta, of which the members will be elected solely by the votes of the soldiers of Alberta abroad, with ample time to be fixed by returning officers for nomination and election, and under the sole supervision of the soldiers themselves"; stated that the War was bringing the people and the Government closer together in a co-operation needed to strengthen the Government in its greater responsibilities and in making firm the foundation of the Province so that "it will sustain the immense structure that, with careful building, is bound to develop out of the great wealth of natural resources, mines, fisheries, immense agricultural possibilities and the countless immigrants looking for new fields of enterprise after the Declaration of Peace"; observed on behalf of the Government that "the railway and telephone development, already great, will be continued; the building of trunk roads, already so successful, will receive greater attention; the Agricultural Schools, which have received unstinted praise from high authorities, will require to be increased in numbers; the Technical Institute for Vocational Training, already started on an expensive scale, largely as an immediate assistance in the training of soldiers in new means of livelihood, must be continued not only for that purpose but as an integral part of the Provincial Educational system; the assistance already so generously given returned soldiers and the dependants of those still at war must be continued till all have found remunerative employment." So with provision for additional Hospital accommodation for settlers, long-time Loans on Farm property, short-term Loans on co-operative principles. The Address was moved by H. W. McKenney and J. A. McColl—the latter making the important statement: "That the rates of interest at present charged farmers for loans are eight, ten and sometimes 12%; that beef cattle are on the decrease all over the Dominion due to the fact that farmers are compelled to sell their young breeding stock because unable to get lines of credit from the Banking institutions." Mr. McKenney stated as to the Premier's Railway policy that "the linking up of the great waterways of the North with the railway systems to the South is one of the greatest things that has ever been done in this country."

Mr. Michener, as Opposition Leader, in his criticisms took up much of the ground he had covered in the Budget debate, claimed that he had long been advocating a system of rural credits, favoured appointment of a Board to supervise Hotels with either women upon it, or men approved by women's organizations, declared that the Government had brought the soldiers into politics, without giving them adequate representation. He suggested that the Wild Lands Tax be applied to rural Hospital purposes. Mr. Premier Sifton replied at length and analyzed the Opposition policy. As to obtaining control of Provincial resources he declared that "until the people of these Prairie Provinces have sufficient representation in the Federal House they will not receive justice from any Dominion Government." A. F. Ewing (Cons.) followed the Premier

and Lucien Beaudreau (Lib.) endorsed Conscription, defended Quebec, and supported a two-year extension of the Legislature and, though representing a French and German constituency, favoured direct taxation for the Patriotic Fund. The Hon. C. R. Mitchell denounced Mr. Michener for his continued statement that the Province owed indirect Railway liabilities of 59 millions and a direct Debt of 29 millions, and declared that from the former sum should be deducted $15,000,000 of Railway bonds authorized, but not issued and not guaranteed, by the Province. He pointed out that the Government had been generous to Education to which the grants had gone up from $317,411 in 1910 to $505,163 in 1916, or a total of $3,298,305 in 7 years, and described the railway mileage at the close of 1916 as follows: C.N.R., 778 steel, 248 grade; G.T.P., 259 steel; E.D. & B.C., 407 steel, 54 grade; Central Canada, 49 steel; A. & G.W., 212 steel, 78 grade; total, 1,706 steel, 380 grade." As to an Opposition charge that a sum of $535,000 in connection with certain Loans had disappeared Mr. Mitchell stated that the exact amount was $543,774 made up of $334,994 interest paid on loans, and $208,780 underwriting charges, both amounts being paid in London, where the Loan for the Railway Company was placed on the market: "The bonds had not been sold for two years after issue but in the meantime the Railway Company negotiated two other loans, the interest on which had to be paid when the sale of the issue was effected." Mr. Michener returned to this subject on Mar. 29 and declared that "the Guarantee Act did not permit payment of interest out of the proceeds of the principal sale of the bonds for advances made to the Company. The money was to be paid out on progress estimates of work done so that the $334,934 could not be accounted for in this way." Neither were the bonds sold at 89¾, as stated, but at 91½—a difference of $115,000, with a consequent shortage of $448,000 on the sale of the Canadian Northern Western Railway bonds of £1,320,000 sterling. He demanded a Commission. The Premier in reply said that the matter lay between the Trust Companies and the Banks, that the Government had not handled the money, that the Provincial Treasurer had been mistaken in the original price which was 91½ and the public price 93 which would leave a difference necessary for the brokers, etc. He pointed out that the Opposition Leader had made no concrete charge against anyone, that there was nothing to investigate and read a cable from Lazard Bros., London, saying that Mr. Michener and his informant had confused two separate bond issues. The Premier absolutely refused a Commission and the record of the Resolution and Amendment was, in the main, as follows:

I. Resolution (Mr. Michener): 1. That the Minister of Railways has improperly permitted the payment out to Railway interests from the proceeds of guaranteed bonds large sums of money on false and fraudulent estimates.

2. That no proper supervision has been exercised by the Minister of Railways nor by any Member or official of the Government to ensure that the entire proceeds of sales of bond issues are paid into a Chartered Bank according to law, and as a result of such negligence large sums of money which by law should have been used in railway construction have been diverted to private interests.

3. That as a result of misleading and incorrect statements conveyed to this House by the Minister of Railways, this House was induced to authorize guarantee of bonds to the Railways controlled by J. D. McArthur and his associates covering over 900 miles in all, to an amount exceeding the actual cost of such Railways by more than $5,000 per mile.

II. AMENDMENT (Mr. Sifton): 1. The procedure followed in the payment of estimates by the Railway Department of the Alberta Government on Railway construction, assisted by Government guarantees is an absolute safeguard to the mortgage security of the Province.

2. The careful supervision along the lines of this procedure exercised by the Government has resulted in the economical construction of over 1,760 miles of guaranteed railway lines in the Province that would not otherwise have been built.

3. The assistance so given by the Government to guaranteed lines has largely forced the construction of other lines of railway in the Province showing a result within the last seven years of 3,000 miles of new railway at an approximate expenditure within the Province of over $50,000,000.

4. In every matter connected with the guaranteeing or construction of said Railways of interest to this House, the Government has at all times given the fullest, the frankest and most reliable information, and this House has acted upon the information, given with the fullest confidence that their action would result in increased railway production, and increased prosperity for the people of Alberta.

Meanwhile many speeches were made on the Address and, on Feb. 27, after three weeks of a debate, evidently prolonged on account of coming Elections, the Opposition moved an amendment (G. Hoadley and A. Patterson) expressing regret that "the Government has not seen fit to investigate before a Royal Commission the serious charges made in the House in its Session of 1916 against the Attorney-General and the Minister of Railways and Telephones, thereby violating an essential principle of Parliamentary Government," which was defeated by 26 to 12 and the Address then passed unanimously. During the ensuing Session the Opposition put itself on record in a series of Resolutions which were amended or defeated as follows:

1. *Opposition Resolution, defeated by 24 to 12:* That, inasmuch as the Telephone System of the Province of Alberta is, through mismanagement and waste in construction, much over-capitalized, and as a result has been run at a loss to the Province of approximately $2,000,000, and because of the fact that the Government has failed to give this Legislature accurate information, and has destroyed documents involving the expenditure of millions of dollars without first having obtained permission from the Legislative Assembly to destroy such documents: Therefore, in the opinion of this House a competent Commission should be appointed for the purpose of making an independent audit and an examination of the assets of the Telephone Department for the purpose of ascertaining the actual value thereof.

1. *Government Amendment, carried by 24 to 12:* That as the Telephone Company has by careful management and economy in construction earned a surplus to Dec. 31, 1916, of $394,094, as shown by the Public Accounts; has regularly submitted to the Legislature full and complete annual reports and also all additional accurate information asked for and has permanently retained all essential records: Therefore, this Legislature is of the opinion that the accounting routines of the Alberta Government Telephone System, which conform in general principle to the standard uniform system of telephone accounts, are well adapted to and consistent with the present needs of the System, and having consideration for the high class of construction, the extent of the area covered, the class of country and the sparsity of population, that construction has been so economically carried out as to permit of the people of Alberta enjoying an extensive service of the highest quality and at lower rates than any similar system now in operation.

2. *Opposition Resolution, defeated by 24 to 12:* That every person serving in the military forces of Great Britain or her Allies in Great Britain, Ireland, France, Bel-

gium, or in any part of the Dominion of Canada outside of the Province of Alberta, raised for service in the present war, who at the time of enlistment was a resident of the Province of Alberta, or who resided in the Province of Alberta for six months immediately preceding the date on which he or she left the Province for the purpose of being appointed to, or enlisting in, or joining such forces, shall, notwithstanding their absence from the electoral district or from the Province of Alberta, be entitled to vote in the electoral district in which he or she was last so resident in the next general election of the members of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Alberta. For the purpose of carrying into effect this provision, according to the true intent and meaning thereof, this Act shall be read as one with The Alberta Elections Act.

3. *Opposition Resolution, defeated by 24 to 12:* That in the opinion of this House the abolition of political patronage is in the interest of the people, and that all appointments to the public service and all promotions therein should be placed under the control of an independent Public Service Commission.

3. *Government Amendment, carried by 24 to 12:* Appointments and promotions in the Civil Service of the Province of Alberta should continue to be based solely upon qualification and merit, and permanently maintained independent of political party influences. And this House further recommends to the Government that a standardization and classification of Civil Service be made with a provision for deduction of pay for the purpose of forming a retiring allowance.

3. *Opposition Amendment to Amendment, defeated by 23 to 13:* That in the opinion of this House the abolition of political patronage in both Provincial and Federal affairs is in the interest of the people and that appointments to the Public Service and promotions therein should be placed under the control of independent Public Service Commissioners.

4. *Opposition Resolution, defeated by 26 to 12:* That in the opinion of this House The Wild Lands Tax Act should be amended to provide that the Revenue derived therefrom shall be applied in the establishment and maintenance of a system of Free Hospitals for the Rural Districts of the Province.

In answer to questions during the Session Hon. J. R. Boyle stated that the Government controlled an English School for Foreigners at Vegreville which in 1912-16 cost $42,362 and was for the training of young men who had been in the Province for two years and wanted an education in English; Hon. Mr. Sifton stated that 35 miles were graded on the Lacombe & Blindman Valley Railway to date with Government payments of $128,647 and a default in interest under which the Province had so far paid $20,517; Hon. Mr. Gariepy stated that up to Feb. 1, 1917, $203,774 had been collected under the Wild Lands Tax with $681,402 levied and 8,090,934 acres assessed. Incidents of the Session included the Opposition criticism of the Government preparations for an Election in wartime and obvious willingness to extend the time of the Legislature as opposed to their tendency in 1916 to favour an Election; the statement by Hon. Mr. Marshall that there would be no difficulty in getting 2,500 men from the United States for seeding work at $40 or $50 a month; the remark of the Minister of Education on Mar. 21 that "the four Western Provinces were working together on a new set of books which would incorporate the deeds of the Canadian and Empire heroes during the present war, and that a recent deputation from the Daughters of the Empire in regard to patriotic literature in the schools was surprised to learn that the rural school libraries were better supplied than the list sent to them for consideration. There was a good deal of important Government legislation during the Session. The most important was the Alberta Farm Loan Act which provided for the Government loan of money on

1st mortgages of farm lands in the Province up to 40% of their appraised value, calculated on the basis of value and productiveness when the improvements in respect of which the loan was desired had been made; the maximum amount loaned to any one person fixed at $5,000 and the borrower to be actually engaged in, or intending to be engaged in, agriculture, stock-raising or dairying, and to satisfy the Board that he had experience and ability to carry on the same successfully; the rate of interest charged on loans to be sufficient to pay the interest on the money raised for loan purposes by the sale of Government bonds or other securities and the costs of raising the money and the expense of conducting the business of the Board; every mortgage to be for 30 years but after the expiration of five years from the date of mortgage the mortgagor to have the privilege of paying, on any interest day and on account of the mortgage, the sum of $25 or any multiple of $25; the general management of the affairs of the Board to be in the hands of a Commissioner of Farm Loans who would devote all his time to the performance of the duties of his office. The sum of $10,000 was appropriated to put the Board in operation.

The Alberta Co-Operative Credit Act made provision whereby from 30 to 100 persons carrying on farming, ranching, stock raising, dairying or other like operations, or agreeing to carry on such pursuits within one year, inside a radius of 30 miles from the location chosen as the chief place of business, could organize a Society for the purpose of obtaining short-term loans for its members upon the individual security of the borrower, backed by the credit of the Society, and the lender be guaranteed against loss by the Province to an amount equal to one-half the capital stock of the Society and by one or more municipalities for an equal amount. It was the duty of the Director to arrange with any chartered bank, financial corporation, firm or person, for loans to the members of the Society for (a) the purchase of seed, feed and other farm supplies; (b) the purchase of implements and machinery; (c) the purchase of cows, horses, sheep and other live-stock; (d) the payment of the cost of preparing for cultivation and of carrying on the season's operations. Borrowers were to repay all loans not later than the 31st of January next after receiving the same—except in a case where the loan was granted for purposes not fully productive within one year. The rate of interest in every case to be that agreed upon between the Society and the lender, and out of the interest an amount sufficient to cover the cost of administration and a reserve fund was to be paid to the Society by the lender as soon as the loan and interest had been paid. A Live-Stock Encouragement Act provided that any five or more persons engaged in practical farming in the Province could jointly apply to the Live-Stock Commissioner for a loan not to exceed $500 each for the purpose of buying cows and heifers. The five or more signing the application were to constitute an association. An immense number of details were given and the Commissioner stood in the position of a mortgagor to the Association and its members.

The Liquor Act was largely amended so that dentists and veterinary surgeons were to fyle monthly statements, chemists and druggists to have and sell for medicinal purposes only combinations of alcohol, as to which the formula was approved by the Government; the quantity of liquor to be kept in a private house was limited to 1 quart spirituous and 2 gallons malt, liquor warehouses for export sale were abolished; persons beyond the express radius were permitted to carry home the legal quantity of liquor, canvassing or soliciting orders were abolished; full permission for entry into private houses for search was given. The Alberta Provincial Police Act constituted this force with the usual Police duties and special authority as to liquor violations or supposed infraction of the law; a Reclamation Act was prepared with the approval of and by arrangement with the Dominion Government and provided for the drainage and reclamation of unpatented lands under four different schemes; the Dower Act gave a wife a life interest in the share of her husband in the homestead and "homestead" was interpreted to mean "the land on which the house occupied by the owner thereof as his residence is situated, consisting of not more than one quarter section," or in a city, town or village "the land, consisting of not more than four lots as shown on a duly registered plan" and no sale, mortgage or transfer was legal after May 1 without the consent in writing of the wife; under the Seed Grain Act the Provincial Treasurer or Minister of Agriculture was authorized to advance moneys up to $75,000, in total, to "owners or occupiers of patented lands or to the wives or other representatives of such persons who were on active military or naval service." The Seed Grain Act, in respect to Dominion loans in 1915, modified in some measure the security granted by that Act; Wolf bounties were increased, the Stallion Enrolment Act amended in various important directions, the War Veterans were incorporated, the Government was authorized to borrow $2,500,000 for public purposes.

In respect to the 1916 loss of $262,000 by the Hail Insurance Board the Government was authorized to guarantee the payment of the Board's liability in the matter; a special Act authorized the public to purchase Provincial Savings Certificates of $10, $100 and $1,000 at par, payable on demand and bearing 5% interest; the Factories Act was a long and elaborate measure providing in many details for the life, health and well-being of employees in factories, shops, offices and public buildings, with male and female Inspectors, defined wages and hours of labour, in many cases stringent sanitary clauses, etc.; the School Ordinance was amended as to Consolidated School districts and conditions; the Rural Municipality Act was amended to extend office of Councillors from one to two years and to assist residents of isolated communities in the much-mooted physician question; Local Improvement Districts were incorporated and given power to vote grants to a medical man; the Patriotic Tax Act made provision for any urban or rural municipality or local improvement district to levy a tax for the Canadian Patriotic Fund of Alberta—the rate of taxation to be levied for this purpose not being limited; the Municipal Co-Operative Hail Insurance Act

was amended so that the system of taxation for Hail purposes was changed from a flat rate on assessment lands to a flat rate of five cents per acre, to pay all hail losses for the year, administration expenses and unpaid awards of former years; the Rural Municipality and the Local Improvement Acts were enlarged to permit of help in the essential matter of rural Hospitals or physicians. Under other Acts British qualified physicians were allowed special terms of registration and municipalities were allowed to assist well-kept hotels. Incidents of the Session included the various amendments to municipal and hospital acts which enabled the Government and the people to start a seriously needed system of rural hospitals. Apart from the Hospitals in Edmonton and Calgary there were already 17 north of and including Red Deer—Lacombe, Wetaskiwin, Vegreville, Pakan, Lamont, Grouard, Camrose, Grande Prairie, Peace River, Stettler, etc.—but they did not meet the emergent conditions of vast spaces; the legal status of women was greatly advanced and it may be said that the privileges enjoyed by man, politically, were equally bestowed on women and what men could do in business, such as the right to enjoy, hold and administer property, a woman could also do; a pamphlet was issued by the Government providing a useful summary of the Session's work; Mr. Mitchell fathered the Farm Loans Act in the House, Mr. Marshall handled several important Agricultural Bills; Mr. Gariepy dealt with complex and useful municipal affairs in varied changes of the law. The House was prorogued on Apr. 5.

Prohibition was a prominent issue of the year as it was everywhere. In February the Chief Inspector made public the result of six months' operation of the Liquor Act (July 1 to Dec. 31, 1916) in which the arrests for drunkenness in the 6 chief cities of the Province were 155 compared with 1,159 in 1915, while various petty offences had greatly decreased. At the Convention of the Temperance and Moral League, Edmonton, Feb. 14-15, there were some criticisms as to enforcement which Rev. W. F. Gold, Chief Inspector, promptly met; the main difficulty was for the hotels to maintain themselves and, after a vigorous speech from G. Hilton, Calgary, representing the Provincial Commercial Travellers, a Petition was almost unanimously signed and, with the support of many other organizations, was presented to the Government on Feb. 22. It urged the appointment of a Commissioner to inquire into, regulate and improve conditions of hotel accommodation wherever necessary. Resolutions were passed at this meeting (1) urging Federal Prohibition as a war measure; (2) asking for a Commission to administer the Act, (3) requesting clearing-up amendments to the law and an Act dealing with and prohibiting gambling. Rev. A. W. Coone, Secretary, and Mrs. Louise McKinney, urged the creation of Vigilance Committees to see to the law enforcement and the former carried a Resolution pledging support for public office only to those who favoured the League's opinions. Another Resolution submitted details for legislation as to Venereal diseases and the Convention as a body visited a picture play called *Damaged Goods* and by 80 to 17 urged its presentation throughout the Province; after this it

changed its name to the Social Service League. Legislation during the Session met some of the difficulties raised as to poor Hotels. On Mar. 25 over 1,000 persons waited upon the Premier—headed by Bishop Gray and Mrs. Nellie McClung with a later delegation from the North led by G. P. Smith. M.L.A.—and urged that the quantity of liquor allowed on private premises be limited to 1 quart of spirits and 2 gallons of malt and, in succeeding legislation, this was done. For the year of operation ending July 1 it was stated by the Government that crime had greatly decreased—in Calgary 58%, in Edmonton 78%,—while vagrancy had almost disappeared and there were 5,151 convictions for all offences in the Province against a previous 4-year average of 12,706. Bishops, clergy, Banks and commercial men testified as to the good general influence of Prohibition.

As to the War Alberta did its full share. The Red Cross donations of the year were $107,724 and its total Canadian Patriotic Fund contributions were $1,834,245 up to Dec. 31, 1917—though in this matter and owing to its large proportion of enlistments the Fund advances to the Province were $3,040,960; various foreigners, Allied or enemy, objected to the Federal disfranchisement Act and various meetings were held which had an influence upon contributions to both these objects. The annual meeting of the Alberta Branch of the Red Cross on Nov. 30, with R. B. Bennett, K.C., in the chair, was held, with many representative speakers, and it was reported that "the number of branches had increased by 41, being now 144, that the number of life members was 562, active members 5,096, and associate members 1,620; that the Society worked through 700 towns, villages and districts in the Province"—with total collections of $356,818 in 1917 or $140,000 more than in 1916. In the Patriotic Fund collections Camrose led every rural district with $22,000 in the fiscal year or double its call; on Sept. 28 the North Alberta Patriotic Fund, led by G. P. Smith, M.L.A., of Camrose, declared by resolution that (1) in view of the inequalities and unfairness of voluntary subscription, (2) because of the coming enforcement of Conscription as a Federal duty involving the obligation of supporting dependants, and (3) because of the effect of the War-times Franchise Act on foreign settlers, the Dominion Government should take over this burden from the people; in September the women of the Peace River region undertook a campaign to help purchase Red Cross ambulances for a Fund initiated at Edmonton. As to Victory Bonds Pat. Burns, a prominent citizen of Calgary, not only gave $250 a month to the Patriotic Fund but helped the Victory Loan sales with great vigour—giving a banquet himself to 400 men and women workers, while the Province as a whole purchased $16,513,156 worth; Alberta gave generously to the relief of Halifax and, in connection with conservation of food, A. C. Rutherford, D.C.L., and ex-Premier, addressed an appeal as Director of National Service (Jan. 12, 1917) urging economy, enlistment and ever-increasing production. Of personal incidents Lieut. J. Emmet Stauffer, M.L.A., and Deputy Speaker, was killed in action during April; Pte. J. D. Cowell, son of J. R. Cowell, Clerk of the Legis-

lature, was wounded and granted a D.C.M.; Lieut. P. E. Guay, Private Secretary to Hon. W. Gariepy, won an M.C.; the following 12 members of the Legislature were said to be at the Front or on the way when it met in February:

Lieut.-Col. J. S. Stewart.
Major C. S. Pingle.
Lieut. G. E. LeRoy-Hudson.
Lieut. F. E. Walker.
Major J. R. Lowery.
Lieut.-Col. Nelson Spencer.
Lieut. J. E. Stauffer.
Pte. George McDonald.
Major R. B. Eaton.
Capt. R. E. Campbell.
Lieut. J. G. Turgeon.
Lieut. A. S. Shandro.

Alberta General Elections; The New Stewart Government.

The Conservatives did not want an Election in 1917—circumstances were against them anyway and they claimed that during the War there was no occasion to appeal to the people as the Opposition would support the Government in all War and reasonable policies. The events of the immediate past, such as the A. & G. W. charges, had been more or less forgotten by the public; with unusual strength of mind Mr. Premier Sifton had refused Commissions in respect to several inquiries demanded by the Opposition; the legislation of the Government was voluminous and, upon the whole, popular, and the farmers, generally, were inclined to support the Liberals who, also, had always made the most of Reciprocity and Free trade issues in their Provincial contests. It was claimed for the Rutherford and Sifton Governments that they had broken the C.P.R. monopoly in Alberta by bringing in the C.N.R. and G.T.P.; brought action against, fined and broken up the Lumber combine; investigated the "beef trust" in Alberta and destroyed the Telephone monopoly; that they were the first to introduce Government ownership and construction of Telephones in the Dominion; that they had fixed an eight-hour day in coal mines and raised the age limit for boy employees from 12 to 16 years, put free readers in the schools and passed a Truancy and Compulsory School Attendance Act; that they passed The Co-Operative Elevator Act, the Co-Operative Associations Act, the Farm Machinery Act and the Direct Legislation Act, the Unearned Increment Tax Act, the Timber Area Tax Act and the Wild Lands Tax Act; that the Sifton Government was the first to assist the Mother Country with supplies when war broke out and had sent quickly 500,000 bushels of oats and 5,000 sacks of flour for Belgian relief; that they had submitted the Liquor Act Referendum—carried by a majority of 20,786—and it was the first Province to pass and enforce a Children's Protection Act; that they protected workmen by passing the Workmen's Lien Act and the Threshers' Lien Act and the interests of the poor man by passing various special Acts; that by their railway policy they had opened up the great North lands to settlement and were the first to place women on an absolute equality with men; that they protected the soldier and those dependant on him by passing the Soldiers' Relief Act, and had given special encouragement to the farmers by large grants for agricultural purposes, by excellent agricultural courses, by their demonstration trains and by the Farm Loans Act, the Co-Operative Credit Act and the Act to Encourage the Raising of Stock; that they gave the women of Alberta greater rights and more secure

protection than any other Province of the Dominion; that they proved their well-known adherence to Temperance by passing amendments to the Liquor Act which made it far more definite and effective; that they enacted the simplest and best Drainage legislation in Canada and that they had passed the Factory Act and the Municipal Hospitals Act—said to be two of the most advanced, humane, social laws in the history of any Legislature.

The Government arranged, when the Elections were still only pending, to elect by special Act of the Legislature the 12 members overseas—one was afterwards killed in action—and much legislation asked for by the U.F.A. and Women's organizations was granted at the same Session—including the Suffrage for a large number of women already greatly pleased with Alberta's Prohibition policy; the bare possibility of Conscription and the known opposition of Sir W. Laurier to it was enough to influence largely the foreign-naturalized vote of the Province; Railways and Telephones had always been a strong part of the Government's platform—while the Hon. C. W. Cross was an astute political manager and organizer in Alberta, as was Mr. Calder in Saskatchewan, and Mr. Gariepy was the leader of the French-Canadian population. The writs were issued for nominations on May 31 and polling on June 7; John A. Reid, Agent-General in London, was appointed Returning Officer Overseas and John D. Hunt for such members of the Military and Naval Services as might still be in the Province and whose votes would be counted in their home constituencies; in 11 out of the 58 ridings the members Overseas were elected by legislation—6 Liberals and 5 Conservatives; Elections in the Athabasca and Peace River districts were deferred. Mr. Sifton at once started upon a speaking tour which was opened at Calgary on May 16 and, at Edmonton on the 17th, he pointed out that in a 7 years' administration the population of the Province had doubled; the production of the coal mines more than doubled; the agricultural products increased sevenfold, from 22,000,000 bushels to 160,000,000 of varied nature; Telephones had increased more than four-fold and the Railways three-fold; the Opposition, he declared, had insinuated that the Government of the country had not done everything that should have been done as to railways, but the fact that there were 1,505 miles of railway in the Province seven years ago and 4,560 miles now, was evidence that something had been done. As a matter of fact over a mile a day had been built during seven years. The Opposition were constantly charging extravagance and urging economy, he added, yet whenever a question of new roads, new bridges, more hospitals, new public buildings, etc., came up they always wanted more and still more. Mrs. Nellie McClung also spoke at these two gatherings and was advertised to do so at all the Premier's meetings. Her chief item of policy was gratitude: "It is up to the women to do something for people who have given us the vote."

Mr. Sifton spoke at High River on May 22 and there, as at some other places during the campaign, occurred a sort of riot over the question as to why he had refused soldiers the voting power of

civilians and did not disfranchise enemy aliens—his obvious answer being that no matter what else happened there would be 13 soldier members in the next House. At Wetaskiwin (June 2) Mr. Sifton said he had spoken in 15 constituencies and had come here to find the chief issue a question of Ministers' travelling expenses: "They do not tell the people that of the forty or fifty million dollars expended during the last seven years not one dollar has been shown to have been misspent. Nor do they charge that this travelling was not done on public business for the Province. . . . I may say that the very reason why I made an increase in the Cabinet *personnel* some years ago was to see that the Ministers would not be constantly tied down to their desks in Edmonton, but would be free for a part of the time to get out over the Province and see at first hand what were the needs of every constituency. And I will further say that as long as I remain in office I intend to encourage the travelling of the Ministers so that they may keep in closest touch with these needs." Much was made by the Opposition of War-time elections and W. M. Davidson, Liberal candidate in Calgary, replied (June 2) that: "Since the outbreak of the War there have been elections in all the Provinces of Canada except Saskatchewan, which will have one soon, and Ontario, which had one six weeks before the outbreak of the War. There have been elections in most of the States of Australia, in the Commonwealth of Australia, South Africa and New Zealand." Mrs. Davidson of Calgary followed Mrs. McClung in speaking during the campaign at several places; all the Ministers spoke at various points and E. H. Riley, a former opponent of Mr. Sifton, helped him in the fight; the Peace River deferred contest for June 28 touched a huge riding. W. A. Rae, the Liberal candidate, was aided by Hon. J. R. Boyle, Hon. W. Gariepy and Hon. C. Stewart. The Government itself issued a rather unusual Manifesto —an elaborate statement of what the Departments separately, and the Government as a whole, had done for the people. It may be briefly summarized:

1. The Department of Public Works since 1905 had spent $8,000,000 on roads, bridges and ferries, rapidly and without direct taxation, in face of great difficulties for gravel and building material—with, also, an ideal of a great trunk road through the Province.

2. The Department of Agriculture had no superior in Canada for educational ideals, for promotion of mixed farming, for building up the Province, for its success with Schools of Agriculture and Demonstration Farms, for its Dairy Branch and help to what were now 14,000 Dairy farmers, for Fairs and Women's Institutes, and Poultry, and the treatment of seeds and weeds.

3. The Department of Municipal Affairs was said to have led Canada in organization, in leadership of municipalities and civic interests and promotion of local self-government, in assisting school districts and efficient taxation of scattered settlements for essential purposes.

4. The Provincial Secretary had administered the gaols and asylums with judicial care and on humanitarian principles; the Railway development was outlined at length and the Sifton Government in 7 years was said to be responsible for 56% of a large mileage; the rapid Telephone development was reviewed at length.

5. The Department of Education had handled a difficult situation with a minimum of friction and a maximum of result, had improved rural schools, established Summer schools, established school libraries, facilitated sales of school bonds, promoted patriotism, formed excellent Normal Schools, aided technical education, and established a great University and College of Agriculture.

6. The legislation for Women was reviewed and 19 important Acts in the interest of the Farmer dealt with; a review of legislation since the last election showed 30 measures of legislation which were described as important and progressive.

Edward Michener had been Leader of the Opposition since his election to the House in 1913 and the majority had been 38 against 18. He had shrewd and constructive politicians to oppose and a Premier who did not say much but never feared to fight vigorously when he thought it necessary. Mr. Michener's great appeal in the Election was this*: "I denounce the effort of the Sifton Government to hive the soldier vote as a deliberate plot to give greater weight to the vote of the alien-enemy electorate of this Province." He claimed that 34,659 fighting men and nurses at the Front had been practically hived into two seats arbitrarily created by the Legislature and that this left the Province at the mercy of alien enemies or other foreign-naturalized voters. In George Hoadley of Okotoks, T. M. M. Tweedie and Dr. T. H. Blow of Calgary he had strong supporters and Mr. Hoadley in speaking of the 11 soldiers to be elected by Act of the Legislature stated on May 29 that one of them, J. G. Turgeon (Lib.), had never been out of Alberta and was living in Edmonton and that A. S. Shandro (Lib.) had not been Overseas and was now out of uniform. Early in May Mr. Michener and Dr. Blow had visited Bow Valley, Medicine Hat, Lethbridge, Taber, Cardston and the towns along the south line, including Granum, High River, etc., and held conferences with the local party chiefs; at Calgary on May 18 Mr. Tweedie gave a keynote to the Conservative platform—backed by the Calgary *Herald:* "When our British men are being taken for the Front is it possible to say that we cannot regulate the vote of aliens left behind? When our sons are being taken for war I believe we should comb out everyone of these alien enemy voters and take the franchise from them." Dr. Blow, on May 25, in his candidacy at Calgary, stated that the actual cost of 950 miles of the McArthur railways in the North was per mile $11,915; the Provincial guarantee was $20,000 per mile and that he had repeatedly asked for vouchers and an investigation; S. B. Hillocks spoke in a number of ridings and a strike among the Government Telephone operators in Calgary on closed shop and recognition of union principle was expected to hurt the Government but it was settled in a few days. As to Provincial control of Natural Resources the Opposition Leader, at Macleod (May 30), made a plausible but indirect reference to two Conservative Governments working together: "If returned to power we can ask Sir Robert Borden to implement his promise. Unlike Premier Sifton we will make a reasonable request for the control of the natural resources. It is a matter of negotiation only." They could then keep down taxes. At Olds on June 2 he submitted his platform:

I appeal to the electors of Alberta to turn from power a Government that (1) juggles with the soldiers' vote for political advantage; that (2) springs an election during this great crisis to get a snap verdict a year before its term of office expires; that (3) has plunged the Province in seven years into a debt of over $30,000,000 without any adequate provision for its repayment; that (4) imposes all kinds of

* Edmonton, Mar. 24.

special taxes upon the people and by extravagances of a political nature will make it necessary to impose a direct tax upon all farm lands owned in the Province; that (5) refuses to give investigation into specific charges of corruption against Ministers of the Crown, namely, C. W. Cross, Attorney-General, and Arthur L. Sifton, Premier of Alberta, and Minister of Railways; that (6) has impaired the credit of the Province by an indirect liability in connection with Railway guarantees to the extent of $60,000,000; that (7) has handed out favours to railway corporations and financial interests by reason of which millions of dollars have been made by private interests at the public expense; that (8) lends itself to the methods of machine politics by using the public services and the civil servants for partisan advantage—thereby causing inefficiency and wastage in connection with all Departments of the public service; that (9) attempts to corrupt the electorate of the Province through a system of party patronage and turns a deaf ear to Civil Service Reform as advocated by the Opposition.

On Nomination day there were contests in 43 constituencies with two seats where the Liberals let Independents oppose the Conservative candidates and one month was allowed for the nomination of two soldiers' representatives from Overseas. In Calgary the soldier-alien problem was the chief issue and one night 12 meetings were held with Mr. Tweedie and Mrs. McClung as stalwart but divergent fighters. *The Herald* of this city had done excellent work for the Conservatives and on June 6 summarized the reasons for voting in favour of the Opposition as follows:

> A vote for these candidates means a vote for a square deal for the soldiers overseas and for placing the enemy country citizen in his proper place as regards the franchise until after the War;
>
> For the abolition of autocratic methods of government and administration at Edmonton and the speedy acquisition of our natural resources, taken from us with the acquiescence of Premier Sifton and his party;
>
> For long-needed and denied improvements in the rural districts in the shape of better roads, whereby the farmer will be able to do business more easily in the cities and the cost of living will be materially reduced;
>
> For a quick finish to the Sifton system of using the credit of the Province to aid the Premier's railway friends in amassing great wealth; and for many more reforms and improvements which are absolutely necessary if Alberta is to come through the trying after-war period with credit to itself and honour to its people.

There were 21 candidates of the soldiers and nurses Overseas for the two seats, they nominated their own candidates under Mr. Reid's experienced supervision, the writs were issued on the same day as in Alberta and the Election advertised in the London *Times* and *Canada*. The candidates were as follows with the recorded electoral vote after each candidate's name: Lieut.-Col. P. E. Bowen, 882; Lieut.-Col. J. K. Cornwall, ex-M.L.A., 2,331; Lieut.-Col. W. H. Hewgill, 1,744; Lieut.-Col. A. M. Jarvis, C.M.G., 425; Lieut.-Col. J. W. H. McKinery, 918; Lieut.-Col. A. E. Myatt, 186; Lieut.-Col. Lionel F. Page, D.S.O., 1,782; Capt. Lionel Asquith, 423; Capt. A. M. Calderon, 438; Capt. W. D. Ferris, 474; Capt. D. W. Gray, 374; Capt. Robert Pearson, 4,286; Major James Walker, 1,109; Lieut. Roberta C. MacAdams, 4,023; Lieut. Chas. H. Taylor, 519; Sergt.-Major H. L. Bateson, 221; Actg. Staff Sergt. C. M. Camroux, 97; Qtr.-Sergt. T. A. P. Frost, 1,145; Sergt. A. Joyce, 180; Pte. G. E. Harper, 3,328; Pte. Herbert F. Stow, 716. Voting was settled for Aug. 16-28 and the votes were counted by the Agent-General. Unlike Saskatchewan the number voting was large—with 25,601 all told. The notable point in it was the election of

two non-combatants, Miss R. C. MacAdams, a sister of Mrs. W. J. Hanna of Ontario, a nurse at the Orpington Hospital, and in 1911 an organizer of Women's Institutes in Alberta and Capt. Robert Pearson, who, after being wounded at the Front had taken service with the Y.M.C.A. forces. The Elections on June 7 resulted as follows:

Constituency	Liberal Candidate	Conservative Candidate	Member Elected	Politics	Majority
Athabasca	Hon. A. G. MacKay	A. F. Fugi	Hon. A. G. MacKay	Lib.	361
Acadia	J. A. McColl	Gordon Jonah	J. A. McColl	"	613
Alexandra		J. R. Lowery	J. R. Lowery	Cons.	Accl.
Beaver River	Hon. W. Gariepy	A. E. Gray	Hon. W. Gariepy	Lib.	498
Bow Valley	Hon. C. R. Mitchell	E. F. Purcell	Hon. C. R. Mitchell	"	169
Calgary Centre	A. Ross (Lab.)	T. M. M. Tweedie	A. Ross	Lab.	55
Calgary North	W. M. Davidson	S. B. Hillocks	W. M. Davidson	Lib.	466
Calgary South	J. McNeil (Ind.-Lib.	Dr. T. H. Blow	Dr. T. H. Blow	Cons.	1,026
Camrose	G. P. Smith	F. P. Layton	G. P. Smith	Lib.	1,054
Cardston	Martin Woolf	W. G. Smith	Martin Woolf	"	220
Claresholm	Wm. Moffatt				
	L.C.McKinney (Ind.)		Mrs.L.C.McKinney	Ind.	169
Clearwater	Dr. J. E. State	R. M. Frith	Dr. J. E. State	Lib.	84
Cochrane	Hon. C. W. Fisher	H. E. G. H. Scholefield	Hon. C. W. Fisher.	"	161
Coronation	H. S. Northwood	W. W. Wilson	W. W. Wilson	Cons.	207
Didsbury	H. B. Aikins	W. L. Tolton	H. B. Aikins	Lib.	148
Edmonton West	W. T. Henry	A. F. Ewing	A. F. Ewing	Cons.	892
Edmonton East	Fred. Duncan	Jas. Ramsey	Jas. Ramsey	"	482
Edmonton South	R. B. Douglas	H. H. Crawford	H. H. Crawford	"	583
Edson	Hon. C. W. Cross	J. R. McIntosh	Hon. C. W. Cross	Lib.	661
Gleichen	J. P. McArthur	Fred. Davis	Fred. Davis	Cons.	50
Grouard	J. L. Coté	Eugene Gravel	J. L. Coté	Lib.	403
High River	D. H. Riley	Dr. G. D. Stanley	Dr. G. D. Stanley	Cons.	38
Hand Hills	R. B. Eaton		R. B. Eaton	Lib.	Accl.
Innisfail	D. Morkeberg	T. W. Archer	D. Morkeberg	"	139
Lacombe	W. F. Puffer	A. Gilmour	A. Gilmour	Cons.	90
Lac Ste. Anne	R. E. Barker	G. R. Barker	G. R. Barker	"	34
Leduc	S. G. Tobin	G. Currie	S. G. Tobin	Lib.	1,097
Lethbridge City		Dr. J. S. Stewart	Dr. J. S. Stewart	Cons.	Accl.
Little Bow	J. McNaughton	H. Thomas (Ind.)	J. McNaughton	Lib.	572
Macleod	Geo. Skelding	R. Patterson	Geo. Skelding	"	50
Medicine Hat		N. Spencer	N. Spencer	Cons.	Accl.
Nanton	J. M. Glendenning	J. T. Cooper			
	J. Weir (Ind.)		Jas. Weir	Ind.	24
Okotoks	A. McIntosh	Geo. Hoadley	Geo. Hoadley	Cons.	251
Olds	Hon. D. Marshall	G. H. Cloakley	Hon. D. Marshall	Lib.	289
Peace River	W. A. Rae	D. H. Minchin	W. A. Rae	"	1,282
Pembina	G. Macdonald		G. Macdonald	"	Accl.
Pincher Creek	T. Hammond	J. H. W. S. Kemmis	J. H. W. S. Kemmis	Cons.	48
Ponoka	Dr. W. A. Campbell	C. O. Cunningham	C. O. Cunningham	"	31
Redcliff	C. S. Pingle		C. S. Pingle	Lib.	Accl.
Red Deer	R. B. Welliver	E. Michener	E. Michener	Cons.	23
Ribstone	J. G. Turgeon		J. G. Turgeon	Lib.	Accl.
Rocky Mount'n		R. E. Campbell	R. E. Campbell	Cons.	"
St. Albert	L. Boudreau	H. L. Landry	L. Boudreau	Lib.	353
St. Paul	Hon. P. E. Lessard	Jas. Brady	Hon. P. E. Lessard.	"	538
Sedgewick	Hon. C. Stewart	J. R. Lavell	Hon. C. Stewart	"	686
Stettler	E. H. Prudden	Geo. McMorris	E. H. Prudden	"	33
Stony Plain	F. A. Smith	F. W. Lundy	F. W. Lundy	Cons.	39
Sturgeon	Hon. J. R. Boyle	J. Sutherland	Hon. J. R. Boyle	Lib.	334
Taber	Hon. A. J. McLean	Thos. O. King	Hon. A. J. McLean	"	778
Vegreville	J. S. McCallum	M. R. Gordon	J. S. McCallum	"	575
Vermilion	Hon. A. L. Sifton	J. B. Burch	Hon. A. L. Sifton	"	853
Victoria	F. A. Walker		F. A. Walker	"	Accl.
Wainwright		G. E. L. Hudson	G. E. L. Hudson	Cons.	"
Warner	F. S. Leffingwell	H. J. Tennant	F. S. Leffingwell	Lib.	324
Wetaskiwin	H. J. Montgomery	R. M. Angus	H. J. Montgomery.	"	817
Whitford	A. S. Shandro		A. S. Shandro	"	Accl.

A notable election was that of Mrs. Louise C. McKinney, President of the W.C.T.U. and a Non-Partisan who left her resignation in the hands of the League to be used for purposes of "recall" if she ever differed from them or her electors—or some of them! The defeat of T. M. M. Tweedie and S. B. Hillocks in Calgary—the former by Alex. Ross, President of the local Trades and Labour Council—was a shock to the Conservatives, though they carried the three

seats in Edmonton by large majorities; all the Ministers were re-elected—Mr. Gariepy getting 600 majority, Mr. Cross over 600, Mr. Stewart over 600, Mr. McLean 800 and the others all over 200 —large majorities for Alberta; Mr. Michener in Red Deer got in by only 23 and the two Parties stood very much as before; Liberals 34, Conservatives 19 and three Independents who, in the main, would support the Government policies as developed up to this time. The later election in Peace River was a fight between W. A. Rae (Lib.), D. H. Minchin (Cons.) and L. H. Adair (Ind.). Hon. Mr. Marshall helped the Government candidate and he was eventually elected by 1,282—the largest majority in the Elections—with S. J. Tobin and G. P. Smith running him close; the other deferred seat was Athabasca where Hon. A. G. MacKay (Lib.) won by 361 majority over A. F. Fugl (Cons.). Sixteen Conservatives and Independents in all lost their deposits. Following the Elections came the Conscription discussion and then the Union Government problem in which Mr. Premier Sifton took great interest. He would have preferred one with a Liberal or non-political chief; in the end when developments showed that there was a reasonable chance of the Borden Government being returned in an Election followed by deepened political animosities and divisions, a party enforcement of Conscription and a probable continuance of Party government with its War-time evils he joined the other Liberals who patriotically combined to avert what they all considered dangerous. Upon his resignation of the Premiership the Lieut.-Governor called upon the Hon. Charles Stewart, Minister of Public Works, (Oct. 13) to form a Government. Mr. Stewart had been a successful farmer and a successful politician, a member of the House since 1909 and of the Ministry since 1913. He offered Hon. A. G. MacKay, K.C., his own Department but it was understood that the latter declined and on Oct. 16 the new Ministry was sworn in as follows with George P. Smith of Camrose—a member of the House since 1909—as the only new Minister:

Premier, President of the Council, Minister of Railways and Telephones	Hon. Charles Stewart.
Minister of Public Works	Hon. Archibald J. McLean.
Minister of Education	Hon. John Robert Boyle, K.C.
Attorney-General	Hon. Charles Wilson Cross, K.C.
Provincial Treasurer	Hon. Charles R. Mitchell, K.C.
Minister of Municipal Affairs	Hon. Wilfrid Gariepy, B.A., B.C.L.
Provincial Secretary	Hon. George P. Smith.

Mr. Smith in his by-election was opposed by James Miner of the Non-Partisan League and, after a stiff fight, won on Nov. 9 by over 1,000 majority. In Vermilion vacated by Hon. Mr. Sifton A. W. Ebbets was elected by acclamation on Nov. 12. Following this change in the Government Mr. Michener retired, also, from his task to accept a seat in the Senate and at the close of the year the question of his successor was undecided with strong efforts being made to persuade R. B. Bennett, K.C., ex-M.P., and an old-time Alberta leader to take the position; Dr. T. H. Blow, M.L.A., of Calgary and others were mentioned and the Calgary *Herald* (Cons.) on Dec. 20 suggested a Provincial Union Government: "Why should Alberta not be the first Province in Canada in this direction as it

has been in others? We have fought Provincial elections for years on old-fashioned party lines, knowing all the time that they did not logically apply to the questions before us and that what we wanted was a business Government devoted to the great work of construction and untrammelled by the false obligations and limitations of partisan politics." Another incident of this period included Resolutions by the Alberta Food Control Committee (Sept. 12) asking:

(1) That the Dominion Inland Trade Commission should be permanently constituted to advise our statesmen and people on the proper distribution and to maintain proper relations between producers, manufacturers, distributors, and consumers, in a manner similar to the operation of the Railway Commission.

(2) That the Food Controller make urgent representations to the Dominion Government for the reduction of the import duties, and for the abandonment of duties, on foods other than luxuries grown in this continent.

(3) That a Board of Inquiry be held for the purpose of procuring the maximum production of fish in Alberta, by the use of more intensive methods, and to increase local storage facilities for fish in the Province.

(4) That the Food Controller should make urgent representations to the Dominion Government for reduction of the import duties on farm tractors and farm implements, in order that agricultural production be increased.

(5) That the Dominion Government afford better Veterinary facilities to the producers of live-stock in the Province.

The United Farmers of Alberta. This organization maintained the same strong influence in Alberta affairs as did the Grain Growers of the neighbouring Provinces, and many of its wishes were crystallized in law during this and preceding Sessions of the Legislature; an illustration of this influence being seen in the submission by Hon. C. R. Mitchell of the Rural Credits Bill to the U. F. A. before it had been presented to the Assembly. The 9th Annual Convention (1917) was held at Edmonton on Jan. 22-25 with H. W. Wood in the Chair and a formal welcome from the Lieut.-Governor, the Agricultural Department and the University. The address of the President dealt with the progress of the Society and the holding of joint meetings between 25 members of the Council of Agriculture (a Dominion Farmers' body) and 25 representatives of the commercial, financial and other interests of the Province; expressed pleasure at the amalgamation of the Grain Growers' Grain Co., the Saskatchewan Co-Operative Elevator Co., and Alberta Co-Operative Elevator Co. as a step in the mobilization and co-operation of the West; referred to the progress and new responsibilities of the United Farm Women of Alberta in their organization and described the U. F. A. Sunday (also celebrated in Saskatchewan as a Grain Growers' Day) and defined its objects as measuring "the aims and objects of our organization by the standard of Christianity, as well as investigating the ability of the Church to help us in our upward struggle"; stated that after the War new civic dangers would come and the people be "appealed to in the name of patriotism to adopt a policy that will be dangerous to our own best interests"—Imperialism or militarism. His hope was for "a greater Canada and a freer people." The Directors' report advised a revision of the constitution, admission of the President of the U.F.W.A. to the Executive and 3 other members of the Women's Association to the Board of Directors; P. P. Woodbridge, General Secretary, stated that in the past year the membership had increased 2,300 and the Women's organization 600—the total membership being about 16,000 while the men had 600 Local branches and the women about 50; he defined in elaborate phrase the rights of the common people as the fundamental object of the Association—democracy *vs.* privilege; the Live-stock Committee reported that in 2¼ years it had handled $2,134,723 worth of stock and was now affiliated with the Western Canadian Live-stock Union. Addresses were given by J. A. Maharg from Saskatchewan, W. Sanford Evans, Ottawa, Hon. C. R. Mitchell, Provincial Treasurer, T. A. Crerar, Winnipeg, and at the annual banquet President Wood, Hon. W. Gariepy, President H. M. Tory, Dr. R. Magill, Lieut. Clifford Reilly and many others spoke. R. McKenzie stated that the farmers were being organized from coast to coast as "the common people against the Big interests." The Resolutions passed may be summarized as follows:

1. Asking the Dominion Government to take steps to remedy a situation whereby the farmers were suffering severe financial loss through shortage of cars and locomotives on the C.N.R. and approving the amalgamation of the Alberta and Manitoba Co-Operative organizations.
2. Endorsing the maintenance of Hospital Elevators for the treating and mixing of lower grades of grain, and approving the Farmers' Political platform of the Council of Agriculture.
3. Condemning gratuitous giving to Patriotic Funds and urging general taxation as more equitable, with municipal power to collect such taxes as being best system.
4. Endorsing standard Hail insurance politics and referring the larger question of a general scheme to the Executive to work out with the rural municipalities.
5. Requesting the Provincial Government "to amend the Machinery Act to prevent the forced collection of machinery notes before Dec. 1 of the year in which such notes are made," and asking for a bounty on Coyotes killed during the breeding season of sheep.
6. Demanding reciprocal demurrage laws—affecting the Railways as well as the shippers and declaring that the suppression of the Liquor traffic was not proceeding satisfactorily and urging better enforcement, while asking the Dominion Government to prohibit the manufacture in Canada or the import into Canada of all liquors, with a Referendum to be taken after the War.
7. Asking the Dominion Government to require by law the composition of manufactured stock foods to be definitely stated by the vendor and declaring that "the fullest service due Western Canada from the present Railway Commission has not been forthcoming and suggesting that another Commission be instituted for the special service of the Western public.
8. Favouring the raising of the Patriotic Fund by a system of Federal taxation which will ensure that every resident of Canada be compelled to pay his fair share, and endorsing the principle of Farmers' Mutual Fire Insurance.
9. Requesting legislation under which the issue of writs or seizure of property after judgment against a debtor would be delayed until the expiration of the period in which appeal could be made to a higher Court and asking for Engineers' certificates for operating steam tractors and the authorizing of municipal drainage of water from public highways by the most natural course.
10. Requesting a Provincial law for compulsory distribution of poison as a solution of the gopher problem and asking for improvement in the Parcel Post so as better to compete with the Express companies.
11. Requesting the Dominion Government to operate Coal mines pending the settlement of a dispute and that the manufacture of denatured alcohol be free of internal revenue tax and adopting by standing vote a reference to the vital needs of the Grande Prairie and Peace River regions for an outlet to the Pacific Coast.
12. Asking for retention of the splendid R.N.W.M.P. to administer Criminal law and protect the property and personal rights of rural populations and expressing appreciation of the War work of the Y.M.C.A.

H. W. Wood was unanimously re-elected President and D. W. Warner, Clover Bar, Hon. President. The latter in describing this meeting as the best ever held, replied to certain Winnipeg criticisms of the organization as not being very war-enthusiastic by saying (Feb. 5) that Alberta farmers were as much interested as other people in the War but "they felt that their organization was not a military one and consequently made little display of their feelings." As the President's speeches only dealt with agricultural problems and after-war conditions this was, apparently, an accurate analysis. The Vice-Presidents elected were W. D. Trego, Gleichen, James Weir, Parkland, James Wood, Wainwright and S. S. Dunham, Lethbridge. E. J. Fream, Calgary, was re-elected Secretary and the Directors for 1917 were as follows:

A. A. Hall	Crossfield.	James Miner	Bawlf.
A. Rafn	Bon Accord.	Walter Parlby	Alix.
J. E. Blore	Craigmyle.	G. D. Sloane	Cayley.
Henry Spencer	Edgerton.	A. J. Donahue	Foremost.
P. Baker	Ponoka.	A. W. Hamilton	Lethbridge.

General interest was taken in the Women's Auxiliary or U.F.W.A. Mrs. Walter Parlby presided and amongst the subjects of consideration were the current problems to be discussed by Women's Clubs—such as Canada, Child problems, home economics, immigration and immigrants, delinquent children, divorce laws, franchise of all kinds. In her address Mrs. Parlby reviewed local conditions, the advance of women's legal rights and the fact that membership would have been larger but for the war-work so many women were doing, and was followed by Mrs. MacNaughtan of the Saskatchewan organization, Mrs. Nellie McClung, Mrs. L. McKinney of the W.C.T.U., G. F. Chipman of Winnipeg, Mrs. Chester Gainer, Alberta's first female lawyer. Miss Jeanne R. Reid, Calgary, was elected Hon. President, Mrs. Parlby re-elected President and Mrs. Zella C. Spencer, Edgerton, Vice-President. The Delegates numbered 250 and passed several Resolutions:

1. Urging that rural medical inspection be made obligatory in schools in order to relieve rural ailments in children—not contagious but health-impairing.

2. Asking legislation for the compulsory segregation of the feeble-minded, both juvenile and adult and protesting against the Hudson Bay Co, being able to open establishments at Lloydminster and to sell liquor in both Saskatchewan and Alberta—the town lying across the border line of the Provinces.

3. Declaring that "the private ownership of factories for the making of munitions of war and the enormous profits derived therefrom is liable to prove a direct incentive to war and that the making of profit from the slaughter of human beings is abhorrent to the sense of this meeting; therefore, at the conclusion of peace the Governments of the world should be urged by every responsible organization in the civilized countries to seriously consider the advisability of the nationalization of all works for the manufacture of war armaments.

Meanwhile the Non-Partisan League had been making progress in Alberta and, of its total Saskatchewan membership, placed at 5,000, probably one-half were in this Province. It developed considerable influence in the Provincial Elections of Saskatchewan and in Alberta elected two candidates, Mrs. McKinney and James Weir, to the Legislature. The Alberta Federation of Labour met at Edmonton on Jan. 16 and objected to Patriotic Fund subscriptions as a form of charity and asked for a Dominion Act "guaranteeing soldiers' dependants the fullest measure of security in the means of life." They passed other Resolutions in favour of the two-platoon system for fire fighters in Alberta cities, and against the licensing of barber shops; against subscriptions to Tobacco funds for the soldiers and in favour of the appointing of a Government Commission to inquire into the printing of school text-books and school readers; in favour of the issuing of school supplies and school text-books free by the Government and of payment for coal produced by the Miners on the run-of-mine basis. They also asked for a Provincial Bureau of Labour.

By this time the Grain Growers' Grain Co., Ltd., into which the Alberta Farmers' Co-Operative Elevator Co. had entered, had become one of the largest co-operative concerns in the world with 333 grain elevators, 200 flour warehouses, 184 coal sheds, 2 terminal elevators, 2 implement warehouses, a large timber mill and general agency in British Columbia, and a timber tract to supply lumber to the Company's shareholders and to other farmers in Western Canada. It had, according to the first published statement of Aug. 31, 1917, over 35,000 shareholders and Assets of $6,000,000 and a total turnover in the year of $100,000,000. The paid-up capital was $1,825,000 and the reserve profit-and-loss account $1,659,000. There were nearly 1,000 employees in the Company's offices, warehouses, elevators and live-stock departments, and all this growth represented only 11 years' effort. The Alberta Company itself showed assets of $2,554,790 with a profit-and-loss account amounting to $362,502; the subscribed capital amounted to $1,291,620 and the paid-up capital to $563,689; it had 145 Locals in the Province and each Local was entitled to 2 Delegates at the annual meeting, or a total representation of 290. The annual gathering of the Alberta concern met at Calgary on Nov. 21 with all Locals represented and 285 Delegates present; received the above report of Aug. 31st and accepted the amalgamation with Winnipeg; found its own business growing greatly with the Co-Operative department handling 2,691 car-loads in the year with a turnover of $1,519,984 or double that of the previous year—and the Live-stock department handling 1,242 cars as against 628; the profits were $236,502 and a dividend of 8% was declared. In October the United Grain Growers commenced the erection of a 35,000-bushel grain elevator in Edmonton, the material for which was already on the ground; the site was furnished by the C.P.R. on their industrial spur adjacent to the Edmonton Milling Co. F. M. Black of Edmonton resigned from the Public Utilities Board and went to Winnipeg on Dec. 1 as Treasurer of the federated organization.

Incidents of the year along these lines were the increasing production of creamery butter, with Alberta as the third Province in the Dominion—8,500,000 lbs. in 1916; increasing reports from the far North of fertile farm-lands and the production of Indian Corn, turnips, mangels, carrots and sugar beets, with the Fort Vermilion region as specially notable; the fact of 20,000 acres being under cultivation in the Poucé Coupée district with 1,000 homesteads and a visit to Edmonton of Sheridan Lawrence (Fort Vermilion)—a prosperous farmer and trader who went North 32 years before, driving an ox-team from Calgary at the age of 16; the heavy hail storms of 1916 by which Alberta lost $1,000,000 and the succeeding storm of Aug. 28, 1917, by which the crops on 96,000 acres in S. Alberta were wiped out; the Census figures from Ottawa which showed the Provincial population on June 1, 1916, as 496,528—an increase in five years of 222,000. They also asked for a Provincial Bureau of Labour. The following heads of public organizations were elected in 1917:

Provincial Cattle Breeders' Association	Angus McDonnell	Raig.
Local Council of Women	Mrs. R. H. Knight	Edmonton.
Rural Municipalities Association	J. H. Lamb	Youngstown.
Provincial Sheep Breeders' Association	A. B. Campbell	Edmonton.
Alberta Swine Breeders' Association	D. W. Warner	Clover Hill.
Federated W.C.T.U.	Mrs. Roy Cook	Edmonton.
Alberta Social Service League	Mrs. J. S. Virtue	
Board of Trade	F M. Black	Calgary.
Alberta Motor League	W. F. W. Lent	Edmonton.
Grand Lodge: Alberta I.O.O.F.	T. A. Parker	Winfield.
Provincial Orange Grand Lodge	Robt. White	Calgary.
Alberta Shorthorn Breeders' Association	Senator Talbot	Lacombe.
Alberta Angus Breeders' Association	G. H. Hutton	Lacombe.
United Farmers' Wool Growers' Association	E. L. Richardson	Calgary.
Alberta Horse Breeders' Association	David Torburn	
Alberta Hereford Breeders' Association	Simon Downie	Carstairs.

Education: The University and Colleges of Alberta.

In Educational matters the Minister was Hon. J. R. Boyle, who held strong views, personally, as to English teaching in the schools and had various complications of a bi-lingual and racial character to overcome. His policy however was frankly stated and the conditions not as bad as was sometimes claimed by opponents. The statistics of the Department for 1915, the latest report available,* showed 2,478 school districts of which 2,138 were in operation, 3,082 class-rooms and a total enrolment of 97,286 compared with 746 districts and 570 in operation, 760 class-rooms and 28,784 enrolments in 1906, when the Province began its separate development. Of the school population there were 13,619 rural in 1905 and 10,635 urban with 51,207 rural schools in 1915 and 46,079 urban. Mr. Boyle was strongly in favour of consolidated schools and speaking in the Legislature Mar. 15, 1917, he said: "I am of opinion that the consolidated Schools which will bring a secondary education to the children of the farm, and the Schools of Agriculture, which will fit the children of the farm for the work of the farm will result, in time, in making the most complete system of education for the rural parts of the Province that is to be found anywhere in Canada." As to Provincial expenditures on Education he made some comparisons: Ontario $3,000,000, or 40 cents per head of its population; Manitoba with 455,000 people gave $1,575,000 for Education, Saskatchewan with 492,000 population contributed $1,620,000; Alberta with 374,000 people contributed $1,070,836 to Education and $600,000 in School grants. He stated that in 1916 17 Consolidated Schools had been created with a total of 28 in all and added that 120 new school districts had been established in 1916 and 77 new school buildings erected and that school debentures totalling $121,275 had been sold through the Department. Discussing the supply of teachers he said that it had been greatly affected, not only by the enlistment of the teachers themselves but by the students of the High Schools and Colleges going to the Front. In 1916 there were trained in the Normal Schools 428 against 601 in 1915. The teachers from outside Provinces in 1916 were 276 against 327 in 1915, while they had only received 16 from England in 1916 against 105 in 1913. At this moment 400 teachers were needed but he did not expect to get them. As to the rest the Minister stated that in 1916 2,213 districts operated schools and 144 conveyed children to adjoining districts; 2,325 buildings were used and 3,406 class-rooms; 3,881 teachers were employed and 569 permits issued with 465 teachers on permit at one time. In the School of Technology there were 354 students with 160 returned soldiers being retrained. At the Convention of the Alberta Educational Association early in April, Mr. Boyle made the interesting statement that the 1,400 teachers before him were not doing their duty in educating the people to believe in Education and that the public, as a whole, did not believe that it pays to be educated. In Calgary on May 4 the Minister stated that a large number of Soldiers' wives who had formerly been teachers were coming back into the profession and that a fine body of highly-qualified Normal-trained teachers were coming from across the border, with most of them in possession of considerable rural school experience: "A brief course in British and Canadian history, Canadian civics, the geography of the British Empire and school laws and regulations of Alberta, was all that these teachers required." To complete requirements Mr. Boyle proposed to have rural schools supplied during the summer by granting permits to students of the University of Alberta in the first instance,

* Some Provincial Reports are hard to obtain and neither the Legislative nor Public Library in Toronto had the 1916 issue when the writer found in August, 1917, that his copy had not arrived; it was then too late to even telegraph a request for one.

and when this source of supply failed, to students from the Universities of the other Provinces. On Sept. 10 the appointment was announced of John T. Ross, B.A., Chief Inspector of Schools as Deputy Minister of Education in succession to D. S. Mackenzie who had accepted the post of Bursar of Alberta University.

Meantime the University of Alberta, under Dr. H. M. Tory, President, progressed as far as the War would permit. During the annual meeting of the United Farmers about 800 Delegates visited the institution and inspected the work being done by the University and its Agricultural Section; they were shown demonstrations of all kinds, analyses of soils, foodstuffs, infected plants, etc., and put in touch with all the wonders of a Chemical and laboratory scientific teaching of much practical value. A. E. Howes, Dean of Agriculture, spoke to them of the difference between the system of Alberta with its Department of Agriculture in the University and outside Schools of Agriculture feeding it with high-class students and the other Western Provinces with their complete Colleges of Agriculture associated with the Universities but independent in management. In President Tory's annual address covering 1916 he stated that:

> About 50 per cent. of our staff, as it stood at the beginning of the War, have enlisted for active service: a state of affairs honourable to the men themselves as well as to the University. Our students and graduates have an equally honourable record. The number who have enlisted is more than 50 per cent. of the student body, including women, as it stood at the beginning of the War, or about three-quarters of the registered men students. The vast majority went directly from the University classes as we have only a small number of graduates, and but four graduating classes. In addition to sending men to the five University Companies raised from McGill the four Western Universities, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia, offered the Militia Department a Battalion of Infantry and a Field Ambulance officered by University men. The battalion was authorized under the name of the 196th Western Universities Battalion. During the year all the anti-typhoid vaccine used in the Province for the inoculation of the troops raised in Military District No. 13 was manufactured in our bacteriological laboratory and distributed free for the Dominion Government. The University is now performing this function for all the four Western Provinces. It is with deep sorrow that we record the fact that of those who have enlisted 26 have already fallen on the field of battle.

The registration at the beginning of 1917 was as follows: Graduate students, 26; 4th year, 40; 3rd year, 74; 2nd year, 104; 1st year, 174; a total of 418. Of these 361 were men and 57 women. As distributed in the various Faculties the numbers were as follows: Arts and Science, 209; Applied Science, 40; Law, 50; Medicine, 42; Agriculture, 12; Double courses, B.A., M.D., 1; B.A., LL.B., 3; B.A., B.Sc., 1; Pharmacy, 16; Accountancy, 15. The figures showed that 79 per cent. of the student body was of British origin and 21 per cent. of foreign birth. Of the latter 14 per cent. were from the United States. The work of the Faculty of Agriculture was growing rapidly with new Laboratories for Agronomy and Soils in operation. In Live-stock there were the beginnings of a good herd in both Holstein and Jersey breeds. The Pharmaceutical Association of the Province had equipped a modern laboratory at the University. The report of the Department of Extension showed 232 lectures given in 125 communities and in 162 centres with a total attendance of 25,258 people. As to Finance the Revenue was $275,584 of which the Government grant was $259,000.

The affiliated institutions included Alberta College (Methodist) with Hon. H. C. Taylor as Chairman and Rev. D. E. Thomas, B.A., B.D., Acting Principal, in succession to Rev. Dr. J. H. Riddell, and a College building in the University grounds which cost $200,000. It was decided during the year to amalgamate the Southern and Northern branches of the College—the latter having 1,108 students in 1917 The other affiliation was Robertson College (Presbyterian) with J. A. McDougall as Chairman and Rev. J. M. Millar, M.A., D.D., as Acting Principal. Associated preparatory schools of the University were the Western Canada College, Calgary; Alberta College and Robertson College as above; Westward Ho! College, Edmonton; Mount Royal College, Calgary; The University School, Calgary; Llanarthney School for Girls, Edmonton.

British Columbia: Government and Politics; Legislature and Production.

The first, and indeed the last, full year of Government for the Hon. H. C. Brewster was a difficult and rather stirring one. He had to clean up an unpleasant situation of corrupt politics—some of which was on his own side; to deal with problems of greatly involved and straightened finance; to meet the mess of Pacific Great Eastern construction and contracts; to be drawn

into the whirl of Dominion politics through the Union Government movement. A by-no-means small complication was that caused by the doubts of validity in the lengthening of the tenure of the 1916 Legislature by a special Act of the Bowser Government because of technical doubts cast upon whether the legal term ended on Mar. 15, Mar. 30, or June 1. The Act had passed by a party vote and Mr. Brewster, the then Opposition Leader, issued a writ against Mr. Bowser and made the matter an Election issue with much said as to the invalidity of the legislation passed after the above dates. As Premier, Mr. Brewster, in 1917, wanted to dispose of the subject though he did not continue his action in the Courts. Legislation followed validating the last Acts of the 1916 Legislature which included such important matters as Prohibition, Workmen's Compensation, and Woman's Suffrage, and an appeal was made to the Imperial Government which, in return, referred the matter for report to Ottawa and there it was given a kind of quietus from the Minister of Justice (Mr. Doherty).

To a Deputation on Mar. 22 which waited on him for the Hope-Princeton highway, in the Interior, the Premier said: "We are in the position of trying to stretch a revenue of $6,500,000 for this year to cover desirable expenditure of $10,800,000"—incidentally it was stated at this time in the *Island Motorist* that $13,348,000 had been expended on Vancouver Island roads in ten years. Addressing a Conservation League, on June 2, Mr. Brewster declared that lack of care and thought caused the Province a loss of many millions yearly and he pleaded also for a nation-wide reform in the basic methods of sanitation so as to ensure the health of the people and strengthen the physique of children. He welcomed Mr. Premier Massey and Sir Joseph Ward of New Zealand to Canada on June 7 and in August was present at the Winnipeg Liberal convention which caused so much discussion and at which he was a conspicuous figure in opposition to extreme views, either for or against Union Government and Conscription. This attitude he maintained in Vancouver on Aug. 13 when he approved the compromises of the meeting and at the same time eulogized F. C. Wade, K.C., who wanted no compromise, for his eloquent presentation of Liberal doctrines to the Resolution Committee. In replying to a Resolution passed by a War meeting on Aug. 12 urging immediate enforcement of Conscription he wrote a letter which neither accepted nor condemned the proposal but excused conscientious viewpoints of difference. With Messrs. T. D. Pattullo and John Oliver of the Government and a large party of others, Mr. Brewster left Victoria on Aug. 29 for the Northern Interior with a view to investigating the great agricultural areas of the Peace River Section towards which much attention was being directed and into which settlers were steadily going. The trip was expected to take about three weeks. Thence he went to Regina to discuss, late in September, the political Union situation at Ottawa with Mr. Calder and others; Mr. Pattullo and Mr. Oliver went to Creston, B. C., where they represented the Government at the International Immigration Conference on Sept. 28. The Premier and Mr. Pattullo were at

Edmonton on the 26th where the former was entertained at a luncheon and had much to say of the grain and gold of the Peace River region in British Columbia. After a brief stay in Regina he returned to Victoria and told the Press that railway communication with the Coast was essential or the great Peace River region in British Columbia would overflow, in its coming development, East along Alberta lines. On October 4 Mr. Brewster left for Ottawa and even opposing papers, such as the Victoria *Colonist* (Oct. 5) urged his claims to a place in the new Government as one who was specially familiar with shipping questions and Coast conditions besides having "a clean political record and upright character." There was no attempt to conceal the fact that he had been "approached" by Sir Robert Borden but as yet, he said, there had been no conference on the subject. To Ottawa, the Premier was accompanied by Hon. Mr. Farris. On Oct. 30 he returned to Victoria and it was said that much depended upon his ability to carry his colleagues with him in the matter of Unionism—but with strong doubts as to Messrs. King, Pattullo, Oliver and Farris transferring their Laurier allegiance. Eventually, these Ministers remained aloof from the whole matter and took little part in the Elections though their position was pretty well understood, while Mr. Burrell remained the representative of the Province in the Union Government. On Nov. 20 Mr. Brewster, as Premier, presented an Address to H.E. The Duke of Devonshire, in his visit to the Province and one clause defined the Government's War attitude: "Recognizing that the principles of justice and freedom upon which our Empire is founded are at stake, we are at one with the heart of the Empire in this great conflict and are determined that no sacrifices, however great, will evoke from us murmuring, repining, or evasion of duty."

Meantime certain changes had occurred in the Cabinet. As a result of the death of Hon. Ralph Smith which occurred on Feb. 12 to the regret of all who appreciated a rugged, active, earnest, political career and personality, Mr. Brewster took over the Portfolio and was sworn in on Feb. 15.* Following the resignation of the Attorney-General, Hon. M. A. Macdonald (May 14) as a result of Findings by the Vancouver 1916 Bye-election Commission, John Wallace de Beque Farris, B.A., LL.B., a 1916 member of the House from Vancouver, was on May 14 appointed President of the Executive Council, and on May 23, Attorney-General and Minister of Labour. His wife, who was an active publicist and war-worker, and a University graduate, was elected a Governor of the University of British Columbia during the year. The new Minister was re-elected by acclamation on June 5. The Premier held the Ministry of Finance until June 11th, when he resigned and John Hart, M.L.A. for Victoria since 1916 was appointed to the post. There was a bye-election with Dr. Ernest Hall, a well-known Liberal, running as an Independent and the Minister won on June 22 by 153 majority. Incidentally there were important changes in many of the Departments. Lieut.-Colonel E. F. Gunther, for six

*This seat at Vancouver remained vacant until the close of the year when Mrs. Ralph Smith stood as a candidate and was elected early in 1918.

years Superintendent of Insurance; Ernest McGaffey for years Secretary and head of the Provincial Bureau of Information; George H. Dawson, for five years Surveyor-General of the Province; all retired during the year as did William Manson, ex-M.L.A., Chairman of the Agricultural Credits Commission and R. M. Winslow, Provincial Horticulturist; H. B. MacMillan, Chief Forester, Department of Lands and F. C. Gamble, Chief Railway Engineer; William Allison, Auditor-General, upon the elimination of that office, and Robert Renwick, Deputy Minister of Lands; J. P. McLeod, Deputy Attorney General and W. E. McTaggart, Prairie Fruit Markets Commissioner. Some of these gentlemen retired for political reasons and others for personal causes. The more important appointments of the year were as follows: Deputy-Attorney-General, A. M. Johnson; Deputy Minister of Lands, George R. Naden; Deputy Minister of Labour, a new office, James D. McNiven, the Labour leader of Vancouver; Prairie Fruit Markets Commissioner, James A. Grant; Superintendent Agricultural Credits Commission, W. Maxwell Smith; Superintendent of Insurance, H. G. Garrett; Provincial Surveyor-General, Joshua Edler Umbach; Acting Agent-General in London, Hon. John Herbert Turner, ex-Premier of the Province and holder of the position for many years before Sir R. McBride took it. Other miscellaneous appointments were:

Assistant Comptroller-General	Herbert N. Wright	Victoria.
Auditor of Disbursements	Henry N. Howard	Victoria.
Provincial Inspector of Factories	Robert J. Stewart	Revelstoke.
Provincial Chief Forester	Martin A. Grainger	Victoria.
Gold Commissioner	John H. McMullen	Queen Charlotte.
King's Counsel	Hon. M. A. Macdonald	Vancouver.
King's Counsel	Hon. J. W. de B. Farris	Vancouver.
Chief Inspector of Indian Agencies	W. E. Ditchburn	Victoria.
Public Works' Chief Engineer	A. E. Foreman	Victoria
Police Magistrate	Dr. Mark S. Wade	Kamloops.
Registrar-General of Titles	John C. Gwynn	New Westminster.
Police Magistrate	George Jay	Oak Bay.
Police Magistrate	William A. W. Hames	Courtenay.
Police Magistrate	Joseph Shaw	Cumberland.
Judge of Juvenile Court	Helen G. MacGill	Vancouver.
Acting Provincial Horticulturist	M. S. Middleton	Victoria.

There were a number of important Commissions or Boards created in 1917. The largest matter put under independent control was that of the Land Settlement Board (July 26) with W. Maxwell Smith, of the Agricultural Credits Board which it superseded, as Chairman and Duncan Munro of Terrace, Melbourne H. Nelems, Burnaby, John A. Macdonald, Nanaimo, and Charles R. Ward, Cranbrook, as members; the British Columbia Taxation Board was another and composed of Prof. Robert M. Haig, J. B. McKilligan (Chairman) and Ald. W. G. Cameron of Victoria with Thomas Kidd, a farmer of Steveston; a Royal Commission to investigate and report upon conditions, regulations, etc., of the Salmon Fisheries in Northern British Columbia with W. Sanford Evans, Ottawa (Chairman), H. B. Thomson, ex-M.L.A., Victoria and F. T. James, Toronto, as members; the Workmen's Compensation Board for administration of that Act composed of Parker Williams, M.L.A., a well-known socialist, E. S. H. Winn of Rossland (Chairman) and Hugh B. Gilmour, Vancouver. In replacing and changing the old financial system an Act of the new Legislature created the

office of Comptroller-General with important duties and a considerable staff. Alex. Naismith Mouat was appointed with Herbert N. Wright, Victoria, Assistant Comptroller and Henry N. Howard as Auditor of Disbursements. Under the new Mineral Survey Act G. A. Clothier of Prince Rupert was appointed Resident Engineer of No. 1 District; J. D. Galloway of No. II District; R. W. Thomson, Kamloops, of No. III; P. B. Freeland, Grand Forks, of No. IV; G. N. Langley, Revelstoke, of No. V; W. M. Brewer of Nanaimo, No. VI.

Of the Ministers during the year little can be said here. They had much to do in handling a new Legislature and new Cabinet duties in traversing a country of mountains and valleys and seacoasts and becoming more acquainted with its vast resources—Hon. John Oliver with Agriculture, Irrigation requirements, horticultural needs, Fruit interests, trade with the Western Provinces; Hon. T. D. Pattullo with the vast intricacies of the Land problem, the Forest surveys and timber limits, timber preservation and lumber shipments and manufacture and export; Hon. J. H. King with the complicated question of Public Works in a country of great distances, mountain railways and pioneer needs, every kind of call from isolated towns and communities, or coast cities and Harbours and coast transportation; Hon. William Sloan with the innumerable and big mining interests and mineral resources of the country, the questions of smelting and new discoveries and general development and inspection of great and scattered mines and mineral areas; Mr. Brewster, and then Mr. Hart, with problems of finance far greater, comparatively to population and territory, than in any other part of the Dominion and enlarged at this time by War conditions, complications of past speculative prosperity, excessive railway building and obligations and the careless management of great expenditures; Hon. Mr. Farris and Hon. J. D. McLean with Departments which did not so closely touch public interests except when the Attorney-General handled sensational election, political, or constitutional incidents. Before passing from this subject to the legislation of the year it may be stated that Hon. J. A. Macdonald, Chief Justice of the Court of Appeals was appointed to be Administrator of the Province in the absence for different periods of the Lieut.-Governor, from Jan. 9 to Feb. 25 and from Dec. 10 to Jan. 10, 1918.

The 1st Session of the 14th Legislature of British Columbia was opened on Mar. 1st at Victoria by the Lieut.-Governor (F. S. Barnard) with a Speech from the Throne in which His Honour referred to the change in the Governor-Generalship and described victory in the War for "freedom and justice" as indefinite in time but assured in fact; stated that a Bill would be presented authorizing the use of the old Court House site in Vancouver by the people of that City as an open space and upon which to erect suitable memorials to the gallant men of British Columbia who had fallen or might yet fall in the conflict; expressed the willing co-operation of his Government in all "practical proposals so that returned Canadian soldiers who have volunteered their services freely in defence of the Empire may find adequate provision for taking their honoured place in the citizenship of their country on their return to civil life";

described business conditions as improved, a recovery from severe depression under way, and a thorough audit of Government finances as being prepared; stated that agricultural conditions were still very unsatisfactory and continued importation of necessary products a drain upon financial resources, with immigration and settlement as the only apparent solution; promised legislative improvements in the Agricultural Act, and encouragement to Immigration; indicated legislative aid to systematic prospecting of mineral regions and the provision of additional smelting facilities; noted a "marked increase in the demand for timber in various branches of manufacture, including wood-pulp" and hoped for development in wooden ships; regretted that "the policy of aiding the construction of railways by means of Provincial guarantees of bonds had resulted in the Province having to provide for the payment of large sums of money on interest account" and stated that "a thorough inquiry would be made into all matters relating to the construction of the Pacific Great Eastern Railway"; intimated that the Estimates would provide for continuing the development of the former Songhees Indian Reserve, and for assisting in the construction of a bridge across Victoria Harbour as a necessary part of such development work; promised a Civil Service Bill, a measure providing for the equal guardianship of children, a Women's Suffrage Bill and one providing fortnightly payment of wages in certain industries.

His Honour described the financial situation as difficult, the most expert advice and new taxation as necessary, a judicious, courageous and capable administration as essential and concluded with the curious statement, which aroused inquiry and comment in the House, that out of this world-conflict "the all-surviving principle of human-brotherhood revives and takes on new form and fresh vitality." John Walter Weart was unanimously elected Speaker and a little later John Keen, Deputy Speaker, and J. W. de B. Farris, as Chairman of Ways and Means—all new members elected in 1916. The Address was moved by H. C. Hart, Victoria, and John Keen, Kaslo, but before this was done Resolutions were passed (1) expressing condolence with Mrs. Ralph Smith on the death of the Minister of Finance, and (2) declaring that if it should appear that any one was elected to the House or endeavoured so to be by bribery or corrupt practices "this House will proceed with utmost severity against such person or persons as are convicted of these offences." The speeches of the mover and seconder of the Address were largely devoted to denunciation of the late Government's railway and other policies and the Hon. H. C. Brewster, Premier, and Hon. W. J. Bowser, K.C., Leader of the Opposition took up much time in attack and defence on the same subject, while the Opposition also devoted many days to Hon. M. A. Macdonald, Attorney-General, to his 1916 election in Vancouver, and to other charges against the Liberals of an election character.* A host of questions were asked the Government and some answered; others not. After three weeks' debate the Address passed without division on Mar. 21. Meanwhile, on Mar. 9, Hon. John Oliver, Minister of Railways, moved this Resolution:

* See The Canadian Annual Review of 1916 under British Columbia.

That a Select Committee, consisting of eight Members of this House be appointed to inquire into all matters directly or indirectly relating to the construction of the Pacific Great Eastern Railway Co., including the relations existing between that Company and the firm of Foley, Welch & Stewart, and between the said Railway company and Mr. P. Welch, contractor, and between Mr. P. Welch, contractor, and any sub-contractors or stationmen performing work or supplying materials under the contract existing between P. Welch and the Railway company; and also into relations existing between the Railway company and any other person, firm or corporation; and also into the relations existing between Mr. P. Welch, contractor, and any other person, firm or corporation in connection with the supply of labour or materials in connection with the construction of the railway.

The Committee was given power to examine under oath and instructed to report from time to time. The Opposition moved (W. H. Hayward and R. H. Pooley) in amendment that a Royal Commission be appointed composed of one of the Supreme Court Judges and two Railway engineers of national reputation instead of a Select Committee; after several days' debate the Conservative amendment was lost by 29 to 10 and the original motion carried. The Committee was as follows: J. W. de B. Farris, H. C. Hall, G. S. Hanes, F. W. Anderson, J. M. Yorston, W. R. Ross, K.C., L. W. Shatford and R. H. Pooley—the last three Conservatives. An interim report of this Committee on Apr. 16 stated that D'Arcy Tate, K.C., Vice-President of the P. G. E. Railway had refused to answer questions and that the Committee needed further powers; the Government at once introduced a Resolution giving the powers asked for and applying them to others than Mr. Scott, by name; after several Opposition amendments the motion was carried by 28 to 12. On Apr. 18 it was further reported that Mr. Tate and others would not reply to some additional questions and that Mr. Tate had left town. The House issued a warrant to bring Mr. Tate before the Bar and a Subpœna to R. D. Thomas, Secretary-Treasurer of the Company, to answer certain questions before the House. Mr. Thomas appeared on Apr. 18 but refused to answer questions as to names and amounts of money said to have been given by Mr. Tate for Conservative campaign funds and discussed between the two officials of the railway. He was ordered into custody. On Apr. 25 the Committee reported that E. F. White, Vancouver, had failed to produce certain private Ledgers of P. Welch of the Railway and that Hon. W. J. Bowser had declined to answer questions about campaign funds. Mr. White was ordered before the House and on May 1 the Committee finally reported at length as to the construction of the Pacific Great Eastern Railway from Vancouver to Fort George; detailed the original arrangement and expenditures and narrated its alleged relations with the Bowser Government; stated that D'Arcy Tate, as his Commission for securing the charter and guarantees from the Province and a traffic arrangement with the Grand Trunk Pacific, was to receive one-quarter of the capital stock of the Company—composed of Foley, Welch and Stewart, J. W. Stewart and himself—valued at $6,250,000 with $500,000 in cash; said that Mr. Tate "undertook out of this sum to provide incidental expenses, including such campaign funds for the Conservative party as might be necessary for the purpose, and in due course the said stock was issued and delivered to Mr. Tate, and the $500,000 was also received by him."

The Committee found that the contract between the Company and Foley, Welch and Stewart as contractors was an improper one and indicated that the prices so fixed were excessive; that the late Government had exercised no proper supervision over the work which it was paying for with trust funds and that the Government Engineer's inspections had been very casual; that there were specific and detailed over-payments to the contractors of $5,704,316; that the bonds of the Company guaranteed by the Government were sold to the amount of $20,160,000 for $18,314,825, deposited by the Minister of Finance in a Bank with payments to the Company in a way which was "illegal and improper"; that the bond of the contractors for $250,000 had been allowed to lapse and that the latter had defaulted in interest to a total of $1,053,827 with similar payments of $1,000,000 a year facing the Province; that the Province "has no security for its bonded guarantee against the terminals of the Company or against the lands held in the name of the Development Company, or against the assets of the Equipment Company"; that the contention of P. Welch as to the contractors' losing money to the extent of $5,170,577 was not sustained and that large profits had been made from the sale of townsites; that the 1916 legislation of the Bowser Government proposing a further advance to the contractors of $6,000,000 had been made without any attempt to obtain guarantees for over-payments and that A. H. B. MacGowan, then an M.L.A., was in 1914-15 a sub-contractor and received $9,000 from the Company without being a real partner in the concern or giving any consideration for the money received; that investigations had been hampered by the "precipitate departure" of certain gentlemen to the United States and the refusals of Mr. Welch and Mr. Bowser to assist the Committee. On May 4 a warrant was issued for Mr. Welch while Messrs. W. R. Ross and J. H. Schofield (Conservatives) moved a Resolution in the Legislature that R. D. Thomas be discharged from custody of the House which was negatived on the 7th without division. On May 19 these members moved that 27 days' detention be considered as sufficient punishment, but Hon. Mr. Oliver's brief amendment that "R. D. Thomas be discharged from custody" was accepted. G. S. Hanes (Lib.) then moved that Mr. Bowser, Opposition Leader, be compelled to personally appear at the Bar of the House or to rise in his seat and answer certain questions previously refused; a debate arose but was not resumed and nothing further was done in the matter. On May 10 Donald McLeod was subpœned to appear at the Bar of the House but paid no attention to the matter. J. S. Cowper (Lib.) on May 15 tried to have included in the Act relating to the Vancouver Bye-Election Inquiry a clause requiring investigation and report as to alleged past contributions by the Pacific Great Eastern and its contractors in aid of M. A. Macdonald (Lib.) now Attorney-General, but was ruled out of Order by the Speaker. A motion by G. S. Hanes and W. D. Willison (Liberals) (May 19) that the entire property and assets of this Railway be taken over by the Government and action brought against the contractors, was ruled out as was another proposing to appoint a Royal Commission

of Inquiry into all the payments to Foley, Welch and Stewart and into other matters associated with them. Following the adjournment of the House a statement of Claims against the P.G.E. Railway Co., its shareholders, Directors, etc., was prepared for a Supreme Court action initiated by the Government; on Aug. 17 Mr. Bowser asked what payments had been made by the Brewster Government on account of Guarantees for the Pacific Great Eastern bonds and was told that $1,085,290 had been issued on estimates approved by the Railway Department.

On Mar. 27 Hon. Dr. J. D. McLean, Provincial Secretary, moved for an Inquiry into Election allegations contained in a Petition from John McInnis of Prince George and Mr. Bowser raised a point of order as to time limit, the Speaker ruled the proposal in order and was supported by 27 to 7; particulars as to the Government Colony Farm were given the House on Mar. 30 by Dr. McLean and showed an expenditure on Buildings of $207,286 and other items totalling $108,121; the same Minister stated that the total of the late Government grants to the King Edward Sanatorium at Tranquille was $312,837 in 1906-17. The Minister of Agriculture (Hon. John Oliver) stated Apr. 12 that the Agricultural Credits Commission had received 1,355 applications to date, totalling $2,751,590 and that the number granted was 375, amounting to $783,000, with $299,651 paid in cash and $948,240 still available. On May 7, C. F. Nelson and K. C. Macdonald moved and carried a Resolution as to the inconvenience and loss of settlers along the transport routes of inland railways and rivers because of failure in Transportation companies to meet their requirements; the Premier moved on May 16 for the appointment, through legislation to follow, of a Royal Commission to inquire into alleged frauds in the taking of the Overseas vote in the B.C. Prohibition referendum of 1916 and this was carried by 30 to 9 votes; on May 19 a Resolution was passed (F. A. Pauline and Hugh Stewart) declaring that the Federal Government should take steps to prevent high prices ensuing from speculation in articles of food. The House then adjourned until Aug. 14, when it received an elaborate Report as to the overseas Prohibition vote from its Commissioners—D. Whiteside, M.L.A. (Chairman), F. A. Pauline, M.L.A., and C. F. Nelson, M.L.A. These gentlemen were all Liberals and concluded with the statement that it "is practically impossible now to say what the result of the polling between Sept. 14 and Dec. 31 actually was, but taking the 8,488 votes dealt with by Mr. Helmore into consideration, your Commissioners think that a total of 4,697 votes should be rejected." A Resolution moved by R. H. Pooley and J. H. Schofield (Aug. 17) declaring that "in the opinion of this House, the whole resources of the Dominion, man-power and wealth, be pledged to the prosecution of the War, and gives its unqualified support to the principle of Selective Conscription so as to ensure the country's maximum effort" was ruled out of order. The House was then prorogued with a Speech from His Honour noting and reiterating the regret of the House at Sir R. McBride's death and referring to various matters of legislative action during the Session.

Liberal or Government incidents of the Session included the declaration of Hon. Dr. J. H. King on May 1st that Dr. J. W. McIntosh and J. S. Cowper, elected in 1916 as Liberals, were no longer members of that Party and the refusal of both members to either leave the party or join the Opposition; the plea of F. A. Pauline, Victoria, on Mar. 8 for Government support to the Steel industry during which he spoke of 20,000,000 tons of the best hematite ore as being within 100 miles of the House of Assembly and declared that a portion of the $35,000,000 spent by the late Government on building roads would have done much for the iron and steel industry and the ship-building so greatly needed; the statement of Hon. T. D. Pattullo, Minister of Lands, on Mar. 19, that the brotherhood of man referred to in the Speech from the Throne was illustrated recently in Russia and that he disagreed with the principle of the Patriotic Fund and believed that the National Government should take care of the soldiers and the soldiers' dependants from the time of enlistment until the men were returned to civil life; a speech by Hon. William Sloan, Minister of Mines (Mar. 21), in which, as a practical mining man, he desired a higher duty on the imports of fuel oil with the declaration that he preferred British Columbia coal to California oil, that there were 60,000,000 tons of iron ore within the Province which the Department would investigate, that he proposed to remove the reserve on Mineral resources in Strathcona Park and re-open the rights of squatters on the E. & N. Railway to coal rights; the declaration of Hon. Mr. Oliver on Mar. 9 that in order to save Foley, Welch and Stewart from bankruptcy the late Government had nearly bankrupted the Province and that the then Attorney General, in collusion with the members of that firm, entered into an agreement to pay over moneys in defiance of the Statute law of the Province; a formal Royal assent to the Provincial Franchise amendments, giving the women a vote (Apr. 5) which was made the occasion of a ceremony with bouquets of flowers at various seats and crowds of ladies in the gallery.

Hon. Dr. King in the House on May 1 expressed hostility to the late Government's Ship-building policy and did not think it advisable to grant continued Provincial aid during war-time unless the Dominion Government took effective action, while the Hon. Mr. Oliver, on May 2, intimated that this was purely a Dominion matter. This latter Minister was bothered by the Opposition as to the dismissal of William Morrison and other Conservative officials and on May 3 replied with emphasis: "My position is that no Liberal has had a look in during the 14 years. I would not put any but good Liberals in office until something like an even balance is obtained." This Minister's Bill was an important effort to reorganize a much-muddled system with conditions due, in part, to transportation and geographical complications. Mr. Pattullo, on May 9, described it as "the most important piece of legislation ever presented to any Legislature of this or any other Province" and declared that the policy and the Act involved a future expenditure of millions.

In respect to the creation of a Department of Labour Mr. Premier Brewster declared that it would prepare to avoid the waste of energy

in men seeking labour after the war, would provide a means of bringing employers and employees together with a minimum of friction, would alleviate the evils of employment agencies—especially for railway men—and would afford a basis for the proper study and application of the Labour experiences of the world. In connection with the Public Inquiries Act the Premier insisted on May 19 that: "The people shall have a final house-cleaning so that suspicion shall exist no longer and this Bill has been made very wide so that investigations can take in railway corporations or other bodies." On the Conservative side Hon. W. J. Bowser, ex-Premier, fought the Government as vigorously as they and other supporters criticized him—and that is saying much. He accepted the principle that political patronage should be abolished but did not believe that the Liberal Bill would effect that end or the Liberals carry it out in practice and, as to Prof. Adam Shortt's much eulogized part in preparing the measure, he deprecated excessive praise of a gentlemen whom he described as a follower of Mill, Spencer, Ricardo and even Karl Marx; he approved Woman Suffrage and reminded the House that his Government had given a Referendum on the question while he, also, paid special tribute to the speeches made by women in presenting their claims during the past few years; he doubted the wisdom of giving the Minister of Public Works so much power as was done in the Highway Act—alleging that he would be supreme in his Department and could act without recourse to his colleagues in the utilization of large areas of Crown lands; so with the alleged excessive powers given the Minister of Railways—powers which in the Federal system were in the hands of a non-political Commission but would in the Province enable the Minister to wipe out a Railway at the stroke of his pen; criticized the Taxation Bills as bearing too heavily on the farmer and small wage-earners and as not eliminating the evils of land speculation—the alleged increased tax on farm lands being 100% and on speculative wild lands 25%; described Mr. Sloan's Smelting legislation as void of any practical force or effective action. Other voluminous criticisms made by him during the Session may be summed up as follows:

1. Promises of economy and retrenchment had not been adhered to, a pledge of purity in elections was not made good, and a sworn statement by the Hon. M. A. Macdonald indicated that large sums of money had been received from corporations.
2. Patronage continued and though Royal Commissions were denounced on the hustings in the Elections, yet the Government had appointed several of them.
3. Government Members had denounced Orders-in-Council yet since taking office they had been more numerous than ever.
4. The Government had tied up the Pacific Great Eastern in litigation, increased the cost of administration of Public Works and enacted unjustifiable increases in taxes imposed, as well as by a surtax and poll-tax.
5. Refusal to continue the Ship-building policy and an improper administration of the Workmen's Compensation Act.
6. Dilatoriness in the administration of the Land Settlement Act and selection of the Board with a view not to efficiency but to the demands of followers.

Other incidents included the Press announcement of Mar. 29 that the Government intended to dismiss Sir Richard McBride, lately Conservative Premier, and present Agent-General in London, followed by a severe denouncement of Sir Richard by A. M. Manson

(Liberal) on May 2, and the Premier's remark that conditions were uncertain: the known illness of Sir Richard early in this year, the statement in the Legislature by the Premier on May 20 that he had resigned his post on account of ill-health and was returning home; the death of this distinguished "Native Son" of his Province on August 6, and many sincere personal tributes as well as those of press and Legislature to a man of innate geniality whose optimism of thought and policy were instructive. Dr. J. W. McIntosh of Vancouver was read out of the Liberal party during the Session and his statement on Mar. 15, with Dr. Fisher of Yale as the authority, that the loss through preventable sickness and death in the United States, if converted into money value, was annually two billions and in Canada $160,000,000 while, on the same basis it would be $8,000,000 in British Columbia, was interesting; the announcement was made on May 26 that this Member had offered his services as a Medical man to the war authorities at his own expense so far as reaching England was concerned. Early in the year F. C. Wade, K.C., of Vancouver, was mentioned as a possible appointee to the Agent-Generalship in London. The Legislation of this Session was most important as to intention and effort though the Government and most of the members were quite inexperienced.

Agriculture was a first call on the Government's activities and the Agricultural Act was amended so as to give a per capita grant to Farmers' Institutes and place Women's Institutions upon the same status, to form District institutions and appoint an Advisory Board, etc. The Land Settlement and Development Act was intended to promote settlement and production and provide for (1) the appointment by the Government of a Board to consist of five members; (2) to arrange the payment of moneys required for the purposes of the Board, out of the funds of the Province; (3) to make agricultural loans to farmers and their co-operative associations for settlement and land development purposes at long-dated periods of either 25, 20 or 15 years with short-dated loans for periods of not less than three years and not to exceed ten years. This Land Settlement Board was given power, with the sanction of the Government, to take over from the Crown and to purchase from or obtain by exchange with private owners, lands within the Province for Agricultural purposes and to improve and develop such lands for any land settlement purposes with provision for co-operative land settlement and special concessions to returned soldiers. The Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act was intended to ensure to the Public a pure milk supply; the Egg Marks Act was for adequate inspection of this product and the Brand Act amendments reviewed and revised conditions along the lines of registration, inspection and the appointment of a Board of Brand Commissioners with a Recorder of Brands; the Sheep Protection Act was designed to protect sheep from the ravages of dogs and to have the latter properly tagged and licensed and kept under proper supervision of the owner. The appropriations of the Legislature for Agriculture iu the year ending Mar. 31, 1918 was $207,970; those of the Dominion Government were $63,732.

A new act was passed as to Auditing the Public Accounts and it provided for a Treasury Board within the Government and the

appointment of a Comptroller-General and Auditors of varied duties and adduced careful rules and minute details for the guardianship of public moneys; a Civil Service Act was designed to put all employees of the Government (except Private Secretaries of Ministers) under a Civil Service Commission composed of one Commissioner appointed by the Government, but only removable by the Lieut.-Governor upon Address of the Assembly—salary $5,000 a year—and duties covering examinations, investigations, violations of the Act, reports to Government, with detailed instructions as to the application of the law; amendments were made to the Companies' Act so that (1) no unlicensed or unregistered extra-Provincial Company could maintain an action in Court or (2) acquire or hold land or register titles in the Province; amendments to the Trust Companies' Act re-defined the application of the name and made certain changes to meet the legal complications of the Dominion Trust Company collapse; in connection with a previous Act to aid the Complex Ore Process concern it was enacted that the entire net profits after paying 30 per cent. dividends should be applied to payment of the principal and interest of its guaranteed securities; the Supreme Court Act was amended and the Dentistry Act so as to permit the organization of a College of Dental Surgeons for the Province with power to control licenses and examinations and issue certificates of practice; the Drainage and Dyking Act was amended in many important directions as was that concerning Dyking Assessments.

In connection with certain charges made under the Provincial Elections Act as to an election in Fort George district on Sept. 14, 1916, and affecting the election of the Hon. W. R. Ross, then Minister of Lands, a special Act was passed appointing Hon. F. McBain Young, County Court Judge of Atlin as Commissioner to inquire into the matters involved; a similar Act was passed as to the Vancouver Bye-election of February 26, 1916, with the appointment of three Judges—Hon. W. A. Galliher, Appeal Court, Hon. D. Murphy and Hon. W. A. Macdonald, Supreme Court—to make full and complete investigation. During the 2nd reading of this Act Mr. Oliver objected to the following words used by J. S. Cowper, a dissentient Liberal, in making his charges: "That the sum of $25,000 was placed in a safe in the Hotel Vancouver by or on behalf of the Canadian Northern on the night of the 13th September last, and that the same money was received or taken away the next morning by a person who was a Liberal candidate at the bye-election of Feb. 26, 1916, and also at the general election of Sept. 14 last." He demanded that these words be struck out by the House, but was negatived by 36 to 2. The Municipal Election Act was amended to prevent the improper acquisition of property, etc., in order to enable a person to vote and the Provincial Elections Act was revised to apply to females as well as males and to give women the right of election to the Legislature as well as to vote. Amendments to the Forest Relief Act aimed to continue existing provisions up to the next annual renewal date of licenses when all arrears would become subject to a Government demand and in cases where a shortage of avail-

able timber was retarding local saw-making industries that such arrears of rental accruing under specified conditions would have to be paid or the license absolutely expire at the end of six months from notice and not be renewable. An Act relating to the Guardianship and Custody of Infants was amended to give equal and joint rights to husband and wife, living together, as to their children and equal rights, as agreed upon, under other conditions; amendments were made to the Highway Act to enable the Government to discontinue or close any public highway not considered necessary to the public interest and to take possession of such lands for the use of the owner or for Government use; the Public Inquiries Act was amended to permit the Government to appoint a Royal Commission of Inquiry at any time it deemed necessary and into any question affecting legislation or elections, public buildings or contracts, and corporations in the exercise of public influence as to franchises, etc.; a Department of Labour was created with a Minister, Deputy Minister and with powers which covered the administration of all British Columbia laws affecting labour and authorized it to treat with Labour and its employees, to improve conditions and modify friction, to study laws and practices and apply the information; the Land Registry Act was elaborately revised as was the Forest Act—the latter dealing with Crown lands and timber licenses and contracts and taxation.

A new Act was approved under which the old Court House site in Vancouver was conveyed to the City of Vancouver under a 99-year lease for use as a Public Park and the erection of Soldier or War memorials; in the same way a part of the former Songhees Reserve was transferred to the City of Victoria as a Public Park and pleasure-ground; the B.C. Loan Act authorized the Government to borrow $2,000,000 for the purpose of the Land Settlement Act and was amended to provide for a Sinking Fund. A new measure provided for a Mineral Survey of the Province and for the development of its Mineral resources as well as for the aid of prospectors and miners and the protection of wage-earners and investors. To carry on the Survey the Province was divided into Districts with a qualified Mining Engineer in charge of the work, records and reports to the Government in each District; prospectors and miners were to be aided by this official in every practicable form including the examining and forwarding of samples to the Minister of Mines, while $100,000 was allotted to the preliminary working of the Act; as to investors the Resident Engineer was to forward copies of all documents and data as to new Companies, their shares and projects to the Minister. Amendments to the Coal and Petroleum Act gave the Minister of Mines power in the opening of lands for entry, the prospecting or acquisition for coal, petroleum or natural gas, and the cancellation of preceding reservation; another Act empowered the same Minister to inquire as to mineral resources, etc., in any district and, if satisfied of the desirability, to acquire sites and to construct, maintain and operate one or more public sampling works, concentrating plants, custom smelters or refineries, etc., together with such yards, buildings, wharves, roads and tramways as the

Minister might deem expedient—full power also was given as to regulating charges and fees and the Minister was authorized to establish a Department of Ore Purchasing and through it to purchase ore outright or make advances upon assigned ores. A large number of amendments were made to the Municipal Act and the Local Improvement Act, while an amendment to the Pharmacy Act required full details as to every sale of a hypodermic syringe; the B.C. Prohibition Act was put into operation as on Oct. 1, 1917, and three Commissioners were appointed by Act to investigate the Overseas 1916 vote on the subject.

Municipalities were allowed to adopt the Proportional representation system in local elections and the B.C. Railway Act was amended so that no Company could operate a Railway within the Province except by the written consent of the Minister and subject to Government conditions; the Dolly Varden Mines Company, an extra-Provincial concern, was authorized to build and operate a railway for a considerable distance in the Cassiar District of the Interior; the Public Schools Act was amended to permit of closing schools where the average attendance fell below 8, or 6 in the assisted schools, and granting one-half the cost of conveyance for certain consolidated schools; the Soldiers' Homestead Act was repealed and a new Act provided details under which volunteers and reservists could purchase lands; another Act undertook to validate the Statutes of 1916 which were supposed to be in a precarious legal condition and the Succession Act was increased, largely, in its taxes on estates; the Taxation Act was amended to increase the rates on real estate and on wild land, coal and timber lands, personal property and income; a Tax on places of amusement was provided for with the usual variations on the value of the ticket, running from 1 cent to 50 cents, with exemptions which included religious and semi-religious bodies, agricultural fairs and exhibitions, exhibitions of paintings and all patriotic or charitable affairs—the Moving Pictures' Censor being charged with enforcing the Act. A Permanent Board of Taxation (3 members) was created to study and investigate the existing system of Provincial taxation and taxation laws, to analyze the reports of Tax Commissions elsewhere, to deal with Assessed districts and the question of changing assessments or the more equitable application of taxes to property or rural conditions, etc., and report to the Minister of Finance who could then call upon the Commission to prepare a draft Tax Act; another Act applied a yearly Poll-tax of $5.00 to every male person from the 2nd of January in each year, with specified exceptions, and a penalty of doubling the tax for non-payment; certain tax sales of lands in new Western districts were validated and the semi-monthly payment of wages was enacted and applied to all the larger industries. The War Relief Act was amended so that during the War and for six months afterwards no legal action could be brought in a Provincial Court against British Columbians on active service, their families, dependants, trustees, executors, etc.; the Vancouver Incorporation Act was amended giving soldiers' wives the right to vote on their husbands' property and to deal with many questions of finance and assessment of taxes.

In the vital matter of resources British Columbia had much trouble during 1917 with its Salmon and other Fisheries. The total product of the year ending Mar. 31, 1916, was $14,500,000 or a gain of $3,000,000 over 1915 and of this the salmon marketed in the Province represented $10,726,818. There was a declaration by W. D. Burdis, Secretary of the B. C. Canners Association (Oct. 21), that if conditions were not soon improved the Sockeye salmon industry on the Fraser River and Puget Sound would become extinct and that the 1917 Pack would be only 25% of the 1913 total; it appeared that conservation was impossible without United States co-operation and that this was made difficult of arrangement owing to large Seattle and other Pacific coast interests; it was obvious that the Halibut fisheries were rapidly becoming depleted just as the demand and prices were increasing. The international aspect of the Fisheries was troublesome and Senator Chamberlain of Oregon, for instance, tried to get Congress to hold up imports of Fish into the United States. In October, J. Maddox, of Tacoma, was appointed by the U.S. Food Controller and J. P. Babcock by the Canadian Controller to arrange conferences in British Columbia and Washington to see if some protective agreement could not be reached. This was not successful and on Nov. 30 Mr. Babcock, who was Assistant Commissioner of Fisheries at Victoria, stated in Ottawa that: "The failure of the United States authorities to join Canada in the adoption of measures to insure the seeding of the spawn beds in the lean years has entailed a loss to American Fishery interests in excess of $29,000,000. The failure of the salmon to run as abundantly in 1917 as in former years entailed a loss to the fishermen and canners of British Columbia of over $8,000,000. while the loss to the fishermen and canners of the United States exceeded $19,500,000." The hearings of the B.C. Fishermen's Commission brought out much information including the statement that $10,369,798 was invested in the industry and 18,435 persons employed in it; that 77,000,000 fry of salmon had been distributed to Provincial breeding centres; that the pack of sock-eyes in British Columbia waters in 1913 was 732,000 and was expected to show a further continuous decline in 1917; that, according to H. O. Bell-Irving, the Canning pioneer of Vancouver (Aug. 6), "This salmon business for the last 20 years has been absolutely smothered in politics." The total 1917 run, however, turned out to be the largest ever handled and reached the unexpected total of 1,600,000 cases or 562,000 more than in 1916.

The Lumber industry started in 1917 with an increase from the past year of $6,000,000 in value and with great activity all through the Province; new mills came into operation and old ones were working to capacity to meet a demand greater than the supply; the saw-mill and shingle industry continued to develop at Eburne, Port Moody, Fraser Mills and other points with lack of labour as the only drawback; R. H. Campbell, Director of Forestry, Ottawa, reported officially in May that "British Columbia has 400,000,000,000 feet of commercial timber within its boundaries—half of the entire resources of the Dominion of Canada with the saw-timber, material

suitable for pulpwood, firewood, poles, etc., not included." The estimated Lumber cut for 1916 was 35 millions in value compared with 29,000,000 in 1915. James Whalen of Port Arthur, during 1917, organized the Whalen Pulp and Paper Co., Ltd., with himself as President, a capital of $13,600,000, British Columbia leases of 155,000 acres with 6,000,000,000 feet of timber as the estimated resources and including absorption of the B.C. Sulphite Fibre Co., Ltd., of Mill Creek; The Empire Pulp and Paper Mills, Ltd., of Swanson Bay, and The Colonial Lumber and Paper Mills Ltd., of Quatsino Sound. The output of logs for the first 9 months of 1917 was 1,072,000,000 feet or 300,000,000 more than in 1916; the estimate for the year was 1,500,000,000 feet compared with 1,280 million feet in 1916. Agricultural difficulties of the year were considerable—chiefly lack of labour—and many matters were taken to the Government including the depredations of dogs in the sheep industry and the raking of the Province by United States agents for breeding cattle; the un-enforcement of Noxious Weed regulations by Provincial Police and the need of a Government supply of well-boring outfits at the expense of the farmers; the establishment of Agricultural Labour bureaux by the local co-operation of the farmers; the difficulties of the fruit growers under the war-necessary British embargo on apples. Incidents included the application for loans under the Agricultural Credits Act of the Bowser Government, up to the beginning of 1917 totalling $2,500,000 and a Fur crop during the year of $1,500,000 in value; the organization of the United Farmers of British Columbia at a meeting in Victoria on Feb. 16 with 200 Delegates present and addresses from W. D. Trego and R. McKenzie of the Prairie organizations, the election of C. G. Palmer, Duncan, as President and approval of the following platform:

1. To constitute a medium through which farmers in membership may act, unitedly, where their common interests are concerned. To effect united action and resistance when taxation unfairly affects farmers' interests.

2. To study and teach economic legislation independent from all existing parties.

3. To study and teach the principles of co-operation and to promote the establishment of co-operative societies.

4. To further the interests of farmers and ranchers in all branches of agriculture; to promote the best methods of farming business; to seek enlargement and increase of our markets; to gather market information; to obtain by united efforts profitable and equitable prices for farm produce and to secure the best and cheapest transportation.

5. To promote social intercourse, a higher standard of community life and the study of economic and social questions bearing on our interests as farmers and citizens.

The value of agricultural production in 1916 was $32,182,915 and it was about the same in 1917 with the following as the Livestock of the latter year—Horses, 55,124 valued at $6,505,000; Cattle, 240,343 valued at $17,485,000; Sheep 43,858 worth $603,000 and Swine 37,688 worth $791,000—with a large increase in cattle. As to Mines the increased product of 1916 over the previous year was, according to the Premier in July, 1917, 44% or $12,842,000 in value, the total production up to and including that of 1916, $558,000,000. The production in 1916, alone, was $42,290,462 in value. In each of the chief products (except gold) there had been a large

increase in quality as well as values—notably in lead, copper and zinc. From the production of the first three months of 1917 the Premier estimated a total of $50,000,000 for the whole year—this, of course, depending upon labour and the absence of strikes. The official estimate of Mr. Sloan, Minister of Mines* showed a total for 1917 of $37,182,570 or a decrease of 12%—the reasons being largely industrial troubles, reduced metal prices toward the end of the year, a lessened demand for lead and zinc in munitions, and economic conditions which handicapped the mining of gold. Incidents included the acquisition by the Granby Consolidated Mining and Smelting Co., in August, of a large area of valuable coal lands between Ladysmith and Nanaimo at an outlay of $750,000—the development of which would require several hundred men and the establishment of a new mining centre; the erection of wharves and shipping facilities at tidewater calling for an additional outlay of $500,000; the erection of a modern coke manufacturiug plant at the Anyox properties to cost $1,500,000. There was the statement of E. A. Haggan of the *Mining and Engineering Journal* that "three of the largest copper mines and three of the largest smelters in the British Empire are located in British Columbia." Investigations at this time, with details made public by the Vancouver *Sun* on May 29, estimated the probable and possible ore of 13 iron properties on Vancouver and Texada Islands at 12,880,000 tons; the opening in July of the great smelter of the Ladysmith Smelting Corporation, Ltd., on Vancouver Island was in important event with 700 tons of ore treated daily as a beginning; the development of the electric thermic furnaces for pig-iron promised to remove the greatest difficulties in an iron production which was found to be large; the five years of 1912-16 increase in all minerals being $56,000,000 in value. For the calendar year 1917 the mining dividends were $3,164,550.

Of industrial activity there was much evidence in 1917. In August, the ship-building programme represented $27,000,000, with large works of a Government, civic or general character under construction estimated, by the Vancouver *Province* (Aug. 25), at $56,000,000; War orders since 1915 were stated to be responsible for an increase to 600 industrial plants or 33 per cent. in two years and including ship-building, shingle mills, aeroplanes, steel factories, war equipment plants; there were dozens of new companies and new plants of a miscellaneous character throughout the Province and Vancouver itself was recovering from its deep depression of 1914 in an environment of construction and as a central situation for shipping, lumbering and mining; the Automobiles in use during 1917 numbered 11,856, compared with 9,396 in 1916. In ship-building the Wallace yards on Jan. 20 launched Vancouver's first ship in a new merchant fleet and there was hope that the tremendous decline in 20 years of lumber business with Australia would be checked and business once more revived; to this end the Government was urged to take up the shipping policy of the late administration; on May 16 the first steel cargo vessel built in the Province was launched by a Japanese concern—the Kishimoto Steamship Company, and by

* Published in January, 1918.

June the Imperial Munitions Board had put coast matters in the hands of R. P. Butchart and made contracts for construction of ships at Victoria, Vancouver, New Westminster and Coquitlam—21 vessels at least. Vancouver and other interests waited on the Government and urged on June 8 a carrying out of the Bowser policy of Provincial wooden ship construction, but were not given much satisfaction; it was claimed that, properly aided, British Columbia could build 1,000 wooden ships and that there was no question of huge supplies of iron for the other style of construction. The total under construction at this time, however, was large compared with $50,000 worth in the whole of 1916. By the close of the year such concerns as the Cannon Lumber Industry Co. had organized for this industry in Vancouver Island as did the Foundation Company, a United States concern with big Allied contracts, and Yarrows, Ltd., at Esquimalt, with a total new work contracted for, and apart from the $27,000,000 of the Munitions Board contract, of $13,500,000 at Vancouver, $8,500,000 at Victoria and $4,000,000 elsewhere in the Province. Labour interests made many demands upon the Government during the year and one Delegation on Mar. 12 asked for:

> The establishment of a Provincial Department of Labour and electoral reforms; Proportional representation and the grouping of constituencies; amendments to the Provincial Election Act to provide for the use of the franchise to all voters whether resident in the constituency in which they are registered or not; to provide for at least two months to elapse between the dissolution of Parliament and Elections with a special Court of Revision to be held on the first day of the second month following dissolution; an amendment to abolish the present system of election deposits and new Mining regulations with a strict enforcement of the Mines' Regulation Acts; the removal of all officials who prove incompetent and for the election of Mine Inspectors by the organized unions of the Province; an Act to provide for a minimum wage of $3.50 per day for all adult workers underground and for the entry of Union officials to Company property to collect dues and transact legitimate business such as organizing, etc.; making it incumbent on all corporations to provide adequate medical and hospital treatment and first aid appliances; an Act to provide that all wages be paid at least every two weeks, in currency, and that at no time shall more than six days' wages be kept in hand; the 8-hour-day and a week of 44 hours in all industrial operations and the eight-hour bank to bank; protest against any attempt to re-impose the poll-tax and against the exemption of church property from taxation.

The general condition of British Columbia was well indicated in the Budget Speech of Mr. Premier Brewster on Apr. 23, pointing out that the Government's first duties upon taking office in Nov. 29, 1916 were preliminary and that its policy in finance was to emulate the system of a well-conducted business or corporation. He stated that he had immediately engaged Price, Waterhouse & Co. to inquire into and report upon the financial condition of the Province and this document he reviewed during his speech—premising that the system of taxation, generally, was unsatisfactory and that a permanent Taxation Commission would be recommended to Parliament. He first stated the "cold facts and figures" as presented by the Public Accounts of Mar. 31, 1916, which showed an excess of Liabilities over Assets of $14,782,616 compared with an excess of Assets over Liabilities in 1911 of $1,407,694. The cash at the disposal of the Treasury on Apr. 1, 1911, was $8,474,287, and on

Mar. 31, 1916, $720,121, showing a reduction of $7,754,166. while the net bonded indebtedness of 1916 was $9,404,868 and the total expended in excess of revenue during the 5 years (1911-16) was $17,159,035. The Premier added that: "If we take the receipts and expenditures as shown by the Public Accounts for the fiscal years ending June 30, 1906, and Mar. 31, 1916, and compare the two, we will find that while the revenues of the Province increased by 106 per cent. between those years, the expenditures increased by 325 per cent." During the first months of the fiscal year beginning Mar. 31, and still under the Bowser Government, the Province, he said, ran a further $2,000,000 in debt with also, current and accrued liabilities of $1,063,985 (not then shown on the books) but which the new Government had paid within two months; arrears of taxes on Sept. 30, 1916, were $2,749,091 and unpaid 1916 taxes $1,262,990. Mr. Brewster, in the Provincial balance sheet for the year of Mar. 31, 1917, placed the total Receipts at $6,291,693 compared with $7,964,496 in 1915-16 and Expenditures at $10,422,206 in 1916-17 as against the total in 1915-16 of $12,174,251. For the year ending Mar. 31, 1918, he estimated the Revenues at $9,868,325 and the Expenditure at $8,768,579. The total Funded Debt as on Mar. 31, current, was stated at $23,153,146 with $3,375,237 of a Sinking Fund to deduct; Bond guarantees issued chiefly on railway account totalled $73,782,078 authorized and $63,193,532 executed—of these guarantees $47,975,000 applied to the Canadian Northern Pacific and $20,160,000 on the Pacific Great Eastern. Proposals were naturally outlined for new taxes and these totalled a probable $4,000,000 of revenue—including also a surtax on existing sources of revenue and it was announced that Public Works' expenditure would be cut by 40 per cent. The Hon. John Oliver spoke at some length (Apr. 30) and made two comments which attracted controversy. One was that "but for the great crops on the Prairies and the business they made for the C.N.P. the Province would have found it difficult to raise enough money to pay its obligations"; the other was that the Moratorium had not aided the men Overseas but that "there were a number of men disgracing the King's uniform in the Province to-day who got into those uniforms to escape payment of their just debts." It may be added that Mr. Brewster in his Budget remarks put the total production of the Province in 1916, and including Forests, Mines, Fisheries, and Agriculture, at $124 - 625,377 compared with $123,792,887 in 1915; that the imports of Agricultural products into the Province were $17,199,162 or over one-half of the local production of $32,000,000. The Agricultural product of 1917 was $37,661,850, that of Mines was a similar amount, that of the Forests $48,913,115—an increase of 38 per cent. and that of Fisheries was $15,311,954 or 40 per cent. of the Dominion figures —making the comparative total for the year $139,069 489.

The Prohibition issue was bitterly contested in 1917. The Referendum of late in 1916 showed within the Province 36,490 civilians for Prohibition and 27,217 against it; of the soldiers at home 3,353 were for and 3,622 against; of the soldiers Overseas 2,061 were favourable and 5,263 against—the latter voting going

on until Dec. 31, 1916, when the 20,000 soldiers Overseas were found to have given a majority of 7,500 against Prohibition and thus defeated it. It was around this vote that the controversy raged and the Prohibitionists brought every kind of artillery to bear upon the voting methods and conditions and charged illegality of action coupled with many irregularities. For months Delegations, pro and con, waited upon the Government and a counting of the votes proceeded slowly, directed by Sir R. McBride in England; proceedings were persistently denounced when the vote was seen to be negative and then it was stopped because of some 1,500 votes particularly in dispute; the calling in by the Government and the Agent-General of Sir John Simon, as an eminent Counsel, to decide the issue and his declaration that the votes should be counted; the possibility of the result being changed developed as the resumed voting continued, and, finally, the favourable total of 5,802 was overturned. It was a difficult situation for Mr. Brewster. The number of votes polled against Prohibition was officially recorded as 43,588. The number of votes which returned the Brewster Government to power was slightly over 41,000. A personal factor entering into the question was in the support given by Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper to anti-Prohibition movements. He, probably, more than any other one personal factor in the election of 1916, was responsible for the downfall of the Bowser party and the return of a new Liberal Government at Victoria. His view (May 9) was the Constitutional point that after the Referendum was defeated by the votes of the men at the front, the decision should be respected until such time as the imputations and allegations of the Prohibitionists, regarding crooked work in connection with the taking of the vote had been established by a thorough, non-political investigation. On the other hand Mr. Brewster and the Liberals of British Columbia had openly favoured Temperance legislation for a long time and a majority of the people were probably in favour of it.

Interjected into the controversy and meeting the attitude taken above was the appointment of a Royal Commission by statute and its Report, presented to the Legislature on August 14, declaring that out of the 8,505 votes cast abroad after Sept 14, 1916, 4,697 should be rejected on account of irregularities. This was based largely upon the evidence of E. A. Helmore, a chartered accountant appointed, previously, by the Provincial Government to investigate the situation. During the long conflict of argument A. E. Tulk of Vancouver was the anti-prohibition exponent; Jonathan Rogers was the Prohibition leader. In the end the Government chose Prohibition and passed an Act, accordingly, which came into operation on Oct. 1. W. C. Findlay of Vancouver was appointed to take charge of the administration of the law and the chief clauses were as follows:

I Liquor of any kind containing over 2½ per cent. proof spirit could only be obtained by purchase from the Government vendors, druggists or physicians and then only on the prescription of a duly qualified Physician, or by importing it from outside of the Province.

II. Liquor could only be kept by occupants of private dwelling houses, but with no limitations as to quantity; by Government vendors also unlimited as to quantity;

by Druggists limited to five gallons, doctors to two quarts, dentists to one pint and veterinary surgeons to one gallon; and by wholesale liquor dealers in unlimited quantity, only for export outside of the Province and for legitimate mechanical use, limited to two gallons.

III. A citizen could serve liquor to friends and guests only within his private dwelling, or in an apartment suite occupied by a *bona fide* family.

IV. A citizen could not serve liquor to friends anywhere outside of his own dwelling—not even on his lawn, nor could he carry liquor on his person, except it was obtained in a legal manner and being taken home, or carry liquor in his motor car, yacht or any vehicle on any public highway, or serve liquor to his friends for consideration, barter or exchange of any kind.

Much might be written about the Pacific Great Eastern Railway but nearly all that is historically essential has been mentioned. The Select Committee in its Inquiry had J. W. de B. Farris as Chairman, The P.G.E. Counsel was H. A. Maclean, K.C.; for Patrick Welch, E. P. Davis, K.C., acted; and S. S. Taylor, K.C., for the Provincial Minister of Railways. It may be mentioned that D'Arcy Tate, Vice-President, gave considerable evidence and much data before leaving the stand (Mar. 19-22); that the financial trouble was somewhat due (1) to the Dominion Government not giving the usual Federal subsidy to this Provincial line and (2) the failure to sell townsites upon which they had expended $2,000,000 and expected to realize $10,000,000; that P. Welch, the contractor, produced a large amount of detailed information and claimed that if prices were larger than on the C.N.P. and G.T.P. so also costs were higher with the P.G.E. and alleged, with long and detailed and several days' evidence, that the Line was built economically and honestly; F. C. Gamble, Government Engineer, said that he had a free hand in estimating P.G.E. requirements and that Sir R. McBride was nominally in control, and not the Hon. T. W. Taylor who then was Minister of Railways; on Apr. 12 Mr. Tate contended as to the $500,000 paid to him that as the money was paid by the contractors and not by the Railway and was subject to an agreement made antecedent to the formation of the P.G.E. Company it was his own personal money and the Committee had not rights of inquiry into this campaign fund contribution which he might have given to the Conservative party. On Apr. 20 the P.G.E. officials, through E. P. Davies, K.C., made a statement, that if released from any damage claims or other contemplated action by the Government, they would be prepared to turn over to the Government all of their holdings in the P.G.E. Company, the P.G.E. Equipment Co. and the P.G.E. Development Co. They were also, in this event, ready to complete the construction of the Railway line at actual cost, under Government management and supervision, the Government to take care of the financing of the project. The Report of the Committee was presented to the House on May 1 and declared (1) that the original contract was illegally awarded to Foley, Welch and Stewart; that (2) two of the Directors, E. F. White and F. Wilson, appeared to have drawn salaries of $5,000 a year each and at the same time profited by sub-contracts without giving any apparent values; that (3) P. Welch made a profit on 5 millions on the work and that the road remained incompleted and would require another 13 million dollars to finish; that (4) A. H. B. MacGowan, a former

member of the Legislature, had a sub-contract for which he gave no consideration, in time or money, though he had received payments from the Company. On May 11 the Government of British Columbia fyled a writ against the Pacific Great Eastern, its subsidiaries and officials and Directors, for an accounting of the sums realized from the sale of guaranteed bonds and for many other things, including the return of $7,500,000 said to have been wrongfully taken from their funds. An Audit of the books of the P.G.E. by Marwick and Co. of Vancouver was made public on Aug. 14 and found that out of a gross profit of $4,081,000 which Mr. Welch received he re-invested the whole in the Company itself together with $147,400 of his own money.

As to the war British Columbia appointed a Provincial Food Conservation Committee on Sept. 4 with President F. F. Wesbrook, of the B.C. University as Chairman; at the beginning of 1917 it was stated that 938 officers and 25,622 men had enlisted in this Province; the collections for a Vancouver branch Military Hospital brought $20,000 and also 1,000 books for its Library obtained by the local Rotary Club; a Great War Dance and Carnival was held at Vancouver, May, 2-5, and was expected to realize $100,000 for various war funds; the Provincial Returned Soldiers Commission had dealt with 1919 cases by June 30 and a Conference of the Advisory Council of Research was held in Victoria on July 31 with much important discussion; all through the Province on Aug. 4-5 Resolutions were passed declaring "inflexible determination" to carry on the struggle; 1,500 G.W.V.A. passed a Resolution at Vancouver on August 19 protesting against the Conscription attitude of Western Liberals at the Winnipeg Convention; on Aug. 28 Esquimalt had a War Shrine unveiled by Major-Gen. R. G. E. Leckie, C.M.G., in honour of local heroes of the conflict; the statement was published that the Vancouver Red Cross Society, of which Sir C. H. Tupper was President, had in three years of war-existence (July 5, 1917) received $950,000 in cash and contributions; a later announcement was that four gentlemen in Victoria had given $3,000 each toward a $45,000 local Fund which was in process of collection and that this Branch had 147 auxiliaries at work with a total of $142,000 collected during the year of Aug. 31; the statement was made by Lieut.-Col. J. W. Warden, D.S.O., in a letter, that besides the 43,000 men sent by British Columbia to the Front up to date thousands had left for England and enlisted on the outbreak of war—he put the total at 20,000; Land Settlement plans and proposals for returned soldiers were presented to the Cabinet by the G.W.V.A. on Oct. 13 and legislation promised in some respects; in connection with the Victory Bond appeal in November Mr. Premier Brewster made the public declaration that he was buying bonds because "it is my duty to my family, my duty to Canada, my duty to the Empire"; R. G. Duggan, President of the Victoria G.W.V.A. was dismissed by Hon. Mr. Pattullo from the Lands Department late in November because of his participation in the election of Dr. Tolmie as a Dominion Unionist candidate—an action which created much controversy.

CANADIAN OBITUARY, 1917

Name	Particulars	Place of Death	Date
Allard, O.M.I., Rev. Father Joachim Albert	Former Vicar-General of St. Boniface and Pioneer Missionary	Winnipeg	Jan. 10
Amaron, M.A., D.D., Rev. Dr. Calvin E	Well-known Presbyterian Minister	Montreal	Mar. 15
Alexander, James Mackenzie	President, S. F. McKinnon Co.	Toronto	Sept. 19
Borden, K.C.M.G., LL.D., The Hon. Sir Frederick Wm.	Minister of Militia, 1896-1911	Canning	Jan. 6
Bowlby, M.A., K.C., Ward Hamilton	Oldest Crown Attorney and Clerk of the Peace in Ontario	Kitchener	Jan. 8
Barber, ex-M.L.A., John Roaf	Politician and Manufacturer	Georgetown	Mar. 3
Blakemore, William	Engineer, Journalist, Publicist	Victoria	Mar. 4
Blake, Mrs. Edw'd (Cronyn)	Widow of the Liberal Leader	Toronto	Apr. 2
Bate, Sir Henry Newell	Well-known Business man	Ottawa	Apr. 6
Brigden, Frederick	President of Brigden's Limited, and a pioneer Engraver	Toronto	Apr. 16
Bright, John	Dominion Commissioner of Livestock	Ottawa	Apr. 19
Baird, ex-M.L.A., Hon. Geo. Thomas	Senator of Canada since 1895	Andover	Apr. 21
Broughall, M.A., D.D., Rev. Abraham James	Rector of St. Stephen's Church, Toronto, for 50 years	Toronto	June 10
Bell, M.D., F.R.S., F.G.S., F.R.S.C., LL.D., Robert	Eminent Canadian Geologist and Scientist	Rathwell	June 17
Baker, K.C., George William	ex-Police Magistrate of Winnipeg	Keewatin Beach	Sept. 1
Beanlands, Rev. Canon Arthur John	17 years Rector, Christ Church Cathedral, Victoria	England	Sept. 25
Brock, William Rees	Founder of the W. R. Brock Company, Ltd., and a Director of many institutions	Toronto	Nov. 1
Bowell, K.C.M.G., ex-M.P., Sir Mackenzie	ex-Prime Minister of Canada	Belleville	Dec. 10
Bradshaw, Lieut.-Col. John Ernest	ex-Mayor of Prince Albert, and its Member in the Saskatchewan Legislature	Prince Albert	Dec. 25
Blewett, K.C., Francis Richard	Well-known Barrister	Toronto	May 10
Carscallen, M.L.A., Thomas George	ex-Mayor of Napanee	Napanee	Mar. 15
Cardin, Louis Pierre Paul	Former member of Quebec Legislature	Montreal	Apr. 9
Corby, Senator Harry	Represented West Hastings in the Commons from 1888-1901	Honolulu	Apr. 23
Casgrain, K.C., F.R.S.C., ex-M.P., Philippe Baby	ex-President of Quebec Literary and Historical Society	Quebec	May 23
Connell, ex-M.L.A., Hon. H. A	One-time member of the New Brunswick Government	Woodstock	May 28
Cimon, ex-M.P., Hon. Ernest	Justice of the Supreme Court of Quebec for 21 years	Quebec	July 17
Croft, Henry	Mining Engineer and Prominent Citizen	Esquimalt	July 28
Codd, B.A., Alfred E	Professor of Latin in Queen's University	Kingston	Oct. 5
Campbell, D.S.O., ex-M.P., Lieut.-Col. Glen Lyon	Member of Manitoba Legislature, 1902-18	France	Oct. 21
Carman, M.A., D.D., LL.D., Rev. Albert	General Superintendent (Emeritus) of the Methodist Church in Canada	Toronto	Nov. 3
Creighton, ex-M.L.A., David	Assistant Receiver-General and one-time Managing-Director of *The Empire*	Toronto	Nov. 7
Cowan, K.C., ex-M.P., Mahlon K	For many years General Counsel to the G.T.R.	Toronto	Oct. 28
Davis, Hon. Thomas Osborne	Member of the Canadian Senate for 13 years	Prince Albert	Jan. 23
D'Avignon, John Eugene	Sheriff of Essex County	Windsor	Mar. 5
Douglas, Charles Stanford	ex-Mayor of Vancouver, M.L.A., Manitoba 1883-9	Vancouver	Apr. 15
Davison, B.A., M.D., John L.	Editor of *Canada Lancet*	Napanee	Apr. 20

Name	Particulars	Place of Death	Date
Dupuis, M.L.A., Joseph Alcide		St. Jacques de l'Achigan	June 22
Dickson, K.C., Joseph Howe.	Clerk of the Executive Council of New Brunswick	Fredericton	June 27
Dupuis, M.A., LL.D., F.R.S.C., Nathan Fellows	Professor of Mathematics and Dean of Practical Science at Queen's University, Kingston.	Long Beach	July 20
Drake, M.D., Fred'k Phineas.	Eminent Medical Man	London	Oct. 6
De Martigny, M.D., Adelstan	Prominent Medical Man	Montreal	Nov. 14
Emard, K.C., Joseph Ulric	ex-Alderman of the City of Montreal	Montreal	Mar. 30
Fraser, D.D., Rev. Hugh W.	Well-known Presbyterian Clergyman	Calgary	June 8
Fletcher, M.A., LL.D., John.	Professor of Latin at Toronto University	Toronto	July 15
Farncomb, M.A., Rev. Canon John	Well-known Clergyman	Newcastle	Sept. 8
Fisher, Alson Alexander	County Judge of Renfrew	Toronto	Sept. 28
Geikie, M.D., LL.D., D.C.L., Walter Bayne	Founder and Dean of Trinity Medical School	Toronto	Jan. 12
Grout, Rev. Canon George W. G.	Well-known Anglican Clergyman	Kingston	Feb. 14
Gray, Lieut.-Col. John	Well-known Militia Officer	Toronto	Feb. 13
Gamey, M.P.P., Robert Roswell	Member for Manitoulin in the Ontario Legislature	Toronto	Mar. 19
Greenshields, LL.D., Edward Black	Director, Bank of Montreal, and Governor of McGill University	Montreal	Apr. 22
Gregg, Charles A.	Editorial Staff of *The Colonist*	Victoria	Apr. 28
Gilman, K.C., M.A., LL D., Hon. Francis Edward	Eminent Lawyer and Legislative Councillor of Quebec	Westmount	May 24
Girdwood, M.D., F.C.S., F.R.S.C., Gilbert Prout	Professor of Chemistry for many years at McGill University	Montreal	Oct. 2
Graham, Hon. Sir Wallace.	Chief Justice of Nova Scotia	Halifax	Oct. 12
Hugonard, O.M.I., Rev. Joseph	Catholic Missionary to the Indians	Fort Qu'Appelle	Feb. 11
Hough, M.A., M.D., Henry.	Well-known Journalist and Business man	Toronto	Feb. 25
Holt, Philip	Junior Judge of Huron County since 1902	Goderich	Apr. 18
Hiscott, ex-M.L.A., Major James	Represented Lincoln County for 4 years	Near St. Catharines	May 26
Hébert, C.M.G., R.C.A., Louis Philippe	ex-President, Royal Canadian Academy; Knight of the Legion of Honour and St. Gregory the Great	Westmount	June 13
Horne, John William	Moving Picture Board of Censors	Winnipeg	Oct. 24
Hendry, William	For 2 years Manager of the Mutual Life of Canada	Kitchener	Nov. 25
Higgins, ex-M.L.A., David William	One-time Editor of Victoria *Colonist* and Speaker of the B.C. Legislature	Victoria	Nov. 30
Hobson, Joseph	Noted Civil Engineer and the Builder of the Victoria Bridge, Montreal St. Clair Tunnel	Hamilton	Dec. 19
Hanington, K.C., Augustus H	Prominent Barrister	St. John	Nov. 22
Jeffers, J. Frith	Veteran Educationist and Auditor	Toronto	Feb. 24
Jones, K.C.M.G., Hon Sir Lyman Melvin	President of the Massey-Harris Co. and Member of the Senate	Toronto	Apr. 15
Johnson, B.A., PH.D., George Wesley	Professor of Latin, Toronto University	Toronto	May 4
Kennedy, Monsigneur Edward	14 Years Parish Priest in Truro, N.S.	Halifax	Apr. 14
Kirkpatrick, George Bromley	ex-Director of Surveys for Ontario	Toronto	Aug. 3
Kerr-Lawson, Mrs. Jessie	Well-known writer and poet under pen name of "Hugh Airlie"	Toronto	July 30
King, Isabel Grace Mackenzie	Widow of John King, K.C., and Daughter of William Lyon Mackenzie	Ottawa	Dec. 18
Loughrin, ex-M.L.A., John	Former Judge of Nipissing District	Mattawa	Jan. 2

Name	Particulars	Place of Death	Date
Leitch, Hon. James	Judge of the Supreme Court of Ontario	Toronto	Feb. 7
Leiser, Simon	ex-President, Victoria Board of Trade	Vancouver	May 12
Lugrin, Charles Henry	Many years Editor of Victoria *Colonist*	Victoria	June 14
Loranger, K.C., LL.D., ex-M.L.A., Hon. Louis Onésime	ex-Judge of the Superior Court of Quebec and Attorney-General, 1879-82	St. Hilaire	Aug. 18
Lafontaine, Uric	Judge of the Court of Sessions	Montreal	Aug. 25
LeSueur, B.A., LL.D., F.R.S.C., William Dawson	Well-known Canadian Author; Secretary, Post Office Department, 1888-1902	Ottawa	Sept. 23
McCulloch, Hugh	Prominent Manufacturer	Galt	Jan. 8
McFadden, Moses	District Judge of Algoma	Sault Ste. Marie	Jan. 10
McDougall, D.D., Rev. John Chantler	Pioneer Methodist Missionary	Calgary	Jan. 15
McKim, Anson	Well-known Montreal citizen and head of A. McKim, Ltd.	Coteau Junction	Jan. 25
McClelan, D.C.L., LL.D., ex-M.L.A., Hon. Abner Reid	Former Lieut.-Governor of New Brunswick and Senator of Canada	Moncton	Jan. 30
McLeod, John Peter	ex-Deputy Attorney-General of British Columbia	Victoria	Jan. 31
McKay, George Forest	Nova Scotia Ship-builder	New Glasgow	Mar. 13
McCormick, Thomas Palmer	Prominent Manufacturer	London	Mar. 31
McMillan, Thomas Henry	Founder of Western Bank of Canada	Oshawa	May 5
McBride, K.C., LL.D., K.C.M.G., Sir Richard	Premier of British Columbia for 12 years; latterly Agent-General in London	England	Aug. 6
McFee, Alexander	ex-President, Board of Trade	Montreal	Sept. 28
McLeod, F.R.S.C., F.R.A.S., Clement Henry	Vice-Dean of the Faculty of Applied Science, McGill	Montreal	Dec. 26
MacKay, M.D., William Morrison	*Doyen* of Medical Profession of the West	Edmonton	Feb. 25
Macleod, D.D., Rev. Duncan Darroch	Prominent Presbyterian Clergyman	Barrie	Mar. 9
MacDougall, Hartland St. Clair	ex-President, Montreal Stock Exchange	Montreal	Apr. 10
MacLaren, ex-M.P., Alexander Ferguson	Eminent manufacturer and head of MacLaren Imperial Cheese Co., Ltd	Toronto	Apr. 19
Macdonald, Sir William Christopher	Chancellor of McGill University, famous Philanthropist and millionaire Manufacturer	Montreal	June 9
Macdonell, Mrs. Pauline Rosalie De La Haye		Toronto	Sept. 25
Mackenzie, Margaret Merry Lady	Wife of Sir Wm. Mackenzie	Toronto	Nov. 29
Mortimer, Charles Herbert	Well-known Trade Publisher	Toronto	Feb. 11
Morrison, K.C., Alf'd Gidney	Crown Prosecutor	Halifax	Feb. 13
Murphy, ex-M.L.A., Denis	A Commissioner of the T.&N.O.	Ottawa	Mar. 10
Morrison, M.L.A., John Gillis	Well-known Politician	Halifax	Apr. 8
Mills, D.D., D.C.L., LL.D., Rt. Rev. William Lennox	Anglican Bishop of Ontario	Kingston	May 4
Moore, John Thomas	Founder of Moore Park, Toronto, and first ex-M.L.A. in Alberta	Toronto	June 5
Monk, ex-M.L.A., George William	Vice-President, Canada Permanent Corporation	South March	Aug. 18
Murdoch, William	City Engineer of St. John	St. John	Oct. 8
Morrison, Duncan	County Court Judge of Prince Edward County	Picton	Nov. 17
Murray, M.D., LL.D., F.R.S.C., John Clark	Professor Emeritus of Mental and Moral Philosophy, McGill University	Montreal	Nov. 20
Morgan, J. Burtt	President of Dominion Underwriters' Association	Victoria	Nov. 27
Mason, Elizabeth Cooper	Wife of Brig.-Gen. Hon. James Mason	Toronto	Dec. 21
Oldright, M.D., William	ex-Chairman, Provincial Board of Health	Chicago	Jan. 4
O'Connor, J.P., Mathew		Toronto	Mar. 24
Owens, ex-M.L.A., Hon. Wm.	Senator of Canada	Montreal	June 8
Orr, Dr. J. Orlando	For 14 years Manager of the Canadian National Exhibition	Toronto	Aug. 22
Patterson, Robert Lawrence	Well-known Business man	Toronto	Apr. 21
Paton, ex-M.L.A., Robert	Postmaster of Barrie for 14 years	Barrie	June 21

Name	Particulars	Place of Death	Date
Robb, K.C., James	County Judge for Norfolk from 1890-1914	Toronto	Feb. 14
Richards, ex-M.L.A., John	ex-Commissioner of Agriculture in P.E. Island and Leader of the Opposition	Los Angeles	Mar. 8
Renaud, Rev. Canon J. Frederick	Rector of St. Thomas Church	Montreal	Apr. 13
Robertson, Thomas	President, *Monetary Times*, and Pioneer Manufacturer	Toronto	Apr. 19
Rogers, Edwin Robert	Ontario Inspector of Public Charities	Toronto	Apr. 20
Robinson, C.E., Franklin Joseph	Deputy Minister of Public Works, 1905-10, Regina	Toronto	May 26
Richard, LL.B., ex-M.L.A., Hon. Ambrose D.	One-time Solicitor-General of New Brunswick	Dorchester	Sept. 15
Ryrie, Harry	Prominent Business man and Social Worker	Toronto	Sept. 16
Richardson, ex-M.P., Matthew Kendal		Flesherton	Nov. 5
Ritchie, K.C., W. B. A.	ex-President of the N.S. Bar Association	Vancouver	Dec. 25
Smith, Rev. Wm. Wye	Well-known Poet, Journalist and Preacher	Burford	Jan. 6
Stocks, John	Member of the Alberta Public Utilities Commission	Edmonton	Feb. 9
Smith, M.L.A., ex-M.P., Hon. Ralph	Minister of Finance for British Columbia	Victoria	Feb. 12
Spence, Francis Stephens	Municipal Expert and Prohibition Leader	Toronto	Mar. 8
Scholfield, George Percival	General Manager and Director of the Standard Bank	New York	Mar. 8
Smith, Dr. Alfred D.	Professor of Classics in University of Mount Allison	Sackville	Mar. 28
Stewart, ex-M.L.A., Albert John Henry	New Brunswick Politician	Bathurst	Apr. 30
Stewart, George Alexander	Eminent Railway Engineer	Shoal Bay	May 13
Stevens, James	Prominent Ingersoll Citizen	Muskoka	June 22
Spiers, David	ex-Mayor of Galt	Galt	July 9
Schultz, Samuel Davies	County Court Judge	North Vancouver	Aug. 25
Smith, I.S.O., A.D.C., Colonel Henry Robert	Sergeant-at-Arms of House of Commons	Kingston	Sept. 20
Sykes, PH.D., Frederick Henry	President of Connecticut Woman's College	Cambridge, Mass.	Oct. 13
Smith, K.C., LL.D., D.C.L., Robert Cooper	Professor of Commercial Law, McGill University; ex-President, Montreal Bar	Montreal	Sept. 22
Sproule, M.D., M.P., Hon. Thomas Simpson	Speaker of the House of Commons and Grand Master of the Orange Order	Markdale	Nov. 10
Shaw, ex-M.L.A., John	ex-Mayor of Toronto	Toronto	Nov. 27
Tait, D.C.L., LL.D., The Hon. Sir Melbourne McTaggart	ex-Chief Justice of the Superior Court of Quebec	Montreal	Feb. 10
Taber, Charles W. C.	Former Member of the Yukon Legislature	Dawson, Y.T.	Feb. 21
Taylor, Sir Thomas Wardlaw	Former Chief Justice of Manitoba	Hamilton	Mar. 2
Trenholme, Thos. Anderson	Well-known Business man	Montreal	Apr. 23
Torrington, MUS.D., Frederick Herbert	Dean of the Musical Profession in Toronto	Toronto	Nov. 19
Turner, M.L.C., Hon. Richard	Prominent Business man and Financier	Quebec	Dec. 22
Tolton, Edwin	Member of the House of Commons, 1901-1906	Clifford	Dec. 11
Woodsworth, D.D., Rev. Jas.	Superintendent of Methodist Missions for Western Canada	Winnipeg	Jan. 26
Woodsworth, Rev. Richard Watson	Founder of Christian Stewardship work in Methodist Church	Toronto	Mar. 19
White, James	Oxford County Clerk, 1880-1907	Woodstock	May 24
Wright, E. J.	Deputy Provincial Secretary, Saskatchewan	Regina	May 26
Walker, M.D., Lieut.-Col. Thomas Dyson	Well-known Physician and Citizen of St. John, N.B.	Boston	July 22
Wilson, D.D., Rev. William Frederick	Prominent Methodist Clergyman	Toronto	Apr. 3
Wood, Samuel Thomas	For many years on the Editorial staff of *The Globe*, Toronto	Toronto	Nov. 6
Wilcox, M.P., Oliver James	Late Chief Whip for the Conservative Party	Essex	Dec. 2

Supplement

Canadian Finances, Resources, Business

Annual Reports and Addresses



THE RT. HON. THE LORD SHAUGHNESSY, K.C.V.O.
President and Chairman of the Canadian Pacific Railway.

LORD SHAUGHNESSY'S NOTABLE ADDRESS

AT THE

ANNUAL MEETING OF SHAREHOLDERS

CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY*

Address by Lord Shaughnessy, K.C.V.O., President and Chairman of the C.P.R.

Compared with the returns for the calendar year 1916 the Thirty-seventh Annual Report of the Directors now before you for consideration and approval shows an increase in gross revenue from transportation of $12,660,000, but this amount was more than absorbed by the working expenses, which increased $16,590,000, so that the net income from transportation in 1917 was less by $3,930,000 than it was in the previous calendar year. Notwithstanding the larger volume of traffic in 1917, it will be gathered from the statistics incorporated in the Report that there was a substantial decrease in traffic train mileage and loaded car mileage, indicating still further improvement in operating efficiency. In normal times this should be reflected in the working expenses, but its effect was minimized by the higher scale of wages and the enhanced cost of fuel and other materials required for the maintenance and operation of the Railway that prevailed during the year and that added $15,250,000 to the operating expenses. These conditions were not exceptional in the case of your Company, but applied in a proportionate degree to all the other Canadian carriers.

In view of the abnormal and constantly increasing cost of railway operation, the Board of Railway Commissioners, after due deliberation, authorized an increase of ten to fifteen per cent. in specified zones in the tariff of charges for the carriage of passengers and freight. This concession to the Railway Companies to assist them in meeting, in part, the increased cost of transportation services that they are providing is very moderate indeed when compared with the increased prices due to similar causes which the public has to pay for all other commodities. It was clear that without higher rates many of the Railway Companies would be compelled to face large deficits, and so far as it applied to these lines, some of them being wards of the Government, the order of the Board appeared to arouse little objection or criticism. But certain trade bodies and others appealed to the Dominion Government for the disallowance of the Order of the Board of Railway Commissioners on the ground that the additional revenue resulting from the higher rates would, in the case of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, have the effect of supplementing that Company's substantial surplus

*This much-discussed Address was delivered at Montreal on May 1st, 1918.

income after the payment of fixed charges and dividends. To enable the weaker Companies to reap the benefit of the higher rates, and at the same time to meet the objections that had been urged to the participation of the Canadian Pacific in like benefits, the Government decided to permit the advance in rates for the carriage of traffic authorized by the Board of Railway Commissioners to become effective March 15, 1918, but concurrent with this decision there was an Order of the Governor-General in Council under the War Measures Act, substantially as follows:—

1. The Canadian Pacific Railway Company, hereinafter called "The Company," shall pay to the Government of Canada the following special taxes:

1st.—One half of its net earnings from railway operations in excess of seven per cent. on its Common Stock (after paying fixed charges, appropriation for Pension Fund, and dividends on Preferred Stock).

2nd.—Income tax on the Company's special income (inclusive of all the Company's income, except earnings from railway operations), under the provisions of The Income War Tax Act, 1917, or any amendment thereof hereafter enacted.

Provided that the total amount to be paid each year by the Company shall not be less than—

(1) The Company's net earnings in such year from railway operations, and from special income as defined above, in excess of 10% on its Common Stock (after paying fixed charges, appropriation for Pension Fund and dividends on Preferred Stock), up to $7,000,000, or

(2) The amount by which its net earnings from railway operations exceed the net earnings from railway operations for the fiscal year ended December 31st, 1917, due to the increase in freight and passenger rates granted by the Order of the Board of Railway Commissioners, dated 26th December, 1917.

3. Payment in full of special taxes under this order shall in respect of earnings from and after January 1st, 1918, relieve the Company of liability under the Business Profits War Tax Act, 1916, and any other Dominion Act of like nature hereafter enacted, and (save as hereinbefore provided) under the Income War Tax Act, 1917.

4. This Order shall be deemed to have come into force and effect on the first day of January, 1918, and to continue in force and effect during the present war, and until further ordered.

Briefly stated, this Order-in-Council not only deprives your Company of any improved revenue that might result from the higher tariff, but imposes upon it a measure of taxation discriminatory in character, and therefore your Company might with propriety question its fairness or justification. A state of war, with its enormous demands upon the National Treasury, and other financial burdens brought upon the country by an unfortunate railway policy, coupled with the thriving condition of your Company's affairs, were in all probability taken as furnishing reasonable warrant for the Government's action. Since the outbreak of war your Company has deemed it a duty to render to Canada and the Allies all the practical and financial assistance in its power, and while it is not possible with constantly changing conditions to form at this time even an approximate estimate of the tax, the amount, whatever it may be, will be paid without protest or embarrassment to your finances. It must not be assumed that in the adoption of this measure the Government was actuated by any spirit of hostility to the Company. On the contrary, it may be stated without reservation that at no other time has your Company enjoyed the confidence and support of Parliament, the Government and the people to a greater extent than at present. Nor should the Government's action be assumed

to forecast a policy in the future that might jeopardize investments in Canadian Government, Municipal or Corporation Securities.

What is commonly called "Canada's Railway Problem" has, for some months past, occupied a place in the attention of the Canadian people second only to the affairs of war, and expedients designed to lighten the burden imposed on the Public Treasury by the railway situation have been considered and discussed by the Public and the Press. Not unnaturally your Company has, by reason of its outstanding position in the business affairs of the country, been brought into the discussion. It was evident that some of the writers and speakers who took part had but imperfect information or were guided by traditional misconception when dealing with the affairs of your Company. Although more than 90% of its securities are owned abroad, your Company is essentially Canadian in its inception, progress and aspirations, and therefore the Directors feel that it is not out of place at this time to give you, for the information of the Canadian public as well as the investors in the property, a brief review of some salient features of the Company's financial policy and progress leading up to its present stable position.

Under the terms of the contract of October 21, 1880, between the Government of Canada and the Syndicate acting for the Canadian Pacific Railway Company in anticipation of the Charter, the Government undertook to give, by way of subsidy, to assist the Company in carrying its enterprise to successful completion, certain sections of railway between Lake Superior and Winnipeg and between Savonas and Port Moody in British Columbia then in process of construction under Government auspices, $25,000,000 in cash and 25,000,000 acres of land suitable for settlement. After work had been in progress for two or three years it was found that the cost was substantially in excess of the estimates, and the Company applied to the Government for further temporary aid by way of loans. When, in 1885, the repayment of the loans was being arranged, the Government decided to accept in part payment a return of 6,700,000 acres of the Land Grant in place of $10,000,000 in cash; in effect, therefore, the subsidy consisted of $35,000,000 in money, 18,300,000 acres of land, and the sections of railway in process of construction by the Government to which reference has already been made. At the outset the Company had expected to raise the requisite funds for the execution of the work by sales in the English market of Capital Stock and of Bonds secured by the Land Grant, thus keeping the railway property free from bonded debt, but it soon became manifest that this was impossible, and, therefore, Parliament was asked to authorize and did authorize the issue of $35,000,000 5% First Mortgage Bonds and $65,000,000 Ordinary Share Capital. Despite a determined effort on the part of the Directors to give confidence to investors by depositing in cash with the Government of Canada an amount sufficient to meet a Government guarantee of dividend at the rate of 3% per annum on the Common Stock for ten years, unfriendly influences at home and abroad were so prejudicial in the English, American and Continental markets that the original

$65,000,000 only yielded to the treasury of the Company an average of somewhat less than 46% of its face value. The unwillingness of investors to pay a higher figure for the Stock in those early days need not be considered extraordinary, however, when we learn that as late as 1895, when the railway had been completed and in operation for more than nine years, the Stock was offered in the market at as low as 33%, with but few takers.

In 1885 the President of the Company, now Lord Mount Stephen, induced Baring Brothers to find purchasers for the $35,000,000 First Mortgage Bonds, and by this means the Company was enabled to repay the loans from Government and to meet its floating debt. It was evident that the main line described in the Agreement, serving as it did thousands of miles of territory almost uninhabited, could not be kept going unless it was brought into touch with the more important commercial centres of Eastern Canada and was provided with branch lines and connections that would contribute traffic to its rails, and, therefore, arrangements were made to reach Montreal, Ottawa, Toronto, and at later stages Quebec, Hamilton, the more important manufacturing towns in Ontario and Quebec, and the Winter port at St. John, N.B., and connections were established at various points along the frontier from the Atlantic to the Pacific with railway systems in the United States. These extensions, feeders and connections were obtained by agreements with a number of Canadian Companies for the acquisition or lease of their properties, the consideration in most cases being a guarantee of interest on their securities by way of rental, and in other cases the Company's credit was utilized for the construction of new lines. In circumstances when the interchange of traffic was a matter of prime importance, the connecting lines in Canada were only built to the International Boundary after the Company had taken the requisite steps to ensure the observance of traffic agreements by the railway lines on the other side of the International Boundary.

Inevitably this policy would lead to a variety of securities in the shape of Bonds assumed by the Company with reference to acquired properties or created and issued to furnish money for construction of new lines, each series secured by a mortgage on the particular property to which it applied. In order to avoid this undesirable situation the Company decided, with the consent of Parliament, to utilize Consolidated Debenture Stock for the purchase or conversion of existing Bonds, and to provide funds for building or acquiring such additional mileage as might appear to be required from time to time for the advantage of the country and the Company. This Consolidated Debenture Stock is perpetual and irredeemable, differing from a mortgage bond in that it gives no right of foreclosure in the event of default. The holders have a first claim on the revenues of the Company for their semi-annual dividends after the working expenses and taxes or fines have been paid, and the contract demands of existing bond-holders have been satisfied. If by any chance the Company failed to pay, within a fixed period, the dividend accrued on the Consolidated Debenture Stock the holders of that Stock would become the Shareholders of

the Company and would control its affairs until the default was made good, when the property would automatically pass back to the Preference and Ordinary Shareholders. In the early period of its history the Company was beset by many difficulties and disappointments, but on the whole its progress was not unsatisfactory. In 1899 the Company had 7,000 miles of railway; its gross earnings were $29,200,000 and after the payment of working expenses there were net earnings of $12,200,000; the funded debt secured by Mortgage Bonds was $47,200,000; Debenture Stock had been sold to the amount of $54,237,000, and the annual fixed interest charges were $6,800,000; while in 1916 the operated system comprised 13,000 miles, with net earnings of $50,000,000 and an increase of only $3,500,000 in the annual interest charges.

After 1899 the Company's traffic commenced to show considerable growth and the necessity for more rolling stock equipment and for traffic facilities and improvements of every possible description became imperative. Year by year with the great expansion of business throughout the country the demand for adequate facilities became more pressing, and the records show that in the years 1902-1914 inclusive, the Company expended for second tracks, reduction of gradients, terminals, freight yards and facilities, work shops, machinery, and improvements of every character chargeable to Capital, $206,300,000, and for cars, locomotives and other equipment $130,000,000. To meet this expenditure of $336,300,000 Debenture Stock could not legally be utilized and Preference Stock could be issued and sold only in limited amounts. In these circumstances the Directors decided to ask the Ordinary Shareholders of the Company to provide funds as these were required from time to time by taking further allotments of Common Stock. In the thirteen years mentioned the Shareholders were offered and accepted $195,000,000 of Common Stock for which they paid $262,100,000. Out of this, $33,750,000 of Canadian Pacific First Mortgage Bonds were paid off and retired, and $26,200,000 was used to pay the cost of railway lines acquired or constructed and of additional steamships with reference to which no Bonds or Debentures were sold. The remaining amount, $202,150,000, was supplemented by the sale of Preference Stock and Equipment Notes that brought in $56,500,000, making a total of $258,650,000 to apply against expenditures of $336,300,000. The further sum necessary, namely, $77,650,000, was provided from the surplus revenue of the Company. Thus the Company was put in a position to deal efficiently and economically with a large and ever-increasing volume of traffic, and at the same time was able to reduce its bonded debt, the requisite money being provided by the owners of the property who were willing to venture their money on Canada's present and future stability. They were encouraged by the annual accounts of the Company which, year by year, showed most gratifying results and gave ample warrant for every statement made by the Directors.

Notwithstanding the low price at which it was necessary to sell the original $65,000,000 of Common Stock, as already explained, the entire $260,000,000 of this Stock outstanding has yielded to

the Treasury in cash an average of $112 for each $100 of Stock, and if the additional amount supplied for capital expenditure from the surplus belonging to the Shareholders be taken into account, the Shareholders paid an average of $143 for each $100 of Stock that they hold. In 1916 the railway system operated directly by the Company and included in the traffic returns had reached 13,000 miles, or 6,000 miles more than in 1899, but the bonded debt had been decreased from $47,200,000 to $3,650,000 and the Consolidated Debenture Stock outstanding was more by $122,000,000. The net revenue from operation had grown from $12,200,000 to $50,000,000 in round figures, while the annual fixed charges were only $3,500,000 more than in 1899. In 1916 the amount available for distribution to Ordinary Shareholders after providing for fixed charges, dividend on Preference Stock, appropriations for Pension Fund, and other purposes, was about $34,000,000, or over 13% on the Common Stock. Of this, 7% was paid to the Shareholders and the balance added to the surplus. In 1917 the mileage operated had increased to 13,400 miles, but the net earnings were less by $3,930,000 although the gross income was larger by $12,660,000, the shrinkage being due to the additional cost of labour, fuel and material of every description.

The progress of the Company has, indeed, been marvellous, and it might readily occur to the casual observer that advantageous terms for the carriage of traffic must have contributed to the result. This is not the case. A reference to the statistics of the Interstate Commerce Commission and to the Annual Reports of the railway companies will show that the average rate per passenger per mile and the average rate per ton per mile, for the carriage of passengers and freight respectively, received by the Canadian Pacific were lower than those received by any combination of railways South of the International Boundary constituting a through route from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. But it may be asked how is it possible under these conditions for the Canadian Pacific to attain such results when it be taken into account that the rates of pay to employees in every branch of the service are at least as high as, and the cost of its rails, fuel and other material required for the maintenance and operation of its lines is higher than in the case of railway lines in corresponding territory in the United States. The answer is simple. The achievement may be attributed primarily to the policy pursued for so many years of keeping down the annual fixed interest charges while extending its rails into new productive territory as opportunity offered, and improving the standard and efficiency of its property as revenue warranted; but the economies naturally attending the long haul of traffic over its own rails to its own terminals with none of the heavy tolls for handling, switching and kindred service at common points of junction that other companies are required to bear, the opportunity to make the maximum use of its own equipment with the consequent saving in the cost of car hire, and the lesser amount required for general and traffic expenses as compared with any combination of competing lines to the South, coupled with operating economies to which it is not necessary

to refer in detail, were factors of great importance that are now being neutralized by insatiable wage demands and soaring prices.

Thus far we have been dealing only with the creation, operation and financial progress of the Company's rail transportation system, comprising its railways in Canada and in the State of Maine, with such accessories as lake and river steamers, grain elevators, parlor and sleeping cars, etc. In the annual reports of the Directors to the Shareholders giving the results of the Company's operations only the revenue from these sources is taken into account, and after proper deductions for operating expenses, annual interest charges and special appropriations, the balance is available for dividends. As already stated, it has been the practice for some years to distribute to the Ordinary Shareholders an annual dividend on a 7% basis, and to carry the remainder to surplus account for improvements to the property and for the general purposes of the Company. But besides this revenue from its transportation system the Company receives a substantial annual return on investments of one character or another that have come into existence during the past thirty-five years. The Special Income from these investments, exclusive of receipts from land sales, is in excess of $10,000,000 per annum, out of which the Ordinary Shareholders have been receiving a further annual dividend of 3%.

In the early days of the Company it was the practice of railway corporations on this Continent and elsewhere to divest themselves of auxiliary enterprises not essentially connected with the operation of the railway, such as Express Companies, Telegraphs, Terminal Warehouses, etc., by disposing of them to corporations engaged in these several kinds of business activity, or to individuals. Too frequently, through one channel or another, those intimately associated with the railway companies' affairs succeeded in acquiring for themselves most valuable and productive properties, and little criticism would have been aroused if the Canadian Pacific had adopted the same policy. But this was not done. All of these revenue-producing attributes were reserved and developed for the advantage and benefit of the Shareholders, and the resulting profit to the Company's exchequer is very substantial indeed. Every terminal yard, station and property over the entire system belongs to the Company itself, and was acquired or created with money furnished by the Shareholders, the aggregate amount reaching very large figures.

Land Grants appertaining to lines purchased or leased in perpetuity, coal mines, metal mines, smelters and other assets that now play such an important part in the Annual Balance Sheet of the Company, might also have been coveted and acquired by what are commonly known as the "Insiders," had any such spirit inspired the Board of Directors from time to time, but not a penny was permitted to slip through such a channel. Indeed, it might be said that while the individual credit of Directors was on more than one occasion asked and freely granted at the initial stages of a transaction, no consideration was ever given excepting the refund of out-of-pocket expenses and bank interest; nor was anything more expected.

At times, and more particularly during the busy months of the Autumn, there was considerable difficulty about securing sufficient ocean space on steamers sailing from Canadian ports for the export traffic carried on the Company's lines, and to remedy this the Elder Dempster Atlantic Fleet, comprising fifteen steamships, was purchased in 1902. At a later date the Canadian Shareholders of the Allan Line Steamship Company opened negotiations for the sale to the Canadian Pacific of all the share capital of the Allan Company. The transaction was carried out to the satisfaction of both parties, and for several years the business was conducted under the Allan name and through the Allan Agencies. The earnings of these steamship lines were devoted in a large part to the payment of the floating debt that the Company had assumed at the time of the purchase, and the construction and acquisition of additional steamships.

The development of business on the Pacific Coast of Canada demanded a number and class of vessels (and a consequent investment of capital) quite beyond the reach of the Navigation Company that was performing this service in connection with the railway, and to meet this requirement the Canadian Pacific decided to acquire the steamers then performing the service, at a price acceptable to the owners. This having been done, the Company proceeded immediately to enlarge and improve the Fleet by purchase and construction from time to time of larger, faster and more modern ships for the encouragement and care of the business. The policy proved satisfactory and remunerative. This Ocean and Coastal Steamship property, secured by a comparatively small demand on capital account, has a market value in excess of $65,000,000 on the basis of present market prices. It is not necessary to describe in detail the manner in which other properties and assets that came to the Company from one source or another, but mainly through acquired railways, were nursed and developed to a profit-producing stage. It is sufficient to know that they belong to the Shareholders of the Canadian Pacific, and that the money necessary for their acquisition or development came from the surplus income of the Company and, therefore, of its Shareholders.

The Company's Land Grant is a source of serious anxiety to financial doctrinaires who have only half studied the subject. They appear to have forgotten, or to have never known, that as late as 1888 when the railway had been in operation for some time, the Dominion Government consented, as a consideration for some concessions under the Charter, to guarantee the interest on $15,000,000 Land Grant Bonds, but would in no circumstances guarantee the payment of the principal, which would have given the security increased market value, although the Bonds had fifty years to run and only represented a value of about 75c. per acre. There is no doubt that at that time the Government could have recovered the whole Land Grant at the price per acre just mentioned. For many years this Land Grant was a great drag on the Company. Interest had to be met on the Land Grant Bonds whose proceeds had been devoted to the purposes of the railway, and although considerable

sums were spent on an immigration propaganda land sales were disappointing and unsatisfactory, and the prices yielded the Company only from $1.50 to $2.50 per acre after the selling expenses had been paid. It was not until 1898 that agricultural lands in Western Canada attracted buyers in any number, and even in that year, when 348,000 acres were sold, and in the three subsequent years the net return to the Company was only about $2.80 per acre. These prices were realized from sales of comparatively small parcels. The value placed on these lands in large areas by investors may be gathered from the fact that at the end of 1901 the shares of the Canada North West Land Company could have been bought in open market at a price equivalent to $1.45 per acre, for the 1,555,000 acres belonging to that Company at the time.

Shortly after the Canadian Pacific contract was made, the Federal Parliament commenced to vote grants of land in very large areas by way of subsidy for the construction of railway lines in Western Canada to many companies incorporated for the purpose. Most of these companies never materialized, but it was necessary to establish reserves from which their selections could be made, if by chance they came into being while the subsidy agreements were in force, and other companies (before the advent of the Canadian Northern) built some miles of railway, secured the land to which they were entitled, and then collapsed. All of this had an important bearing on the time required to select the lands earned by the construction of the Canadian Pacific, because of the difficulty about having reserves defined in districts where the character of the land would meet the requirements of the agreement; and to satisfy the last 3,000,000 acres of its Grant the Company consented to accept lands along the line West of Medicine Hat in what was then known as the "semi-arid" district, where there was little or no water, a very uncertain rainfall and other conditions that made the lands practically valueless. To recover this tract it was decided to adopt a plan of irrigation, and an expenditure of over $15,000,000 was made in the construction of the requisite works and ditches in the Eastern and Western Blocks, comprising about 2,240,000 acres. Of this area, that was not previously worth five cents an acre for practical purposes, the portions that can be served by the ditches command high prices, and a considerable percentage of the balance is improved in value by reason of the water supply, so we find that in 1904 the Company was willing to expend, and forthwith proceeded to expend, with a view to making useless lands productive and to encourage the settlement of territory adjacent to its railway, a sum of money in excess of the amount that it would have been willing to accept for the entire Land Grant sixteen years before.

Meanwhile the Company year by year made every effort and an expenditure approximating $17,000,000 in the encouragement of immigration, and to forward the sale and settlement of such lands as it had received. A most important factor in securing settlers who would purchase farms was the construction of thousands of miles of principal and branch lines not contemplated by the original Charter. Indeed, the Canadian Pacific as defined in that Charter,

with its attendant Land Grant, would have been a sorry investment if left by itself. To recapitulate, 14,000,000 acres of the original Canadian Pacific Land Grant have been sold to date, yielding in round figures $94,000,000, or an average of $6.72 per acre, but against this there were the expenditures during thirty years for immigration propaganda, agencies, commissions, and other expenses incident to sales, and the outlay for irrigation works, which made the net return to the Company less than $5.00 per acre. Naturally, the 4,300,000 acres that remain unsold will command much higher figures. In all this no account is taken of the vast sums spent by the Company in the construction of branch lines to open up the lands, nor of the tax on the Company's resources during the period required to bring to a productive basis these branch lines, which at the outset earned neither interest nor, in most cases, operating expenses.

With the exception of the comparatively small advantage given to the Shareholders when, in 1914, they were offered the 6% Note Certificates secured by outstanding land contracts, all of the net money that came to the Company from the sale of these lands was devoted to the railway property, taking the place of that much capital and reducing the Company's annual interest charges proportionately. The exemption from taxes of the Canadian Pacific Land Grant for a period of 20 years after their selection has been a source of considerable adverse comment, but the delay in selection was largely due to circumstances already explained, over which the Company had no control, and it is manifest that at the time the Grant was made, and for some years after, no one could have afforded to take the lands as a free gift if they were subject to taxation. When the lands were sold, however, the purchaser became a tax payer, and the records show that the 14,000,000 acres thus far sold have brought to the Public Treasury in taxes an amount exceeding $20,000,000.

The Dominion Railway Act in force in 1880, when the contract was made for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, authorized a return of Fifteen Per Cent. on the capital invested by any railway company in its enterprise before the tariffs for the carriage of passengers and freight could be scaled down by the Government authority named in the Statute, but in the contract with the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, confirmed by Act of Parliament, this limit was reduced to Ten Per Cent. per annum. This is what is known as the "Ten Per Cent. Clause" in the Company's Charter. Years ago this Clause became ineffective when the Company admitted that the net earnings had reached Ten Per Cent. on the capital invested, and its Tariffs came under the control and supervision of the Board of Railway Commissioners. The suggestion made in some quarters that the spirit and intent of this Clause was to limit the Company's dividends to Ten Per Cent. is entirely out of harmony with the clear, unquestionable language of the instrument. The Clause had no more relation, direct or indirect, to the Canadian Pacific dividends than it had to the dividends of any other Railway Company, or of any commercial or

industrial corporation. The Company has been and is absolutely untrammelled in the declaration of such annual dividends as the Directors may feel justified in declaring out of the revenue, and Seventeen Per Cent. instead of Ten Per Cent. per annum might properly have been distributed from the average earnings of the railway and the income from investments and extraneous assets during the past few years, had the Directors not been convinced that a prudent and conservative policy was in the best interest of the property.

The total capitalization of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company's transportation system, comprising 13,400 miles of railway in Canada operated directly by the Company, with the rolling stock equipment and steamboat craft on inland waters, its splendid terminal stations and facilities, and other accessories, is $623,000,000, but this amount is far below the actual cost of the property, which, excluding the cost estimated at $31,000,000 of the sections of railway constructed by the Government and handed over to the Company, is carried in the books at $687,000,000, after having been reduced by $131,000,000 provided from surplus earnings, land sales and other sources, expended on the property and written off without being capitalized. So that, based upon cost, the transportation system represents an outlay of $818,000,000, or about $61,000 per mile, which is lower than the average cost per mile of the other principal Canadian railways, and about half the cost per mile of the railway system of the Grand Trunk in Canada, based upon its outstanding capital. In addition to the mileage to which reference is made, the Company owns or controls 948 miles of railway lines in Nova Scotia, Quebec and British Columbia that are operated separately for economic or other reasons, but their affairs have no reference to the figures that have been quoted. The great benefits resulting from the conservative financial policy pursued by the Canadian Pacific Directorate are strikingly illustrated by the fact that the net earnings per mile required to meet the annual interest charges on the Grand Trunk, Canadian Northern, Grand Trunk Pacific and National Transcontinental railways, would suffice to cover the annual interest charges, dividend on the Preference Stock, and 7% dividend on the Common stock of the Canadian Pacific.

The extraneous investments and available resources belonging to the Shareholders of the Canadian Pacific are quite distinct from the transportation system and play no part in the transportation accounts. They are made up of the Ocean and Coastal Steamship Lines, investments authorized by Parliament in shares of Railway Companies outside of Canada, made, in most cases, many years ago when the shares that now command high prices had only a nominal market value, Government Securities and Loans, money set aside for investment, and other items, amounting in the aggregate to $137,000,000, and available resources in unsold lands, amounts payable on lands already sold, coal mining and other properties, having an estimated present and prospective value of $116,000,000, after providing for the retirement of the outstanding Note Certificates. The total appraisement of these items, namely, $253,000,-

000, is substantially below the market value. Large as is the amount, it was not accumulated by speculation or risky exploitation. Apart from the temporary loans and money it represents the accumulated worth of properties and resources many of which had little or no value when they came into the possession of the Company, but were developed and safe-guarded until they became profitable. Doubtless such development in its conception and execution had its selfish side, but no one familiar with the details of Canada's progress in the last quarter of a century will deny that every work of development undertaken by the Company, quite aside from its railway enterprise and its vigorous immigration policy, has given to the Country a return infinitely greater than any received by the Company or its Shareholders.

Summarized it would appear:—

1. That the Canadian Pacific Railway, as originally designed, forms but a small part of the present great system with its comprehensive operating traffic and business organization, through which in normal times thousands of people are brought every year to and through Canada from all portions of the civilized world, thus helping to people the country and to bring her vast resources under general notice.

2. That the cost of the transportation system as described in this Memorandum was $818,000,000 against which there is outstanding capital of all classes amounting to $623,000,000.

3. That every share of $100 Ordinary Stock in the hands of the public represents the payment into the Company's Treasury of $112 in cash, and $31 from surplus income, or a total of $143.

4. That it has been the Company's policy to avoid mortgage debt and mandatory interest charges with their attendant dangers.

5. That lands and resources capable of development, belonging to the original Company or that came into its possession through the acquisition of other railways, have been husbanded, developed and utilized so successfully and advantageously that, distinct from their railway transportation system, the Shareholders have extraneous assets valued on a moderate basis at $253,000,000.

6. That the highest dividend paid to Shareholders from transportation revenue, namely, 7% per annum, is only equivalent to 2¼% per annum on the cost of the railway system, and if the dividend of 3% from Special Income be added, making a total of 10% per annum, the distribution is less than 2½% on a conservative valuation of the Company's total assets.

7. That the average rates per passenger mile and per ton mile for the carriage of passengers and freight, respectively, received by the Canadian Pacific were lower than those received for the same services by any combination of railway lines in the United States constituting a through route between the Atlantic and the Pacific Ocean.

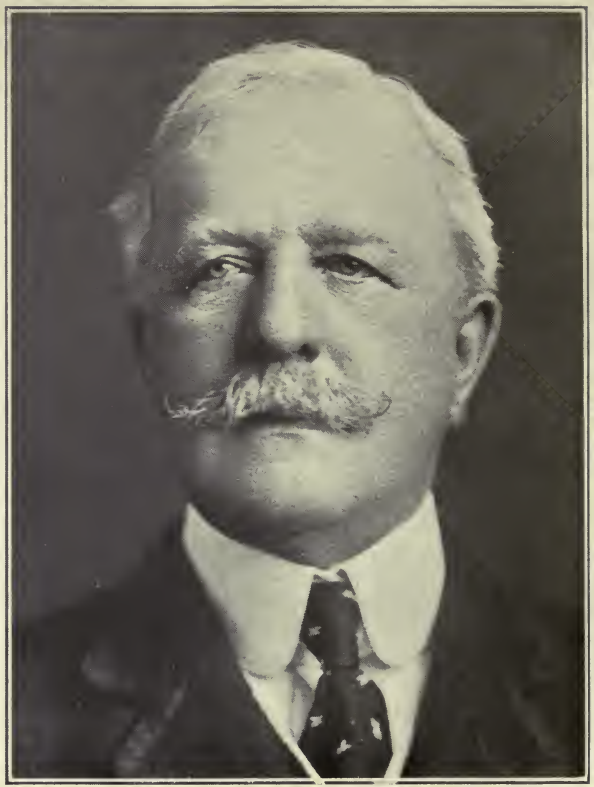
8. That the wages paid by the Canadian Pacific in every branch of its service are at least as high as, and the cost of its rails, fuel and general supplies is higher than United States railway companies are required to pay, and in all of these items the increase in both Canada and the United States has been abnormal since the outbreak of the War.

9. That the Company's successful effort to keep its capitalization substantially below the real value of its property and assets deserves the commendation of the Canadian people and should not, in any case, be made a pretext for penalizing the Company when rates for the carriage of traffic, or other matters, relating to general railway policy, are before Parliament or Government for consideration and decision.

The Shareholders and Directors of the Company have always been impressed with the idea that the interests of the Company are intimately connected with those of the Dominion, and no effort or expense has been spared to help in promoting the development of the whole country.



Sir Frederick Williams-Taylor, LL.D.,
General Manager, Bank of Montreal, 1917.



Sir H. Vincent Meredith, Bart.,
President, Bank of Montreal, 1917.

THE CENTENARY OF A GREAT CANADIAN BANK

ANNUAL ADDRESSES AND REPORTS*

OF

THE BANK OF MONTREAL

Annual Address by Sir H. Vincent Meredith, Bart. President of the Bank.

On the third of November, 1917, the Bank of Montreal completed the one hundredth anniversary of the opening of its doors for business. I feel warranted in stating that never during this long period was its prestige higher, its business in sounder or more elastic condition and its earning power greater than I believe them to be to-day. I am glad to believe also that it has never enjoyed a wider measure of public confidence. Since our last Annual Meeting, by the death of Mr. E. B. Greenshields, Sir William Macdonald and the Honourable Robert Mackay, the Bank, I regret to say, has lost three of its oldest Directors. All of these gentlemen gave much of their time and valued services in the Bank's interests and their loss is deeply felt. Mr. Baumgarten, who had not attended the meetings of the Board since the outbreak of war, in July last tendered his resignation, which was accepted. The vacancies thus caused were filled by the election of Messrs. H. W. Beauclerk, G. B. Fraser, Colonel Henry Cockshutt and Mr. J. H. Ashdown, thus completing the complement of fourteen Directors called for under our by-laws. In consequence of the Bank's large and increasing business in the Province of Ontario and in the West, your Directors thought it in the best interests of the Shareholders to bring to their councils two gentlemen resident outside of Montreal—Colonel Cockshutt, of Brantford, Ontario, and Mr. Ashdown, of Winnipeg, Manitoba, both of whom, from their wide experience in their districts and knowledge of affairs generally, will, I feel sure, prove valuable additions to the Board. Approval of your Directors' action in having donated to the Patriotic and Red Cross Funds the sum of $73,500 is asked and, I feel sure, will readily be given. The total Assets of $403,000,000 are the largest in the Bank's history.

The year, like the preceding one, has not been free from difficulties and anxieties, but we have been successful in avoiding large losses and are in a position to meet the legitimate demands of all commercial needs in addition to doing even more than our full share in financing both the Imperial and our own Government's requirements. In this connection, it may not be out of place to say that the Banks of Canada have recently loaned the Imperial Government

* For preceding Annual Addresses and Reports and an Historical record of the bank see other volumes of *The Canadian Annual Review*, 1910-16. Annual Meeting dealt with here was on Dec. 3rd, 1917.

$100,000,000 to assist in the purchase of the North-west wheat crop, and they are carrying further loans of $160,000,000 in connection with the purchase of munitions. The advances to the Dominion Government for war purposes now aggregate $147,450,000. The patriotic response of the Banks and our people to the demands of the Imperial and Canadian Governments for funds to enable them to carry on, and the adaptability of the Canadian banking system in meeting the ever-growing strain of war finance, are matters of gratification. That we shall continue our efforts to the utmost limit of our resources, always having in mind our liability to depositors, there can be no question.

Business conditions in Canada continue buoyant. There is no recession in the great wave of industrial and commercial activity of the past few years and trade in all lines, including what are generally known as luxuries, is highly prosperous. There is little or no movement in Real Estate and building operations are restricted. Labour is fully employed at high wages and there continues to be a deficiency in the supply. In the ten-year period 1905 to 1915, the amount of capital employed in manufacturing industries in Canada increased from $846,585,000 to $1,994,103,000 or by 135%, while the value of the products of these establishments rose from $718,352,000 to $1,407,000,000, a gain of 96%. The output of munition plants has doubtless been a factor, though it is obvious that the industries of Canada are steadily enlarging the volume of their business and finding new markets. Bank loans have been augmented in consequence of the high prices paid for all merchandise. These high prices are the cause of some uneasiness to merchants carrying large stocks, and while I would counsel prudence, it is not apparent to me how there can be any material reduction in the cost of commodities in the near future.

The large expenditures by our own Government in providing munitions and foodstuffs for Great Britain and our Allies, supplemented by the Mother Country's expenditures and the unexpectedly large orders which have recently been placed in Canada by the United States Government, all point to a continuance of prosperity and high prices, but it must not be forgotten that the prosperity we are enjoying is in a large measure due to the abnormal disbursements in Canada in connection with the war, and may, therefore, prove transitory. The funds which make possible these expenditures are largely obtained from British and Canadian Government borrowing and constitute an obligation which one day must be provided for. What will happen if these expenditures are curtailed, or when peace is declared, no one can foretell. Personally, I am hopeful of prosperous business conditions being continued for some time during the readjustment period after the war. In this connection, the desirability of the extension of Canadian trade in all directions during the period of post-bellum reconstruction, either through Commercial Intelligence Agents acting directly for the Government, or a Board approved by the Government, should not be lost sight of.

Since I last addressed you, the scourge of war has continued with unabated violence. The number of belligerents has increased; fortunately they are all accessions to the side of the Allies. The entry of the United States into the conflict, though tardy, is wholesouled, and with their enormous resources in men and money, which are being given generously and unhesitatingly to the Allies cannot but be an important factor in bringing the war to a speedy and successful conclusion. No one can tell how long the war will last. The imperative need, therefore, for efficiency and increased production, together with economies in all public and private expenditure, is obvious and cannot be repeated too often or urged too strongly.

The unbounded prosperity of Canada, to which I referred a year ago, is fully reflected by the abnormal trade figures. In the seven months to October 31 last, the aggregate value of imports and exports was $1,586,616,000, or $273,000,000 more than in the corresponding period of the preceding year. Eliminating the item of coin and bullion, as well as that of foreign produce in transit through Canada, our foreign trade was $1,550,000,000 for the period as compared with $1,084,000,000 last year, an increase of fifty per cent. In point of value our trade has never been so great as now, and in point of volume has never been exceeded. We are sending abroad more of agricultural products, both of animals and the soil; but the striking factor in exports continues to be manufactures, of which we shipped in the seven months to the value of $420,380,000, as against $219,450,000 in the like period a year ago. It is well to remember, however, that nearly one-half of this export trade consists of munitions of war, and is, therefore, to that extent unstable. I may further point out that the balance of trade continues favourable. Imports of merchandise during the seven months amounted to $628,100,000, and exports of domestic products to $921,957,000, giving a favourable balance of nearly $300,000,000.

A continuance of this progress depends in great degree on increased immigration of a satisfactory class. While no large influx can be expected under existing conditions, all the avenues from Great Britain and Europe being closed, the Government returns indicate that Canada is still attracting from the United States a very considerable number of desirable settlers, no fewer than 33,134 having crossed into the North-west during the first ten months of the year, being double the number of last year. Indications point to a continuance of this immigration and to a largely increased demand for farm lands. The results of the harvest have been on the whole satisfactory, the yield being about equal to that of last year. Wheat, the most valuable of our grain crops, produced 250,000,000 bushels, of which one-half was grown in the Province of Saskatchewan, while the yield of oats, barley and rye was substantially larger than in 1916. The high prices prevailing for all farm products have enabled many farmers to reduce, where they have not paid off mortgages, and to become depositors instead of borrowers. In money value at present market prices, the season's grain crops will exceed $900,000,000, conservatively estimated. The exportable

surplus of wheat, or its equivalent in flour will reach 150,000,000 bushels, an item of importance when the requirements of Great Britain and her allies are considered. The dairying industry has been well sustained, the production of cheese, butter and milk having been marketed at unprecedentedly high prices throughout the season.

The railway situation is a matter of some concern in its bearing upon the trade as well as the credit of Canada. While the gross earnings of the roads have, with few exceptions, shown gains from week to week, the greatly increased cost of operation, due to higher wages and materials, has caused a diminution in net earnings and here, as in the United States, the railways have sought authority to raise rates so as to meet in part at least the augmented charges. The whole commerce and prosperity of the people are so intimately dependent upon efficient railway service that this request appears reasonable and should, in my opinion, receive a sympathetic response. The two newer transcontinental roads have been unable to meet their obligations, for reasons with which you are familiar, and the Government has decided to take over the operation of the Canadian Northern, with its attendant obligations, and a similar procedure in respect of the Grand Trunk Pacific has been under discussion. The immediate burden thus imposed on the country is considerable, but we must hope that with the restoration of normal conditions and a revival of immigration on a large scale, the situation will improve materially.

In Great Britain trade is good and the banking situation is sound, in spite of the large amounts being invested in War Loans. The outstanding event of the year as affecting financial London has been the entry of the United States into the war on the side of the Allies, whereby large sums are being placed at the disposal of Great Britain and her Allies for the purpose of purchasing foodstuffs and raw materials, as well as munitions in the United States. These purchases, it is believed, will have a direct favourable bearing on the American exchange situation and afford relief, if not a solution, of a long unsolved and difficult problem. Another important event has been the unqualified success of the Great War Loan, a sum of no less than two thousand million pounds sterling having been subscribed, of which nearly one-half was fresh money. General trade in the United States, as in Canada, is active and prosperous. Large crops and high prices have undoubtedly created an enormous buying power throughout the West and South, and stocks of commodities, as a rule, in first hands, are light. The situation in regard to labour is not satisfactory and it is not probable that conditions in that respect will improve while the great demand for help remains unsatisfied.

The net public debt of Canada has assumed large proportions, now amounting to $948,000,000, exclusive of guarantees, and is growing at the rate of $1,000,000 daily. Large as these figures are, they must continue to grow while the war endures, and some concern is being shown as to how they are to be provided for. The recent Victory Loan, so splendidly taken up by all classes of the

people, should suffice, with the surplus on consolidated revenue account, to meet the financial requirements of the Government until well on to the end of next year, before which time many things may happen. What is now imperatively required is that no unwise expenditures be made, no new financial obligations undertaken, and that the burden of taxation be distributed equitably. Whether our debt is to be included in a huge Allied funding operation, or we provide for it by funding our own liabilities, is a matter that need not concern us at the moment. Our country is one of the most productive in the world. Our gold holdings per capita almost equal those of the United States. Our natural resources are unbounded and our credit is irreproachable. There are no doubt difficulties and anxieties ahead which we shall still have to face, but I think we may look forward with confidence to providing without undue strain for the burden of our patriotic endeavour.

Address by Sir F. Williams-Taylor, D.C.L., General Manager of the Bank

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen:—I feel it a great privilege to present to-day for your approval the centenary balance sheet of the Bank of Montreal. Coincident with this anniversary our President, Sir Vincent Meredith, has completed fifty years of uninterrupted service in this Bank, and it is fitting that we should extend to both our heartiest congratulations. As the President has dealt with the banking and financial situation in general terms, my preliminary remarks will be confined to specific incidents and influences bearing upon the business of your Bank.

Above all other events the entry of the United States of America into the war stands paramount and bears upon the Canadian economic and banking position with a force the effect of which is only now commencing to be felt. Shortly after the outbreak of war, Wall Street, as everyone knows, took the place of the London market for our country's public loans, and continued in that place until a few months ago. Now the influx of American capital is scanty, the inflow of borrowed money from the United States—which we had come to look upon as a matter of course—is suspended, it may be until the end of the war; and Canada is "on her own." In other words, little money is coming into Canada except in payment of exports, and, therefore, for the first time since Confederation the Dominion is cast upon her own financial resources. By some this will be regarded too seriously, by others not seriously enough. Actually, the stoppage will have far-reaching consequences. On the one hand industrial development will be checked, but, on the other hand, the inability to borrow may prove a blessing in disguise, once we have adjusted our affairs to the changed conditions. It is surely well for us to learn to do without financial assistance, especially as the country at large already has a debt abroad the interest on which runs into the great sum of about $500,000 per day. So long as the stream of money flowing into the country was uninterrupted, it was difficult, if not impossible, for our people to see the necessity for economy. Personal extravagance is still conspicuous in many directions, but presently economy will become general—from high motives, we hope; if not, then from stern necessity.

It is true that the development of Canada could never have reached its present stage but for moneys borrowed abroad, and, therefore, Canada is grateful, first, to Great Britain, and secondly, to the United States for the help they have thus contributed to the remarkable progress which our country has made, particularly during the past twenty years. It is, however, equally true that our misuse of borrowed money is in great measure responsible for some of the chief evils that have come upon us. I refer especially to the inflation which before the war started the increase in the cost of living, and to the creation of debt unrepresented by productive investment. Now that the inflow of money is suspended, we must pull ourselves together, practice economy, till the soil, produce to a greater extent the manufactured foods we require for our own use, until in the fullness of time we emerge a wiser and a better people in a sounder economic position. Having learned our lesson, this is clearly no time for us to brood over the errors of the past score of years, but rather to take stock of our resources and with stout hearts to set about the work of conservation and rehabilitation.

At the beginning of this Armageddon, England admittedly made mistakes that would have demoralized any other nation. These mistakes have been corrected, until to-day the British Empire has an army in the field whose equal in combined morale, size, equipment, organization, tenacity of purpose and fighting qualities, the world has never known. Canada has played no inconspicuous part in this re-creation, and we shall be equally successful in recovering our economic balance. We are the fortunate possessors of a splendid, healthful and beautiful country, abounding in natural wealth; and, what is equally important, we can properly claim to be a virile, industrious, and ambitious people. It now becomes my duty to explain to you the effect of the situation upon our business in London and New York, and also the chief changes in the balance sheet.

In London, where we continue to employ important balances at call, the interest returns have been continuously favourable, though our profits at this point have been diminished by a burden of taxation that may increase. Our Waterloo Place Branch, which has been of such invaluable assistance to our overseas soldiers and their relatives, has become inadequate for the business offered, and we have been compelled to established another branch office in the West End, chiefly for the convenience of our military clientele. Suitable quarters have been secured at Cockspur Street, Trafalgar Square, and will be maintained until the war ceases and our Canadian troops are withdrawn from Europe. During the past twelve months rates in New York for call money have covered a fairly wide range. The average interest rate was 3·24% as compared with 2·30% for the previous twelve months. The existing demand for money has a favourable influence on our earning power in that market, but, as in London, we must pay tribute by way of taxation on a rising scale. As indicated elsewhere, the immediate need of the United States Government for money to carry on the war now precludes Canadian borrowers from financing their requirements in that

country. In the early part of the year it was otherwise, and during the twelve months under review sales of Canadian securities in the United States were $152,000,000, compared with $153,000,000 for the previous year. The former amount includes the $100,000,000 Dominion Government loan floated in July last on terms which then seemed high, but have at no time since been obtainable. Of this money $20,000,000 was required for refunding purposes. It is indicative of Canada's preferential standing in the American market that during the past six months no other foreign Government has floated a public loan in the United States.

For the first time in many years, the automatic flow of funds between Canada and the United States recently became hampered by the dollar exchange situation that arose in consequence of the prohibition of exports of gold by the United States. As New York is the international clearing house of Canada on this Continent, the free movement of gold is essential to stabilize exchange. Fortunately the American Government were quick to recognize the logic of the arguments the Canadian Bankers' Association were able to present to them and the disadvantages to free trading that would follow unless this condition was rectified, and promptly relieved the situation by modifying their embargo on gold shipments in favour of Canada. Due partly to this wise action, exchange has since become normal, obviating the necessity of gold importations.

In times like these, when the fate of Empires is at stake, full satisfaction from monetary profits alone is impossible. As, however, the business of the nation must proceed, and the strength of financial institutions be maintained in order that the war be more quickly won, it has doubtless gratified you to learn that the Bank made substantial profits during the past year. The abnormal prosperity of the community as a result of the production of war supplies still continues, helped materially by munition orders from the United States; but the profits thereon are smaller, and we know that Great Britain's ability to buy from us is limited by our ability to finance her purchases. Our wheat output is the outstanding exception. The balance of trade in Canada's favour created by munition exports is opportune and adds permanently to our national wealth, but as the available resources of Canada are not such as we can rely upon to provide peace exports in full substitution, we should stand prepared to meet the declension in trade which must start when the war is over. Before the war is ended Canada may have to cope with inability or unwillingness on the part of potential purchasers to provide payment for our surplus productions. Moreover, on the conclusion of peace our merchants and manufacturers may be confronted both by diminished demand and falling markets.

For these reasons good banking profits are needed. I do not hesitate to state that there has never been a time in Canada when banking credits, in my opinion, required such careful consideration. It is impossible to gauge the business future, and, therefore, what seems like sound banking business to-day may, under post-war conditions, easily develop into lock-up or doubtful loans. Thanks mainly to the soundness of our banking system and to the healthy

condition of our Banks, Canada can still hold up her financial head. Our own Bank's ratio of quick assets to liabilities is 75½% compared with 75% a year ago and 64% the preceding year. We have heard it remarked by certain friends that the Canadian Banks are too strong, and your own Bank particularly so, but permit me to express my clear conviction that the sheet anchor of our Canadian national ship is the Canadian Banks and that the anchor must be strong to hold against wind and tide. The Banks have kept strong in an endeavour to prevent currency inflation, while, at the same time, they have made war advances to the Canadian and Imperial Governments to an amount that would have been regarded as impossible three years ago. Such advances are naturally included among liquid assets. The loans made by the Banks to the Canadian and Imperial Governments have enabled the business of the country to be carried on to an extent otherwise impracticable.

The great London Clearing Banks have increased their holding of Government securities from 12% of their deposits before the war to about 40% at present. This compares with a trifling pre-war percentage and a present percentage of 20% held by Canadian Banks. As Canada has no bill market or other market for these securities, our percentage compares favourably with theirs. Canadian Banks can rediscount only with our Government, and such operations involve inflation of currency. For your information, I may state that 22% of the liquid resources of this Bank are represented by British and Canadian Government securities. Those of us who are responsible to you trust that you are satisfied with our judgment as to the percentage of liquid strength that we consider essential in these times. Of one thing you may be sure, our strength is not at the expense of our commercial business, which we are always ready to extend to meet the requirements of the Bank's customers.

After the conclusion of business the Shareholders re-elected the Board of Directors as follows: D. Forbes Angus, R. B. Angus, J. H. Ashdown, H. W. Beauclerk, Colonel Henry Cockshutt, H. R. Drummond, G. B. Fraser, Sir Charles Gordon, K.B.E., C. R. Hosmer, Harold Kennedy, Wm. McMaster, Sir Vincent Meredith, Bart., Major Herbert Molson, M.C., Lord Shaughnessy, K.C.V.O., and at a subsequent meeting of the Directors, Sir Vincent Meredith, Bart., was re-elected President, and Sir Charles Gordon, K.B.E., Vice-President.

GENERAL STATEMENT

OF

THE BANK OF MONTREAL

The General Statement of the position of the Bank on October 31, 1917, was read, as follows:

LIABILITIES

Capital Stock			$16,000,000.00
Rest		$16,000,000.00	
Balance of Profits carried forward		1,664,893.08	
		$17,664,893.08	
Unclaimed Dividends		3,640.50	
Quarterly Dividend, payable 1st December, 1917	$400,000.00		
Bonus of 1% payable 1st December, 1917	160,000.00		
		560,000.00	
			18,228,533.58
			34,228,533.58
Notes of the Bank in circulation		$29,308,086.00	
Balance due to Dominion Government		13,638,962.36	
Deposits not bearing interest		71,114,641.55	
Deposits bearing interest, including interest accrued to date of statement		246,041,786.81	
Deposits made by and Balances due to other Banks in Canada		4,147,482.91	
Balances due to Banks and Banking Correspondents elsewhere than in Canada		496,621.28	
Bills Payable		1,024,346.75	
			365,771,927.66
Acceptances under Letters of Credit			3,335,499.58
Liabilities not included in the foregoing			644,275.82
			$403,980,236.64

ASSETS

Gold and Silver coin current		$20,592,891.86	
Dominion Notes		30,760,233.25	
Deposits in the Central Gold Reserves		14,500,000.00	
Balances due by Banks and Banking Correspondents elsewhere than in Canada	$16,629,089.91		
Call and Short (not exceeding thirty days) Loans in Great Britain and United States	100,610,214.54		
		117,239,304.45	
Dominion and Provincial Government Securities not exceeding market value		28,573,322.12	
Railway and other Bonds, Debentures and Stocks not exceeding market value		12,571,625.43	
Canadian Municipal Securities, and British, Foreign and Colonial Public Securities other than Canadian		33,455,254.64	
Notes of other Banks		1,494,676.00	
Cheques on other Banks		17,111,090.06	
			$276,298,397.81
Current Loans and Discounts in Canada (less rebate of interest)		97,607,404.98	
Loans to Cities, Towns, Municipalities and School Districts		11,415,383.61	
Current Loans and Discounts elsewhere than in Canada (less rebate of interest)		10,045,811.81	
Overdue debts, estimated loss provided for		371,629.30	
			119,440,229.70
Bank Premises at not more than cost (less amounts written off)			4,000,000.00
Liabilities of Customers under Letters of Credit (as per Contra)			3,335,499.58
Deposit with the Minister for the purposes of the Circulation Fund			790,000.00
Other Assets not included in the foregoing			116,109.55
			$403,980,236.64

VINCENT MEREDITH, *President.*

FREDERICK WILLIAMS-TAYLOR, *General Manager.*

THE CENTENARY OF THE BANK OF MONTREAL 1817-1917

Had the thoughts and interests of Canadians not been so concentrated upon War conditions and world-issues during 1917, no other national event would have received more attention and caused more comment than the celebration of the Bank of Montreal Centenary. This century of financial record meant more to Canada than the mere existence or development of an institution for the making of money out of money. It meant that during one hundred years the Bank of Montreal had worked into the very warp and woof of the business, finances and development of one great Province; that it had obtained and held a large place in the social and public life of Montreal as it grew from a small town to a metropolis; that it had grown with the life of Canada until it became a Bank for bankers elsewhere than Quebec Province, for big business or projects in the early stages of Upper Canadian development such as the Welland Canal, for various Government operations of a national character: that it finally became a financial pivot upon which the national enterprises of a wider Canada turned—as in its historical and important place in the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway and, therefore, in the creation of a united Canada.

In these later days of large Canadian corporations and other great banks of a big business period, beside which the institutions of the past seem trivial to the superficial eye, it still holds the premier banking position in many respects—with its field of financial operations a wide Dominion and great centres such as London and New York. The Bank of Montreal has the distinction of being the greatest single banking institution upon the Continent of America, the first to transact banking business in Canada, and to have been 50 years old, as well as the chief Bank of British America, when the Dominion of Canada was born in 1867.

Early in 1817 a number of prominent men in what was then the small town of Montreal had met, discussed, and organized an Association for the carrying on of a Banking business in the Province of Lower Canada. The Stock-book was opened on June 23 and by Sept. 20 the last of the 5,000 shares, of £50 each, were subscribed. Meanwhile, on Aug. 17, the first general meeting of shareholders took place and the following were elected Directors: John Gray, John Forsyth, George Garden, George Moffatt, Horatio Gates, Thomas A. Turner, F. W. Ermatinger, John McTavish, Austin Cuvillier, James Leslie, Hiram Nichols, George Platt and Zabdiel Thayer. Of these men Messrs. Moffatt, Cuvillier, Forsyth, Leslie and Gates were afterwards eminent in the public life of the community; all were well known and respected in business circles. The Bank opened for business on Nov. 3, 1817, in premises on St. Paul Street, Montreal, with a paid-up capital of £87,500, in the Halifax currency of the day, or $350,000. The first Articles of Association and the early documents in the Bank's history indi-



1st Bank of Montreal Building, 1817.



The Bank of Montreal Building (in Centre), 1917.

The Centenary of The Bank of Montreal.

cate the use of the name "Montreal Bank" and it was not until 1826 that the modern designation came into continuous use. The history* of the Bank from that time onward was a part of the history of Canada in its financial, commercial and general life and the names of the successive greater officials of the Bank eloquently prove this fact:†

PRESIDENTS

1817—JOHN GRAY.
1820—SAMUEL GERRARD.
1826—HON. HORATIO GATES.
1826—HON. JOHN MOLSON.
1834—HON. PETER MCGILL.
1860—THOMAS B. ANDERSON.
1869—EDWIN H. KING.
1873—DAVID TORRANCE.
1876—LORD MOUNT STEPHEN.
1881—CHARLES F. SMITHERS.
1887—LORD STRATHCONA AND MOUNT ROYAL.
1910—RICHARD B. ANGUS.
1913—SIR H. VINCENT MEREDITH, BART.

VICE-PRESIDENTS

1817—THOMAS A. TURNER.
1818—GEORGE GARDEN.
1819—CHARLES BANCROFT.
1819—GEORGE GARDEN.
1822—THOMAS THAIR.
1825—HON. JOHN FORSYTH.
1826—JOHN FLEMING.
1830—HON. PETER MCGILL.
1834—HON. JOSEPH MASSON.
1847—THOMAS B. ANDERSON.
1860—JOHN REDPATH.
1869—HON. THOMAS RYAN.
1873—GEORGE STEPHEN.
1876—GEORGE W. CAMPBELL.
1882—LORD STRATHCONA AND MOUNT ROYAL.
1887—HON. SIR G. A. DRUMMOND, K.C.M.G.
1905—SIR EDWARD S. CLOUSTON, BART.
1912—SIR H. VINCENT MEREDITH, BART.
1916—SIR CHARLES B. GORDON, K.C.B.E.

CASHIERS

1817—ROBERT GRIFFIN.
1827—BENJAMIN HOLMES.
1846—ALEXANDER SIMPSON.
1855—DAVID DAVIDSON.

GENERAL MANAGERS.

1862—DAVID DAVIDSON.
1863—EDWIN H. KING.
1869—RICHARD B. ANGUS.
1879—CHARLES F. SMITHERS.
1881—WENTWORTH J. BUCHANAN.
1890—SIR EDWARD S. CLOUSTON, BART.
1911—SIR H. VINCENT MEREDITH, BART.
1913—Sir FREDERICK WILLIAMS-TAYLOR.

The Assets of the Bank grew slowly until they totalled $6,444,928 in 1850; $12,413,922 in 1860; $29,605,627 in 1870; $44,661,681 in 1880; $46,166,448 in 1890; $78,852,197 in 1900; $234,438,318 in 1910; $386,806,887 in 1917. The Bank had grown with the country and its work was undoubtedly a national one in the best sense of that much-abused word. From Confederation onwards the progress of the institution was especially marked and the following table in this respect speaks for itself:

Period	Circulation	Deposits	Discounts	Total Assets
50 years, 1867	$ 988,286	$11,198,831	$ 906,079	$19,787,499
60 years, 1877	3,275,508	16,018,575	30,827,510	38,625,238
70 years, 1887	5,204,072	17,324,382	27,468,802	42,674,905
80 years, 1897	4,563,386	40,024,750	36,725,725	64,095,486
90 years, 1907	12,500,549	126,138,157	136,063,168	165,234,768
100 years, 1917	21,891,437	324,144,279	109,906,303	386,806,887

The celebration of the Centenary was very quietly carried out though the comments of the press of Canada spoke sincerely as to the place held by the institution in public thought. A beautifully-

*See History of the Bank of Montreal, written by J. Castell Hopkins for *The Canadian Annual Review* Supplement of 1910.

†Titles are specified as afterwards received in order to make the table clearer.

published booklet was issued dealing with the historical position of the Bank and referring, incidentally, to the picturesque location of its Head Office in the heart of Montreal on a spot glorified by some of the most romantic events in the foundation of the city and where, by its very situation, the building called attention to the place of the institution in the making of Canada. Its fine Corinthian façade, darkened by smoke and stained by the weather, still faces Place d'Armes, in the centre of which rises Hébert's heroic figure of Maisonneuve, founder of Montreal. Opposite, on the southern side of the Square, is Notre Dame, greatest in capacity of the churches of the Dominion and one of the oldest in its foundation. Here, in this parish church, Dollard and his companions paid their vows before going to meet death at the Longue Sault. Adjoining the Church is the ancient and picturesque wall which shelters the headquarters of the Seminary of St. Sulpice. Within the limits of the Square, Maisonneuve is said to have fought his most terrible battle with the Iroquois, and to have killed the chief with his own hands. Tablets on the commercial buildings around commemorate the deeds of the pioneers, and state, for instance, that here lived La Mothe Cadillac, the founder of Detroit, and there Daniel de Grésolon, Sieur Dulhut, who explored the Upper Mississippi and gave his name to the City of Duluth. In the wall of this Bank building the following Tablet was placed in honour of an historic event:

1817 1917

THIS TABLET WAS ERECTED TO
COMMEMORATE THE CENTENARY
OF THE

BANK OF MONTREAL

THE OLDEST BANKING INSTITUTION IN
BRITISH NORTH AMERICA, FOUNDED
NOVEMBER 3RD, 1817. INCORPORATED
BY ROYAL CHARTER JULY 2ND, 1822.
THIS BUILDING WAS ERECTED IN 1847
THE FIRST TO STAND ON THIS GROUND.
REMODELLED AND EXTENDED TO CRAIG ST., 1905.

1817

FIRST PRESIDENT, JOHN GRAY.
FIRST CASHIER, ROBERT GRIFFIN.

1917

FOURTEENTH PRESIDENT,
SIR VINCENT MEREDITH, BART.
EIGHTH GENERAL MANAGER
SIR FREDERICK WILLIAMS-TAYLOR.



HENRY V. FRANKLIN JONES,
Assistant General Manager, Canadian Bank of Commerce.

WAR CONDITIONS AND FINANCE IN CANADA, 1917

ADDRESSES AND REPORTS*

OF

THE CANADIAN BANK OF COMMERCE

Address by Sir John Aird, General Manager of the Bank.

We are crossing the meridian into the second half-century of the Bank's existence and, pausing to look back, we may well feel satisfaction in what has been accomplished in a comparatively short period of time. While we hold second place only among the Canadian banks in the matter of "Total Assets," we may point to our premier position as regards "Current Loans and Discounts in Canada" as an indication of the importance of the share taken by this Bank in the task of providing for the financial requirements of the mercantile community, and of carrying on the daily business of the country. In this connection it is interesting to note that by the year 1912 the current loans and discounts in Canada of this Bank were three times as great as those of all the Canadian banks in the year in which it was founded. We had hoped on this anniversary to announce the increase of the Rest to an amount equal to the paid-up capital of the Bank, and this doubtless would have been accomplished had it not been for the war. We have deemed it wise to follow a specially cautious and conservative policy and to provide during the war even more thoroughly than usual for any element of doubt in the loans and securities of the Bank. The increasingly keen competition in business has resulted in the banks being called upon to perform far greater services for smaller remuneration, so that the increase in the volume of their business is out of proportion to the increase in their profits. Naturally an increased volume of business means a corresponding increase in the provision to be made for doubtful items, while the profits do not provide in a corresponding measure for the relative appropriations. Whenever there is offered a new issue of government securities yielding a higher rate of interest, the market for existing securities is depressed to a corresponding extent and this entails a writing down of all securities on hand. Doubtless when the war is over this downward movement will cease and securities will tend to appreciate in value, so that much of this may be recovered.

After a review of the Bank's General Statement, the General Manager proceeded: The members of the staff number 3,633, including 280 messengers and 367 janitors; the total, after the withdrawal of

* For History of this Bank, see 1910 Supplement of *The Canadian Annual Review* and succeeding Volumes for yearly Addresses and Reports. This 51st Annual Meeting of the Bank was held on Jan. 8, 1918.

the men called up under the Military Service Act, will still be somewhat larger than a year ago. The increase is, however, entirely in untrained women clerks, the number of women being now 1,121, an increase of about 400. On the other hand, the number of male officers has decreased by 128, in spite of the addition of a large number of inexperienced lads under the age of twenty. Having regard to the continued growth of our business and to the decrease in general efficiency caused by the changes in *personnel*, the burden laid on our men and women grows heavier with each succeeding month. It was therefore particularly gratifying to us that the results of the year's business were such as to justify a more than usually generous percentage bonus to all the members of the staff. Of our officers, 1,422 have now taken up arms, or 75 per cent. of our present male staff, exclusive of messengers. We know that we have supplied our full quota, but we are making efforts to release every man physically fit who is called up under the Military Service Act and who can possibly be replaced, and are asking exemption for only a few officers, the length and the character of whose training are such that they cannot be replaced. With grief mingled with pride, we record a total loss of 153 men killed in action, 69 of whom have made the great sacrifice during the past year. No fewer than 255 have been wounded, many seriously, 7 are missing, and 16 are undergoing the hardships of the enemy's prison camps. During the year the Canadian banks have been called upon to make large advances to the Dominion Government to provide for expenditures in connection with the war, and have also made advances to the Imperial Government for the purchase of our wheat crop, in addition to those already current for the purchase of munitions in Canada. In all this financing the Bank has taken its full share, assisting the Government in the prosecution of the war to the best of its ability. As an item of interest in this connection we may mention that our customers have during the year executed munition orders for a total of over 84 millions of dollars.

The outstanding success of the Victory Loan was a striking tribute to the energy and patriotism of the organization which undertook to place the loan in the hands of the public, and the Finance Minister is again to be congratulated on the result of his endeavours to obtain within Canada as large a proportion as possible of the funds required to carry on the war. As in the case of the last Imperial War Loan the banks were not called upon to subscribe directly, as this would have meant a locking up of their funds in a permanent investment, and would also have tended to inflation, as a result of the additional credit thereby created. Instead of this they undertook to make advances to small subscribers with fixed incomes so as to enable them to take a larger amount of the loan than would otherwise have been possible. The encouragement thus given to the habit of saving throughout the community is of the greatest national importance. The total amount of subscriptions to the loan appears to have reached $417,000,000, from about 807,000 subscribers, a financial accomplishment of the first magnitude. The subscriptions received through the branches of this Bank amounted to about $80,000,000 from over 116,000 subscribers.

After the United States came into the war the shipments of gold from Great Britain to that country ceased, and a slight adverse movement set in; in order, therefore, to conserve its holdings and to prevent gold from reaching the enemy, the United States Government placed an embargo on exports of the metal. Upon representations being made at Washington, however, through the Canadian Bankers' Association, as to the unfairness of enforcing the embargo against us, the release to Canada of a certain amount of gold was arranged for. While this will, doubtless, aid in the stabilizing of the exchange between the two countries, we feel that it is important that the underlying gold reserves of Canada should be increased to correspond with the great increase in the liabilities of the Canadian banks resulting from war activities. To this end we consider that our endeavours should be directed, and we believe also that the Government of Canada should place an embargo on the export of gold produced in Canada, and see that it is made available for this purpose.

Probably few people realize how essential to modern business is prompt and reliable railway service, or how the lack of such service invariably means high prices to the consumer. No modern business could continue in operation were the transportation facilities of the country suddenly to be suspended. A full consideration of the relation between delays in transportation and increased cost to the consumer is out of place here, but it may confidently be asserted that promptness and regularity of service are of more importance to business men and to the general public than low freight rates. Unfortunately of late years Government efforts have been directed almost entirely to the reduction of the latter, while ignoring altogether the greater importance of the former. The general increase in freight rates recently granted is a step in the right direction. Fortunately for the public interest, one of the great Canadian railway systems has not been dependent entirely upon its income from transportation, or the problem here would have become more acute. The cost of operation, that is, of labour, materials and supplies, has risen enormously in recent years, without a corresponding increase in the revenue from transportation. It is not always borne in mind that the development of Canada, and its subsequent increase in wealth and population, would not have been possible without the construction of the railroads, and that the large number of people who have invested in railroad securities have, therefore, performed a public service of the highest importance. Whatever may have been the motives which prompted the investment, this service still calls for some measure of recognition.

And now a few words as to the future. Up to the present the high cost of living, of which we hear so much, has borne heavily on comparatively few. The great majority of Canadians who are not serving in the armed forces of the Empire are now employed at high wages in war industries. They have more to spend than they ever had before, and many are spending it. They scorn carefulness and the small economies that must perforce be practiced by the inhabitants of less favoured countries. But there will come a time when

high taxation and uncertainty as to the future will make men hesitate to embark on new enterprises, when there will be double the number of applicants for half the number of jobs and when food will be still more scarce than it is at present. Only then shall we realize the full effects of the high cost of living. How shall we prepare for that day? The great need of the world will then be abundance of food, at reasonable prices, and if we in Canada by stimulating production, transportation and distribution, are able to supply the nations in abundance, we shall not only have laid broad and deep the foundations of prosperity for ourselves, but shall have earned the gratitude of the nations. We shall have found a way to utilize the services of the unemployed and to lower as far as possible the high cost of living. The machinery for accomplishing this cannot be created on the spur of the moment, and we must equip ourselves beforehand to cope with the changed conditions which will prevail after the war. We must so co-ordinate the productive forces of the nation that there will be, as it were, the nucleus of an organization already prepared to utilize the labour of the unemployed in the production of food, and in its distribution and transportation to the great markets abroad. The period of strain immediately following the war will pass away in time and normal conditions will again prevail. In order that this trade should be permanently successful under these normal conditions, it must be organized from the beginning with a view to efficiency and placed on a sound economic basis. When we consider what difficulties have been overcome in order to transport fresh meat from Australia, New Zealand and the Argentine through the tropical zone to the markets of Europe, we cannot but believe that the less serious difficulties confronting Canada can be successfully solved. We have millions of acres of productive land, we expect to have an abundance of labour, but we require organization and leadership.

Address by Sir Edmund Walker, C.V.O., D.C.L., LL.D., President of the Bank.

We meet again with the shadow of the great war affecting everything we say or do. We are nearer the end than we were a year ago, but only because a year has passed; in other ways there is no sign of the end. Although the war is in its fourth year, it is still full of surprises; indeed, the year has been one of many and swift changes. The submarine menace, so ominous at one time, is still very serious, "held but not yet mastered," as Sir Eric Geddes lately said. However, we no longer doubt our ability to cope with it, partly by a lessening in the number of ships lost and partly by vastly increased ship-building. The collapse in Russia and the setback in Italy have altered the aspect on the Western front from one in which victory seemed near to one in which it may perhaps be necessary to wait for the new armies of the great republic, before the war can be pressed to its final stage. Unless Russia comes back into the fighting line, we have to meet the armies of the enemy thus released, but we are not afraid of the enemy ever again breaking through the Western front, and by next spring not only will there be a great accession of strength from the United States for fighting

on land, but the building of aircraft and the training of armies of airmen will vastly alter the character of the struggle. Our greatest danger is lest we should falter, because victory is less easy to attain than we thought.

In considering our industrial affairs we find that, disregarding as usual shipments of gold and bullion, our exports for the fiscal year ending 31st March last, were $314,706,654 in excess of our imports, and for the following six months ending 30th September, the excess was $237,574,462, making for the eighteen months a surplus of $552,281,116 in the value of our exports. The gain in exports for the fiscal year was $399,911,030, while the increase in imports was $334,292,650. We therefore improved the results of our foreign trade by $65,618,380 as compared with the year preceding. The figures for the broken period indicate an increase on a much larger scale. Of the improvement during the fiscal year, over 350 millions is due to agriculture and to manufactures, the total increase from the mine, the forest, the fisheries, and animals and their products being less than 50 millions. The exports of manufactures amounted to 487 millions, an increase of 237 millions over those of the preceding year. There is an increase in exports and imports under almost every heading, but the only very noticeable item is that of $149,930,000 for military stores, munitions of war, etc., "imported and remaining the property of the Imperial Government." In this there is an increase of $111,296,000 over the corresponding figures for 1916. These imports, mainly necessary to complete munitions being made in Canada, do not affect this country in a financial way. Coal cost us $11,500,000 more, sugar $10,800,000 more, and provisions, much of which was doubtless exported again, $17,500,000 more. Of the various forms in which iron, copper and other metals are used as raw materials, ranging from the ore to beams, tubes, wiring, etc., we imported about $42,000,000 more than in 1916. These partially manufactured articles come under a great variety of headings, but they are all, or almost all, forms that we should eventually make in Canada. I regret to say that articles of luxury still show rather too prominently in the list of imports, and there is not much evidence of restraint on the part of Canadians in the purchase of unnecessary things. A surplus of 550 millions in our foreign trade for the 18 months ending September last leaves, even after interest on foreign indebtedness has been paid, a sum of money unheard of in the past, and to this is to be added the results of the crops since marketed or still to be marketed at prices hitherto unequalled, as well as the results of other products of our industry. The field crops of Canada for 1917 are valued at $1,089,000,000. All of this vast wealth is, however, needed for the conduct of the war, and the problem of the hour is how to apply it to that purpose, wherever it is not needed for some other equally urgent purpose.

Great Britain, by shipments from various parts of the world through Canada to the United States, has sent to that country over a billion dollars in gold, but the time has now come when she must have credit for practically all her purchases, and obviously our own

Government must have similar credit, except to the extent to which the cost of the war is paid by taxation. The extent to which we can supply money to our own government for its share in the cost of the war and also supply money to Great Britain for munitions of all kinds, including the agricultural and pastoral products of Canada bought by Great Britain, depends on how far we are willing to avoid spending money on anything unnecessary to reasonable well-being, and clearly such an effort we have not made. Capital is not, however, in any large measure, being fixed in betterments, either by individuals, municipalities, or provincial and Dominion governments, and thoughtful people, at least, are spending less, and realize that we are engaged in the struggle of the ages. Now that the United States has entered the war there is no market for our securities outside our own borders, and therefore we are being put to a greater test of our economic powers than ever before. If provinces or municipalities have securities to sell they must be sold at home. In the year ending 31st March, 1917, we bought goods to the value of 865 millions abroad and of these 678 millions came from the United States. As we sold that country only 290 millions we had to find 388 millions in money or securities. We can now sell securities nowhere but at home, and our export and import business is done almost entirely with Great Britain and the United States. We export to Great Britain enough more than we import to cover our shortage with the United States, and a large sum besides. Therefore it is clear that in respect of what we owe the United States that country must lend to Great Britain a sum corresponding to our sales to the latter country, if we are to continue to trade with the United States. Since the United States has entered the war, however, large orders for war supplies for their use have been placed in Canada, and it is too early to tell how these will affect our trade balance with that country. It should not be hard to understand from these figures how vitally important it is that we should not buy outside Canada a dollar's worth of merchandise that is not absolutely required for our most pressing national purpose, which is to win the war.

The success of the Finance Minister in his share of the financing of the war has been so signal and its latest phase is so well known to you, that I repeat certain details now only for the information of our foreign shareholders and correspondents. In January the issue of War Savings Certificates began and thus far over 195,000 have been sold, amounting to twelve million dollars. The importance of these certificates, which are issued in denominations of $10 $25, $50 and $100, is not so much the amount thus secured as the opportunity they offer to almost every individual to save and to take some share in the nation's financing. In March the third Canadian war loan was brought out. The amount to be issued was $150,000,000, the loan being for twenty years with 5 per cent. interest, and the price 96. The net subscriptions, after deducting conversions and the subscriptions of the banks, amounted to $182,000,000. There were over 40,000 subscribers, as against 25,000 for the first and 30,000 for the second loan, the total thus far secured

being $350,000,000. As no unusual effort was made, the results were very gratifying. In August the Minister secured in New York, by two-year 5 per cent. notes, $100,000,000, of which 20 millions were used to retire the balance of a loan obtained in 1915. In November the fourth Canadian war loan was offered. At that time we had before us the fact that while the Finance Minister had readily obtained from the Canadian people what he had asked for, they had subscribed to the third loan in the proportion of only about one in every two hundred.

Having this in mind, the Finance Minister created an organization calculated to show what the Canadian people could do. An extraordinary body of bond-dealers, bankers and other business men, aided by the 3,000 branches of the banks, in a comparatively short campaign secured subscriptions for 417 millions of dollars from 807,000 people. If to these we add the 195,000 purchasers of War Savings Certificates and disregard the duplication of names, we find that about one in eight of our people have responded to the call. The Minister had offered a loan of $150,000,000, repayable in 5, 10 or 20 years with 5½ per cent. interest, issued at par with a slight advantage in interest to the subscriber in making his payments. He had stated that subscriptions in excess of 150 millions would be accepted in whole or in part, and the hope was that 250 or 300 millions would be secured. It is safe to say that such a figure as 400 millions was not deemed to be within the realm of possibility. The actual disbursements of Canada for the war to 30th November amounted to $685,000,000. To this must be added outstanding expenses and estimates for the balance of the year to cover requirements here, in Great Britain and in the field of war. These, carefully computed, indicate that at the end of the year the cost of the war to Canada was about $760,000,000. It is well known that, in addition to the task of finding money for such vast expenditure, the Finance Minister has been called upon to aid the Imperial Government to provide for a large part of the cost of munitions, etc., purchased in Canada. In addition to advances to the Imperial Munitions Board of 380 millions, as much as 32 millions was lent for the purchase of cheese, 15 millions for agricultural products, and about as much more for other items. Against this there are offsets in connection with the upkeep of our troops and with other matters, but the final result at the moment leaves Great Britain considerably in debt to the Canadian Government.

A comparison of the figures of the chartered banks as in July, 1914, and in October last is very impressive. The total liabilities have grown from $1,323,252,000 to $1,995,488,000, an increase of $672,236,000, the growth in deposits being $589,837,000 and in note circulation $95,037,000. As against this, loans have increased $128,544,000, securities $320,742,000, cash $70,572,000, exchanges with other banks $50,911,000, balances due by foreign banks $20,429,000, and deposits against excess circulation $76,370,000. The addition to loans and securities of $450,000,000, and that large part of the remaining loans which has taken the place of ordinary industrial loans before the war, represent the financial aid rendered by the

banks to the carrying on of the war, but the banks have now to face the loss in deposits which will be caused by the payments to be made for the Victory Loan. This will in any event mean something between three and four hundred millions of dollars by next May. It is true that the money in the end will return to the banks in one form or another, but not necessarily to the same banks and not in the same form. The loss of savings deposits, built up over a series of years and now transferred permanently into a new form of saving in which the banks have no part, is being borne cheerfully because the reason for it is imperative, but it would be foolish not to recognize what a serious and difficult operation the great war loan is to the banks. The banks still hold the Imperial obligations for munitions amounting to one hundred million dollars referred to a year ago, and during the past year they have made loans to the Dominion Government more or less connected with aid to the Imperial Government. In January they bought Canadian Treasury bills for 50 millions maturing early in 1918, in July and August 70 millions of three and five months' bills, and in October 75 millions maturing in 1919. It will be observed that all of these loans except the last have been or will be shortly repaid. The sales of Canadian securities for the calendar year 1917 show a much larger total than ever before, but the issues, other than those of the Dominion Government, are naturally very small. As usual we supply the following details from the annual estimate of the Dominion Securities Corporation:—

Securities	Total Sold	In Canada	In United States	In Great Britain
Government	$693,420,279	$551,180,279	$142,240,000	
Municipal	25,219,103	19,387,738	5,831,365	
Railway	22,566,666	200,000	17,500,000	$4,866,666
Public Service Corporation.	15,425,000	1,825,000	13,600,000	
Miscellaneous	16,110,800	8,370,800	7,740,000	
Total	$772,741,848	$580,963,817	$186,911,365	$4,866,666

That 580 millions of securities could be placed in Canada in one year, in addition to the aid given by the banks to the manufacture of munitions, is very surprising, but we must remember that it was still necessary to obtain 190 millions from outside during the year and that not only are these avenues now completely closed, but if we hope to continue the making of all kinds of war products as actively as heretofore, we must find at home much larger sums in 1918 than in 1917 for investment in war securities. Even if the sale of the relative securities were possible, all expenditures, except for the war, must be restrained, and this is abundant reason for the recent order-in-council under which new issues in Canada of the securities of any province, colonial or foreign government, municipality, corporation or incorporated company, may be sold only with the approval of the Minister of Finance. The totals of the twenty-five clearing houses reflect the increased volume of almost all products and the higher prices prevailing. In every clearing house there is an increase as compared with 1916. The total amounts to $12,554,204,000 as compared with $10,557,060,000 for the previous year, a growth of 18·92 per cent. The total for the eight clearing houses in existence in 1901 was $1,871,061,000, so that in sixteen years the

figures have grown 571 per cent. We also subjoin as usual the building permits of the four chief cities of Canada for 1913, the year previous to the outbreak of war, for 1916, and for the year just ended:

	1913	1916	1917
Montreal	$27,032,000	$5,334,000	$4,387,000
Toronto	27,038,000	9,882,000	7,163,000
Vancouver	10,423,000	2,412,000	768,000
Winnipeg	18,621,000	2,507,000	2,212,000

We have found it rather more difficult than usual to obtain statistics regarding the quantity and the value of the various kinds of war supplies made in Canada, but as heretofore such figures as we are able to give are highly illustrative of the importance of this work, both as a part of our contribution to the war and as the main basis of our prosperity at the moment. There is a reduction in the output of many kinds of shells, fuses and cartridge cases, as purchases are being restricted to certain sizes. On the other hand, however, there is an important development in the building of steel and wooden ships and of aeroplane engines, and also of aeroplanes of a certain type. With these exceptions there is a large decrease in purchases by Great Britain, due doubtless to the inability of Canada to grant the necessary credits. It is therefore most gratifying to know that the Chairman of the Imperial Munitions Board has made arrangements with the Ordnance Department of the United States to use, until next midsummer, such surplus facilities existing here for the production of munitions as will help to meet the requirements of that country. Canada is producing gun ammunition, including propellants, high explosives, fuses and cartridge cases in 550 factories situated from St. John in the east to Victoria in the west. In addition to contracts given to private corporations, the Imperial Munitions Board has developed government factories for the loading of fuses, for the production of powder and high explosives, for the manufacture of sulphuric and nitric acids and acetone, and of steel and forgings, and for the construction of aeroplanes. On these plants the sum of $13,500,000 has been expended for account of the Imperial Government. The Board has also contracted for the building of a large number of the latest type of high-power aeroplane engines for the use of fighting planes at the front. This engine represents the highest type of workmanship of any engine that has been produced, and we may well be proud that such a young and inexperienced country as Canada is able to undertake the work. Even more important from the industrial point of view is the fact that there are now under contract in Canada for the Imperial and the Norwegian Governments, steel and wooden ships aggregating in value over $90,000,000. Up to December, forty-four steel and forty-six wooden steamships had been ordered. The steel ships range from 1,800 to 8,800 tons dead-weight, with a total carrying capacity of 213,600 tons, and the wooden ships have an individual carrying capacity of 2,500 tons dead-weight, with a total of 115,000 tons. In addition to this twenty-two steel vessels, of 3,500 tons dead-weight capacity each, have been ordered on Norwegian account, a total of 77,000 tons. This makes a grand total of one hundred and twelve ships with 405,600 tons capacity. The steel ships are

being built at New Glasgow, Montreal, Toronto, Welland, Midland, Collingwood, Port Arthur, Vancouver, North Vancouver and Bridgeburg. The wooden ships are being built at Liverpool, St. John, Isle of Orleans, Côte St. Paul, Quebec, Three Rivers, Toronto, Fort William, Coquitlam, New Westminster, Vancouver, North Vancouver, and Victoria.

As a consequence of the work of the Imperial Munitions Board, Canada is for the first time producing refined spelter (zinc) and refined copper, and there is an important increase in the output of refined lead. The natural result of refining our spelter and copper is the local production of brass, and this again enables many articles made of brass to be produced from our own metal. The value of the orders thus placed by the Board exceeds $1,000,000,000 and the actual disbursements to date are almost $800,000,000. The number of complete shells thus far produced is 49 millions. The purchases made under the authority of the War Purchasing Commission for account of the Department of Militia, of the Department of Justice for interned aliens, and of the Department of the Naval Service, have been smaller as a whole than last year, although the purchases for the last-mentioned department have been larger owing to the increase in naval work at Halifax. We have been able to secure some interesting figures covering a part of the activities of the various departments. They are as follows:

Department of Militia:	
Arsenals, supplies for manufacture of ammunition, etc.	$1,500,000
Clothing	5,000,000
Dental Supplies	120,000
Fish for C.E.F. in England	300,000
Mechanical Transport Supplies	300,000
Medical Supplies	500,000
Provisions, including food, fuel and forage	7,500,000
Railway Construction Equipment	270,000
Stoves and Miscellaneous	2,500,000
	$17,990,000
Department of Justice: Internment Operations	700,000
Department of Naval Service	2,500,000

These departments also have appropriations which do not come under the control of the War Purchasing Commission. The public will be interested to learn that the Navy and Army Canteen Board of London, through which the various canteens of all the British forces are mainly supplied, sent a representative to Canada to secure assortments of Canadian products for sale in the canteens. The products selected were: canned meats, canned salmon and other fish, condensed and evaporated milk, biscuits, chocolate, candies, preserved fruits, jams, evaporated fruits, etc. About a year ago the War Purchasing Commission secured samples of fish such as cod, haddock, pollack, etc., for the Board of Trade in London. This resulted in their placing in Canada large contracts for fish. We are also able to afford approximate figures for purchases made on account of the British War Office by the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, as follows:

Foodstuffs	$14,000,000
Merchandise of Iron and Steel	700,000
Sugar	8,000,000
Forestry and Railway Equipment	2,000,000
Other Articles	1,000,000
Total	$25,700,000

The purchases by the Department of Agriculture down to December cover about 110,000 tons of hay, 35 million bushels of oats, and 275,000 tons of flour, requiring about 14 million bushels of wheat. The total value of these purchases is about $48,000,000. We have made an attempt also to follow the purchases of such ordinary articles as wheat, cheese and meats. It is understood that the purchases in Canada by the Wheat Export Company of wheat and oats from this year's crop will reach 350 million dollars in value, and that there have been shipped cheese valued at between 30 and 40 million dollars and a large supply of meats, partly the product of Canada, and partly from animals bred in the United States, but cured here. The published returns are not easy to follow but we appear to have exported, during the year ending March, 1917, live animals, including horses, to the value of 15 millions and meats to the value of over 60 millions; against this we have apparently imported meats to the value of about 25 millions. For the six months ending September the totals of both imports and exports, measured only by value, are on a basis 50 per cent higher than for the previous year. These figures show some of the activities of the Canadian people in the way of production, but the need is greater, in some directions much greater, than ever before. The outpouring of supplies of all kinds, from wheat to shells, must go on, but the most crying needs are for sea-going ships, aircraft and those forms of food which are more necessary than others to sustain life in its fullest vigour and without a sufficient supply of which the allied nations are threatened with starvation. The supply of wheat is vital, and the losses of shipping add enormously to the difficulty of obtaining supplies from the southern half of the world. At the same time the scarcity of labour makes the life of the North American farmer so difficult that he needs all our sympathy, and should have all the assistance which the city worker or student can give him in summer time.

One of the most valuable foods for the soldier is bacon. He can apparently do more fighting on it than on anything else. In the United States, when necessary, breeding stock and help in other forms is being supplied to farmers to ensure the largest possible production of bacon, and associations of breeders have been formed for the purpose of distributing well-bred stock. This is being done by men who realize that if we fail in producing greater quantities of bacon than ever before, we shall fail in our duty to the soldiers. In this country we have been occupied in an effort to place the blame for the high price of an article, which, beyond any doubt, we ought not to consume in large quantities just now, and we have apparently forgotten that the price has gone up mainly because bacon is vital to carrying on the war and that if we do anything to lessen the efforts of the producers, the price will certainly be much higher next year than it is now. In England well-to-do people are standing in line for their food supplies, and they, at least, are learning that the talk of famine is not a story to frighten children with, but a terrible possibility. The harvests have not been plentiful and the danger is as real as the menace of the submarines. We ask the farmer, in

spite of the great difficulties which confront him, to produce to the last ounce, but how can we make our city people save food, remembering that every ounce saved will provide food elsewhere for those who without it must starve?

We are living in a time of social unrest affecting greater areas of disturbance than the world has ever known. We are experiencing this unrest at a time of which it may be said, that those who live in our part of the world were never so easily able to obtain employment suited to their varied capacities, never so highly paid, so far as those are concerned who aid in the production of goods for sale, never so prosperous, using the word in a material sense. The price of everything, however, was almost never so high, and the purchasing power of the dollar has declined so much and so rapidly that people with a more or less fixed income suffer keenly, while those who earn more money than they could have conceived possible a few years ago, are disappointed and apparently surprised to find that everything else has advanced in price in proportion to their high wages. Out of this turmoil has come a bitterness towards all who by any stretch of fancy, can be held responsible for existing conditions, a bitterness often without any real basis, and which is accompanied by explosions of wrath directed at whatever happens to be the nearest object of criticism, but, if continued, and kept at fever heat as it has been of late, promises ill for our country after the war. I am aware that I shall be accused of defending Capital and what are called the Big Interests, but there must be many readers of the annual addresses made by the officers of this Bank who will believe that we try as faithfully as we are able, to portray conditions as they exist. Nothing in the end is to be gained by blaming the Premier or the Food Controller, the provision dealer or the farmer, for high prices which are not merely a result of the war, but a result of war requirements so peremptory that the question of cost almost disappears. The conditions arising out of the war are at the bottom of most of our troubles, and what is necessary is not only fair dealing on the part of those who supply the wants of the people, but patience, and some remnant of belief in our fellow-men, on the part of those who feel the pinch and who, perhaps naturally, would like to punish somebody. If dealers have combined to put up prices, let them be punished, but apparently we are complaining because dealers, in buying from producers, did not combine to lower prices or to keep them down. The needs of the war are, however, so great that no combination can control prices either in one way or the other.

We have to face new and probably very difficult conditions after the war. If we are filled with animosity and distrust in our attempts to adjust our differences, the result will be a sorry one; if, on the other hand, with the experience we shall gain in many ways by the war, we co-ordinate the forces of industry we possess so as to present a united and efficient front, we may hope to enjoy in the fullest degree the peace and liberty for which our boys are fighting, together with greater prosperity than we have ever known. To accomplish this there are at least three elements which must be present. In our leaders of industry we must have enterprise and skill, and we

must have plant and capital on a scale adequate to compete with other nations. Only the profits made and the experience gained during the war can render this possible. We must have technical knowledge of how to solve every difficulty, physical, chemical, or whatever it may be, that confronts the manufacturer, and some steps are being taken towards that end. More, however, than anything else, we must have such relations between the employer and the employed as will cause the employed to do heartily each day a full measure of his best work. The last is the great difficulty to be overcome, and the element about which there is unfortunately the most doubt. This is said with no intention whatever of apportioning blame. One would suppose that there must be faults on both sides. The fact remains that if we are to compete successfully with other nations we must recover the older condition when men were proud of the shop they worked in and of its product. It may only be a material question, but it may be a psychological one. Have employers and employed struggled with each other until the only natural feeling is antipathy, or can each be made to feel that he is so necessary to the other that not to work together at their best is folly, apart from the economic crime involved?

Those of the Directors retiring by rotation were re-elected, with the Board composed as follows:

SIR EDMUND WALKER, C.V.O., LL.D., D.C.L. - - President.
Z. A. LASH, ESQ., K.C., LL.D. - - - - - - - Vice-President.

JOHN HOSKIN, ESQ., K.C., LL.D., D.C.L.
SIR JOSEPH FLAVELLE, BART., LL.D.
A. KINGMAN, ESQ.
HON. W. C. EDWARDS.
E. R. WOOD, ESQ.
ROBERT STUART, ESQ.
SIR JOHN MORISON GIBSON, K.C.M.G., K.C., LL.D.
G. F. GALT, ESQ.
WM. FARWELL, ESQ., D.C.L.
A. C. FLUMERFELT, ESQ.
HON. GEO. G. FOSTER, K.C.
CHAS. COLBY, ESQ., M.A., PH.D.
G. W. ALLAN, ESQ., K.C., M.P.
H. J. FULLER, ESQ.
F. P. JONES, ESQ.
H. C. COX, ESQ.
C. N. CANDEE, ESQ.

GENERAL STATEMENT

OF

THE CANADIAN BANK OF COMMERCE

30TH NOVEMBER, 1917

LIABILITIES

Notes of the Bank in Circulation		$ 23,995,244.68
Deposits not bearing interest	$ 86,458,403.02	
Deposits bearing interest, including interest accrued to date	189,967,251.39	
		276,425,654.41
Balances due to other Banks in Canada		580,958.01
Balances due to Banks and Banking Correspondents elsewhere than in Canada		7,295,110.40
Bills Payable		120,857.29
Acceptances under Letters of Credit		5,597,665.13
		$314,015,489.92
Dividends Unpaid		2,668.20
Dividend No. 123 and bonus, payable 1st December		525,000.00
Capital Paid up	$15,000,000.00	
Rest Account	13,500,000.00	
Balance of Profits as per Profit and Loss Account	1,332,074.52	
		29,832,074.52
		$344,375,232.64

ASSETS

Gold and Silver Coin Current	$ 22,697,336.96	
Dominion Notes	21,954,910.25	
Deposit in the Central Gold Reserves	10,000,000.00	
		$ 54,652,247.21
Notes of other Banks	$ 2,004,762.00	
Cheques on other Banks	11,930,875.21	
Balances due by Banks and Banking Correspondents elsewhere than in Canada	8,496,103.99	
		22,431,741.20
Dominion and Provincial Government Securities, not exceeding market value		27,596,420.22
British, Foreign and Colonial Public Securities and Canadian Municipal Securities		22,095,133.29
Railway and other Bonds, Debentures and Stocks, not exceeding market value		6,192,461.60
Call and Short Loans (not exceeding 30 days) in Canada on Bonds, Debentures and Stocks		13,460,862.62
Call and Short Loans (not exceeding 30 days) elsewhere than in Canada		20,076,903.18
Deposit with the Minister of Finance for the purposes of the Circulation Fund		831,173.35
Other Current Loans and Discounts in Canada (less rebate of interest)		149,822,028.44
Other Current Loans and Discounts elsewhere than in Canada (less rebate of interest)		14,846,130.56
Liabilities of Customers under Letters of Credit, as per contra		5,597,665.13
Overdue Debts (estimated loss provided for)		237,796.39
Real Estate other than Bank Premises (including the unsold balance of former premises of the Eastern Townships Bank)	$ 1,236,999.52	
Less mortgage assumed	100,000.00	
		1,136,999.52
Mortgages on Real Estate sold by the Bank		196,005.81
Bank Premises at cost, less amounts written off	$ 5,390,075.44	
Less mortgage assumed on property purchased	300,000.00	
		5,090,075.44
Other Assets not included in the foregoing		111,588.68
		$344,375,232.64

B. E. WALKER,
President

JOHN AIRD,
General Manager.

CANADA IN WAR TIME: THE WEST INDIES

ANNUAL ADDRESSES AND REPORTS*

OF

THE ROYAL BANK OF CANADA

Address by C. E. Neill, General Manager of the Bank.

The Balance Sheet submitted to-day evinces a year of remarkable growth. The total assets of the Bank are over $335,000,000, nearly double their amount at the beginning of the war. The increase during the past year was no less than $82,000,000. Of this increase, the Quebec Bank, which was absorbed on January 2, 1917, contributed approximately $22,000,000. Total deposits amounted to $252,987,382.81, the increase for the year being $52,759,787.23. As I pointed out last year, a very satisfactory feature is the absence of large or unusual deposits of a temporary nature. A remarkable expansion has taken place in our circulation, as in that of other banks. Outstanding notes now exceed our paid up capital by $15,247,651.49. To cover this excess, $16,000,000 has been deposited in the Central Gold Reserve. Current loans show a substantial increase, due to the active trade conditions and increased prices of all commodities.

The liquid position of the Bank is satisfactory, our liquid assets being 53·9% of liabilities to the public. The assistance rendered to the Government in financing the war is indicated by an increase of $28,867,279.29 in Government securities. Net profits for the year were 18·03% on capital, as compared with 17·87% last year—or 8·82% on combined capital and reserve, as compared with 8·66% last year. The Reserve Fund has been increased to $14,000,000 by the addition of $911,700 premium on new stock allotted to Quebec Bank shareholders, and $528,300 from Profit and Loss Account. It is satisfactory to report that all the Bank's securities have been written down to the present market value.

In this time of great expansion, it is manifestly our first duty to keep the Bank in a strong and liquid position, especially as regards cash, in order to be fully prepared for any contingency which may arise. The uncertainty as to conditions which will obtain after the war is very great, and we must be fully prepared for any eventuality. I desire particularly to direct your attention to the splendid work of the staff of the bank during the past year. When we speak of "the staff" nowadays, we mean a very different aggregation from that of the days before the war, and when we ask ourselves what actually constitutes the staff to-day, we find ample scope for reflection. Unconsciously, we think first of those who are away fighting

* Preceding Annual Addresses and Reports with an Historical record of the Bank may be consulted in volumes 1910-16. The Annual Meeting dealt with here was on Jan. 10th, 1918.

our battles, and those who have lost their lives in the defence of liberty and of our country, and to whom we pay our highest tribute. There is between us a bond of such strength that we feel it can never be dissolved. Over 1,000 of our men have enlisted voluntarily since the beginning of the war. Of these, 89 have been killed or have died of wounds, and 30 have been discharged as unfit for further military service. Nineteen of the latter have again taken up their duties in the Bank. To those who, through unavoidable causes, have not been privileged to take an active part in the great struggle, and who are carrying on at home, in the face of many difficulties, we also desire to pay tribute. The large number of enlistments has rendered the satisfactory operation of the Bank's business increasingly difficult, as the places of enlisted men have been filled by more or less inexperienced clerks. We are doing the best we can under the circumstances, and it is our intention not to apply for a greater number of exemptions from military service than we feel to be absolutely necessary.

Address by Sir Herbert S. Holt, President of the Bank.

Last year I drew your attention to the large increase in the assets of the Bank during the year 1916, namely, $55,000,000, which constituted an unprecedented record. This year I am pleased to say the increase is $82,000,000. It should be explained, however, that $20,000,000 of this was due to the acquisition of the Quebec Bank, and a further portion is of a temporary character. The experience of the past year has fully demonstrated the correctness of the value which was placed on the assets of the Quebec Bank.

The year brought no cessation of the remarkable prosperity enjoyed by Canada since the beginning of the war. While munition orders fell off perceptibly, manufacturing activity was largely directed to ship-building. The demand for foodstuffs and war commodities continued to the extent of the country's ability to finance payments for same. Labour is now scarce and in some cases, inefficient, and wages steadily ascending. Following the action of the United States Government, the Canadian Government fixed the price of the 1917 wheat crop at $2.21 per bushel for No. 1 Northern at Fort William. This was the equivalent of the price fixed in the United States. At this price Great Britain purchased 150,000,000 bushels of wheat and also 20,000,000 bushels of oats, approximating $350,000,000, and to assist in paying for same $100,000,000 was borrowed for two years from the Canadian banks. The estimated wheat remaining in the country of 50,000,000 to 60,000,000 bushels will be required for domestic milling and seeding purposes. The sale of this large amount of cereals at phenomenal prices means riches to the farmers and a very substantial increase in bank deposits.

Last year I submitted a statement showing the prices of many commodities at the close of 1916. Much higher prices were recorded during the past year, but some of these relapsed with the United States Government's introduction of their fixed price policy. As Canada imports largely from the United States, we are directly affected by this policy, which should be more favourably received by trading

interests, because of its tendency to stabilize the markets and reduce the cost of doing business, were it not for the embargo placed on the exportation of all raw materials without a license except for the production of munitions and war supplies. Wide-spread injury will result in this country if the prohibition be strictly enforced, especially in regard to coal. While we cannot complain, as we have similarly prohibited exports, it is hoped our Government will be able to arrange to secure outside such commodities for our general requirements as are inadequately produced in this country. The Canadian Government have, so far, fixed the price of wheat and newsprint only. In fixing maximum prices, consideration must be given to the necessity of stimulating production.

With a view to the successful prosecution of the war, the Government of the United States are making another important departure in taking steps to bring about a gradual curtailment in the production of articles regarded as non-essential, and diverting the activities of factories, wherever possible, to the manufacture of war commodities. This may appear to be a drastic proceeding, but heavy sacrifices are necessary in order to win the war. The manufacture and importation of non-essential products into this country should be prohibited by the Government. So long as the war lasts, essential products will be in continued demand by the Allied Governments. We know that the end of the war does not seem to be near, and manufacturers should take advantage of this opportunity to speed up their plants to full capacity. The recent Order-in-Council prohibiting the sale of new issues without a permit from the Minister of Finance, is a wise measure. The Government should go further and prohibit the investment of Canadian money in foreign countries, as it is highly important that the resources of the country should be conserved to produce the maximum of war-time efficiency. The income tax imposed last year, which becomes effective on the first of June this year, is a fair and proper tax under the circumstances, and it should not be objected to in its application. It will reach everyone who can afford to contribute. The business profits tax, however, is unduly onerous and repressive. It has had the effect of antagonizing capital and restricting production. While we believe the Government's assumption of the powers mentioned is essential to the prosecution of the war, and are in duty bound to give our full support, the extent to which the domestic life and liberties of the people are thus affected is a serious matter. Dictatorial powers once assumed are usually reluctantly relinquished, and if we could not trust the Government to annul them when the present purpose has been served, great evil would result.

We were greatly shocked at the recent frightful disaster in Halifax, and sympathize deeply with those who are afflicted by the loss of life, and with the maimed and suffering. This Bank will never waver in its attachment to the city of Halifax, where it was founded in 1869, and in which city the Head Office was located for thirty-one years. About one-third of our shareholders reside in Nova Scotia, and the foundation of the Bank's success was laid by my eminent predecessor, the late T. E. Kenny, and his associates in the direction

of its affairs. The entry of the United States into the war was the most momentous event of the past year. Her adhesion to the cause of the Allies spells ultimate victory, although some time will elapse before she can be prepared to strike with full force. The war drags on, and the general feeling is that it will be considerably prolonged, but our stern task must be pursued to a successful end at whatever cost. We may depend upon it that still greater sacrifices will be necessary and that very heavy taxation must be entailed.

Address by E. L. Pease, Vice-President and Man'g Director of the Bank.

The excellent Statement which we have the pleasure of submitting to-day reflects the prosperity of the country, which has been in evidence since the war began. The subjoined Statement shows that this has become even more marked during the past year.* While it is our opportunity and privilege to profit by this prosperity, it cannot but detract from our satisfaction to realize that it is due to the abnormal circumstance of the war, and that we are prospering at the expense of the Mother Country, which is the chief purchaser of our products. To the extent that our Government is assessing excess profits and assisting in the prosecution of the war, we are affording relief to Great Britain, but we should aim to prevent the making of large profits out of the war and to protect her from profiteering. It is unfortunate that our prosperity lacks uniformity, as evidenced by a severe decline in the prices of securities, which has resulted in the establishment of minimum values on the Stock Exchanges, while the prices of commodities are the highest ever experienced. This anomalous situation is due to the absorption of liquid capital by the Government in order to carry on the war. As the standard industrials are very prosperous, however, the recovery of values is only a question of time.

The growing appreciation of the people for Government war bonds as an investment is the most gratifying feature of the year. The recent campaign advocating economy and investment in Government bonds, will be productive of the greatest possible benefit to the country as a whole, and the habit of saving and investment, once formed, will persist and reward the individual. During the past year the Dominion Government floated two domestic loans—one in March for $150,000,000, which was $100,000,000 over-subscribed, and another in December last for $150,000,000, which was $260,000,000 over-subscribed. In the first instance the Government allotted only the amount offered—$150,000,000, but in the last case,

*Statement.—	1916	1917	Increase
Value of Field Crops (December 31)	$ 886,495,000	$ 1,089,687,000	$ 203,192,000
Bank Clearings (December 31)	10,557,188,000	12,552,822,000	1,995,634,000
Note Circulation (November 30)	148,198,000	196,136,000	47,938,000
Chartered Banks—Deposits (November 30)	1,521,349,000	1,813,643,000	292,294,000
Chartered Banks—Current Loans (November 30)	927,399,000	1,010,028,000	82,629,000
Exports — Merchandise (November 30) 12 months	1,073,506,000	1,575,233,000	501,727,000
Imports — Merchandise (November 30) 12 months	744,292,000	1,011,400,000	267,108,000
Customs Receipts	136,159,000	168,266,000	32,107,000

they have accepted applications for $390,000,000. This sum is expected to provide for the Government's necessities until next autumn. In addition, the Government floated in the United States in August last, a loan of $100,000,000 payable in two years.

The Canadian Banks made temporary advances to the Government during the year in anticipation of the emission of these loans, and also a loan of $75,000,000 in November last, having two years to run. They also granted to Great Britain in November a credit of $100,000,000 payable in two years, to assist her in the purchase of our cereals. When this latter credit is fully availed of, the obligations of Great Britain will amount to $200,000,000, of which $100,000,000 matures during the current year. These advances were made by the banks on a basis *pro rata* to paid-up capital. While the Canadian banks have played a prominent part in financing the war, it is gratifying to find that the extent to which Canada and Great Britain are publicly indebted to them at the moment represents only 20% of their deposits, and will shortly be reduced to 15%; also that despite the outstanding direct loans to these Governments aggregating $325,000,000 and the domestic loans floated by the Dominion Government since the beginning of the war, which aggregate $350,000,000 (not including the last loan of $390,000,000) practically all of which came out of the banks, the Canadian deposits of these banks on the 30th of November last were $654,000,000 greater than in July, 1914.

The total deposits of the banks on the 30th of November last were $1,813,000,000, the increase for the year being $292,000,000, of which $172,000,000 represented savings deposits. The total current loans amounted to $1,010,000,000, being an increase of $82,000,000. Circulation increased $48,000,000. The liquidity of the banks has been kept unimpaired in spite of the huge Government loans effected. This is due to the expenditure of the proceeds within the country. Speaking for the Royal Bank, there never was a time when we were freer from doubtful debts than at present. Recoveries have been made to a remarkable extent in connection with advances of which ultimate repayment was regarded as doubtful three years ago. This is probably the experience not only of all the banks, but of merchants and manufacturers generally. Liquidation has been very thorough, except in connection with advances depending upon the security of real estate; but with the improved financial condition of the farmers, and the engagement of Provincial Governments in Western Canada in the loaning business, interest and principal payments under farm mortgages all over the West have been well taken care of, and in a great many cases maturing loans have been paid in full. Generally speaking, the country districts are prosperous, and farm lands are in good demand. The situation in the cities has improved, as evidenced by the greater demand for and increased rentals of residences. City vacant lots show no improvement. The British Government recently appointed a Committee, with the following terms of reference:

"To consider, and report whether the normal arrangements for the provision of the financial facilities of trade, by means of

existing banking and other financial institutions will be adequate to meet the needs of British industry, during the period immediately following the termination of the war, and, if not, by what emergency arrangement they should be supplemented, regard being had in particular to the special assistance which may be necessary:—

(*a*) To facilitate the conversion of works and factories now engaged upon war work to normal production.

(*b*) To meet the exceptional demands for raw materials arising from the depletion of stocks.

As conditions in Canada are somewhat parallel, and serious difficulties will confront us at the close of the war, it is our duty to endeavour to devise safeguards against them. The conversion of factories will involve increased capital outlay, and a period of unproductiveness must intervene. Present values of raw materials will probably not decrease, in view of the world demand, and the necessity for re-stocking will add to the financial strain. Many men will be thrown out of employment, and discharged soldiers will be returning. In addition, there will probably be a large immigration to this country. We cannot foresee all the difficulties of finance that are likely to beset us. In my opinion, the question of providing supplementary banking facilities in this country is very important and should receive the consideration of the Government and the banks. If we had a bank of rediscount patterned somewhat after the Federal Reserve Bank in the United States, it would render legitimately available millions of assets in the form of high-grade commercial paper, now lying dormant in the portfolios of the banks, and thereby greatly increase our financial resources. I think the Government should appoint a committee of experts to investigate the suggestion. I cannot close without a tribute of praise to Sir Thomas White, the Minister of Finance. The prosperity we are enjoying is due in great measure to his discovery and exploitation of the latent resources of the country, as exemplified by his repeated and increasingly successful offers of Government securities, culminating in the last huge domestic loan, and the profitable employment of these resources in the prosecution of the war.

British West Indies.

Jamaica.—For the third year in succession Jamaica has been visited by a disastrous hurricane, resulting in a complete loss of the unharvested banana crop and serious damage to other cultivation over the larger portion of the Island. As the hurricane of 1917 occurred five weeks later than the year before, a considerable proportion of the crop had already been shipped. An appreciable development has taken place in the sugar industry. An up-to-date factory of 10,000 tons capacity is in course of erection, and several of the existing plants have been improved and enlarged. The movement to increase the cultivation of cane is to be commended as furnishing a crop less susceptible than bananas to unfavourable climatic conditions, from which the Island has repeatedly suffered. Exports for the year ended December, 1916, amounted to £2,821,234,

an increase of approximately £600,000 over the preceding year. Considering the almost total loss of the banana crop of 1916, these are satisfactory figures. Imports amounted to £3,107,104, as compared with £2,327,458 during the preceding year. A percentage of 7·5 was received from Canada, 32·4 from the United Kingdom, and 57·4 from the United States. Of the exports, 13·7% went to Canada, 43·4% to the United Kingdom, 32·7% to the United States. The principal item in exports to Canada is sugar, which finds its natural market here on account of the benefits extended by the Canadian tariff under the British Preference Act, and the Canadian-West Indian Reciprocity Agreement. It is hoped that at no distant date Jamaica may become a party to the latter agreement, of which she has so far enjoyed the benefit without reciprocating. Should she do so, we believe that direct steamship communication with Canada would be resumed, resulting in a large increase in trade between the two countries.

Trinidad.—Conditions in Trinidad continue satisfactory. The export of cocoa, the most important product, exceeded that of any previous year, amounting to not less than 68,000,000 lbs. for the ten months ended October, 1917, as against a previous high record of 63,500,000 lbs. for the full year. Prices, while somewhat lower than for 1916, were very good. Conditions indicate that the present year's crop will be about two months late. European quotations are high, but local prices will be somewhat lower than last year, due to difficulties of transportation and high rates of freight and insurance. Sugar planters continue to enjoy unusual prosperity. The present crop will likely be 20% short of last year's, owing principally to the froghopper pest. A favourable development is the increase in the number and production of independent cane farmers. Asphalt has been shipped to about the same extent as last year. Shipments of oil for the ten months ended October 31 amounted to 27,513,000 gallons, about the same as for the corresponding period of 1916.

Barbados.—Barbados continues to enjoy very prosperous conditions, due to good returns from the sugar industry. The crop of 1917 was considerably less than that of the previous year, amounting to only 72,000 tons, but prices were somewhat better, and planters realized large profits. Manufacturing facilities have improved considerably. The Island has long since reached its maximum of agricultural production. A new branch was opened at Speightstown during the year.

St. Kitts and Antigua.—St. Kitts and Antigua, being principally sugar-producing Islands, have benefited accordingly. Cotton is rapidly becoming an important crop in the northern group of Islands. The present season's production of all the Islands has been purchased outright by the British Admiralty at a very satisfactory price.

Dominica.—Dominica has not benefited to the same extent as other West Indies, as prices for limes, the principal article of export, are not so good as formerly. Better methods of marketing would, no doubt, improve the position of this industry.

Bahamas.—The sponge industry of the Bahamas continues satisfactory, and prices for sisal are still high. The tourist trade during

the past season proved very disappointing, largely on account of apprehension created by the lighting restrictions which it was considered advisable to impose. On May 15 we completed the purchase of the assets of the Bank of Nassau, which had been in liquidation for some months.

Nevis, Montserrat and Tobago.—New branches were opened during the year at Nevis, Montserrat and Tobago. No banking facilities had previously existed at any of these points, and their development was naturally retarded on that account. We believe that business conditions will be materially improved by the assistance we shall be able to render.

British Guiana.

It is estimated that the present crop of sugar will amount to 115,000 tons, approximately the same as in 1916. The yield per acre will likely be somewhat lower on account of unfavourable weather conditions. In individual cases a marked improvement is shown in manufacturing facilities, but in many instances the factories and methods are not up to date and cannot hope to compete successfully under normal conditions with the excellent modern plants in general use elsewhere. We are pleased to note that in some districts efforts are being made to encourage the production of cane by independent farmers. This is a step in the right direction, and should go a long way towards improving unsatisfactory labour conditions. The production of rice for the year ended September 30, 1917, was approximately 500,000 bags of 177 pounds net. The acreage under cultivation this year has increased somewhat, but the yield per acre is expected to be lower. The total crop is estimated at over 500,000 bags. The production of balata was larger than usual, and prices were good. Raw gold was exported to the value of $505,103, as compared with $599,080 in the previous year. Exports of diamonds were valued at $155,837, against $83,380 in 1916. A recent development of great potential importance is the discovery of bauxite (from which aluminum is manufactured) on a large scale. A number of concessions have been granted for the recovery of this product, but on account of the importance and value of the deposits, which was not previously recognized, no further concessions are being granted for the present. We are informed that these are the only important deposits of bauxite so far discovered anywhere in the British Empire. It is hoped that the development of the industry will be taken in hand energetically later on for the benefit of the Empire. In addition to ordinary and war expenses, the Government are expending large sums of money on permanent sea defence. Important development schemes are under consideration, including the dredging of the bar at Georgetown Harbour, and a railway to the interior, eventually reaching the Amazon at Manaos. It is hoped that some progress may be made with these schemes after the war. We believe that, if carried out, they will result in the development of the Port of Georgetown to a great commercial centre. The matter is of deep interest to Canada, as, under such conditions, Georgetown would furnish the most favourable possible gateway for trade with

South America. The expenses of administering the government of the colony are very high in proportion to population, and it would apparently not be prudent for them to attempt to furnish from their own resources or credit the funds required to carry out these projects. We believe the matter is sufficiently important to receive attention from a broad Imperial standpoint.

BRITISH HONDURAS.

Business conditions in British Honduras have improved materially owing to the present demand and high prices for mahogany, which is being exported in large quantities for the use of the British Government. Agricultural development in this colony has been very much neglected. There appear to be first-class opportunities in this respect, large tracts of suitable land being available at low prices.

CUBA.

The sugar crop for 1916-17 was slightly over 3,000,000 tons, a few thousand tons more than the quantity produced during 1915-16. The Production fell considerably short of early estimates on account of the low percentage of sugar recovered from the cane, and damage caused in certain sections by the revolution which broke out in February and was not entirely suppressed until May. Oriente and Camaguey Provinces were principally affected, a number of mills in these districts having made only a small proportion of their estimated output. While weather conditions have not been entirely favourable, plantings have been largely increased, and several new mills will grind their first full crop this season. Predictions are heard of a labour shortage and difficulties in railroad transportation, but on the whole prospects are distinctly favourable to a record crop. Estimates vary from 3,000,000 to 3,600,000 tons. Probably not less than 3,250,000 tons will be harvested. A price of $4.60 per cwt., f.o.b. Cuban ports, has been agreed upon by the International Sugar Commission and the Cuban Planters' Association for about 75% of the present crop. The estimated average price of the preceding crop is $4.40. It is generally admitted that the price now fixed will afford a satisfactory profit to first-class properties. It should be stated, however, that the margin is by no means as large as might be inferred from the fact that estates realized satisfactory profits from prices existing prior to the war, as cost of production has been largely increased. The higher price now being received is not proportionately greater than that obtainable for nearly all other staple articles of food—rather the reverse. On account of the scarcity of tonnage, the movement of the crop will doubtless be spread over a longer period than usual.

The depression brought by the war to the tobacco trade has caused many small farmers to replace their cultivation by sugar cane. Prices for tobacco have steadily improved during the past year, and the prospects for the present crop are considered good.

The cattle industry continues to prosper. Prices have advanced in sympathy with world-wide conditions, and favourable climatic

conditions and the large amount of undeveloped land offer a good field for further expansion.

Exports for 1916-17 aggregated $337,000,000, as against $302,000,000 for the previous year. Imports amounted to $261,000,000, as against $172,000,000 in 1915-16. The balance of trade in favour of Cuba was, therefore, $76,000,000, as compared with $130,000,000 in the previous year. In view of present war conditions, it is fitting to recall that on April 7, 1917, Cuba declared a state of war existing with Germany, and on December 12 extended the declaration to Austria-Hungary.

Porto Rico.

Total exports for 1917 were $80,970,000, compared with $66,731,000 in the preceding year. The principal items were:—

Sugar	$54,000,000
Tobacco	11,700,000
Coffee	5,900,000
Fruit	2,500,000

Imports were $53,545,000, against $38,951,000 in 1916, the balance of trade in favour of the island being $27,425,000, as compared with $27,780,000 in the preceding year. The production of sugar amounted to 503,000 short tons, against 483,000 in the preceding year. The average price of sugar exported was $110.47, c.i.f. New York, per short ton, as against $107.79 the preceding year. The present crop is estimated to produce 500,000 short tons or about the same as last year, the Island having practically reached the limit of its production.

The coffee industry continues depressed owing, principally, to the loss of European markets. Practically the total output is now taken by Cuba. Exports last year amounted to 39,615,000 lbs., against 32,144,000 lbs. in 1916, and 51,125,000 lbs. for the last normal crop in 1915.

The acreage under tobacco has been largely increased. The crop to be harvested between March and June next is expected to prove the largest in the history of the Island, and good prices are looked for.

Conditions in the fruit industry are not altogether satisfactory, prices being only fair and shipping facilities inadequate.

The political status of the country underwent a great change in March last, when American citizenship and self-government in respect to local affairs were extended to Porto Ricans through the passage of the Jones Bill by the United States Congress. At the first general election, held on July 1st, the people voted in favour of prohibition, which will go into effect in March next.

Dominican Republic.

Political disturbances in this republic have entirely ceased since the occupation of the country over a year ago by an American Military Government composed of United States Naval Officers. The foreign trade of the country has largely increased, imports for the six months from January to June, 1917, amounting to $8,000,000, as compared with $11,600,000 for the preceding twelve months.

Exports for the six months ending June, 1917, amounted to $16,400,000 against $21,500,000 for the full year ending December 31, 1916, and $15,000,000 for 1915. The principal items of export are sugar and cocoa, which amounted to $11,300,000 and $3,300,000, respectively, for the six months ending June, 1917.

The tobacco industry is becoming increasingly important.

A branch was opened during the year at Puerto Plata.

COSTA RICA.

The total exports of Costa Rica for the year ending November 30 are estimated at approximately $8,000,000 as compared with $11,000,000 for the calendar year 1916. The principal items of export were bananas, estimated at $2,700,000, and coffee, at $2,800,000. The falling off in exports is almost entirely in these products, and is mainly due to the curtailment of shipping facilities. Imports are estimated at $5,600,000, a decrease of about $1,000,000 from the previous year. The substantial balance of trade in favour of the country will be noted.

VENEZUELA.

During the past year branches were opened at Maracaibo, Ciudad Bolivar and Puerto Cabello. Our branch at Caracas was established shortly before the end of our previous fiscal year. Business in general has been good throughout the republic. The latest figures obtainable are for 1916. Exports were $22,600,000, as compared with $23,300,000 in 1915. Imports were $20,600,000, as compared with $13,400,000 in 1915. The volume in each case was practically the same as in the preceding year, the increase in imports being represented principally by increased cost. Transportation difficulties will likely cause a falling off in both imports and exports during the present year. The chief exports during 1916 were as follows:

Coffee	1,117,897 cwt.	valued at	$10,514,690
Cocoa	334,018 "	"	4,239,132
Hides, Skins and Sole Leather	98,092 "	"	2,464,083
Raw Gold		"	1,470,000

The coming coffee crop promises to be somewhat less than that of 1917. About one-third of last year's crop is still unshipped, and as all the principal coffee-producing countries have large stocks on hand, the prospects of the industry are not particularly bright. The cocoa industry has also been adversely affected by lack of shipping facilities. The cattle industry is prosperous, large shipments of frozen meat having been made during the past year to England, France and Italy. A further increase in the volume of this business is anticipated. On account of the large areas of available land suitable for grazing, the outlook for this business is quite favourable.

During the last few years the production of corn has been greatly increased, with the result that the country had a surplus for export last year. Shipments were made principally to the United States.

While some inconvenience will, no doubt, be suffered by districts depending largely upon the profitable marketing of the coffee and cocoa crops, business conditions on the whole are sound, and mer-

chants generally are in a position to stand a period of slack trade. The financial position of the Government is exceptionally strong.

The following were elected as directors of the Bank:—

Sir Herbert S. Holt, K.B.	Hugh Paton.	Sir Mortimer B. Davis, K.B.
E. L. Pease.	Wm. Robertson.	G. H. Duggan.
E. F. B. Johnston, K.C.	A. J. Brown, K.C.	C. C. Blackadar.
Jas. Redmond.	W. J. Sheppard.	John T. Ross.
G. R. Crowe.	C. S. Wilcox.	R. MacD. Paterson.
D. K. Elliott.	A. E. Dyment.	G. G. Stuart, K.C.
Hon. W. H. Thorne.		C. E. Neill.

At a subsequent meeting of the Board Sir Herbert Holt was re-elected President, Mr. E. L. Pease, Vice-President and Managing Director, and Mr. E. F. B. Johnston, K.C., 2nd Vice-President.

GENERAL STATEMENT

THE ROYAL BANK OF CANADA

30th November, 1917

LIABILITIES

To the Public:	
Deposits not bearing interest	$ 70,498,667.26
Deposits bearing interest, including interest accrued to date of Statement	182,488,715.55
Total Deposits	$252,978,382.81
Notes of the Bank in Circulation	28,159,351.49
Balance due to Dominion Government	14,582,659.38
Balances due to other Banks in Canada	364,787.53
Balances due to Banks and Banking Correspondents in the United Kingdom and Foreign Countries	5,801,808.96
Bills Payable	297,494.63
Acceptances under Letters of Credit	5,510,310.96
Total	$307,703,795.76
To the Shareholders:	
Capital Stock Paid in	$ 12,911,700.00
Reserve Fund	14,000,000.00
Balance of Profits carried forward	564,264.53
Dividend No. 121 (at 12% per annum) payable Dec. 1st, 1917	387,351.00
Dividends Unclaimed	7,075.23
Total	$335,574,186.52

ASSETS

Current Coin	$ 16,079,830.91
Dominion Notes	18,284,444.75
Deposit in the Central Gold Reserves	16,000,000.00
Deposit with the Minister for the purposes of the Circulation Fund	645,585.00
Notes of other Banks	5,308,203.91
Cheques on other Banks	15,283,364.45
Balances due by other Banks in Canada	229,868.41
Balances due by Banks and Banking Correspondents elsewhere than in Canada	10,704,338.84
Dominion and Provincial Government Securities, not exceeding market value	22,322,197.31
Canadian Municipal Securities and British, Foreign and Colonial Public Securities other than Canadian, not exceeding market value	21,586,545.77
Railway and other Bonds, Debentures and Stocks, not exceeding market value	12,777,503.85
Call Loans in Canada, on Bonds, Debentures and Stocks	12,040,687.27
Call and Short (not exceeding thirty days) Loans elsewhere than in Canada	14,574,136.32
	$165,836,706.79
Other Current Loans and Discounts in Canada (less rebate of interest)	102,358,027.10
Other Current Loans and Discounts elsewhere than in Canada (less rebate of interest)	53,764,037.92
Overdue Debts (estimated loss provided for)	490,064.82
Real Estate other than Bank Premises	1,114,552.61
Bank Premises at not more than cost, less amounts written off	6,371,329.36
Liabilities of Customers under Letters of Credit, as per contra	5,510,310.96
Other Assets not included in the foregoing	129,156.96
Total	$335,574,186.52



Daniel Charles Macarow,
General Manager, The Merchants Bank of Canada, Montreal.

FINANCIAL CONDITIONS IN CANADA, 1917

ANNUAL REPORTS AND ADDRESSES*

OF

THE MERCHANTS BANK OF CANADA

The fifty-fifth Annual Meeting of the Shareholders of the Merchants Bank of Canada was held on June 5, 1918, in the Bank at Montreal. The meeting was called to order at twelve o'clock noon. On motion of Mr. John Patterson, the Vice-President, Mr. K. W. Blackwell, in the absence of the President (Sir H. Montagu Allan), was asked to take the chair. Mr. J. M. Kilbourn was appointed Secretary of the meeting. Mr. K. W. Blackwell presented the Annual Report as on the 30th April, 1918, the last day of the Bank's fiscal year, accompanied by a statement of the Profits covering the same period.

Address by K. W. Blackwell, Vice-President of the Bank.

You will observe, with satisfaction, I doubt not, that the profits as a result of the year's operations amount to $1,236,680.96, being an increase over last year of $116,372.12. Subscriptions by the Bank clientele throughout the country to that important piece of national financing, known as the Victory Loan, amounted to no less a sum than $25,000,000, distributed amongst fifty-three thousand depositors. Notwithstanding the heavy consequent withdrawals, our deposits have grown about $20,000,000, or roughly, 21%. Our commercial advances have correspondingly increased, thus enabling us, while maintaining a proper measure of liquid strength, to materially improve our earning power. The whole position as reflected by the Balance Sheet will be viewed, I am sure, with feelings of entire satisfaction. There has been no activity during the course of the year in branch extensions, owing to the exigencies of the staff situation. Indeed, we are, in all the circumstances, doing well to keep pace with the development of our business under the difficulties by which we are surrounded in this respect.

The figures in the statement you will observe indicate a satisfactory increase in the profits. You will notice the deposits on the Liability side of the account show a gratifying increase and concurrently loans and other items on the Asset side a very substantial and proportionate growth. We are pleased to say that all the legitimate requirements of our clients—naturally upon a larger scale owing to the high cost of labour and all commodities—have been given the fullest measure of consideration, and on the whole well taken care of and we have reason to believe to the satisfaction

* For History of the Bank, see *The Canadian Annual Review* Supplement in 1910; for a further Historical record, see the 1915 Supplement; and for preceding Annual Report and Addresses, the 1916 Supplement.

of all concerned. Having regard to the abnormal period through which we are passing, and the uncertainties which the future undeniably holds, you will observe that an amount of $400,000 has been set aside and placed to the credit of "Contingent Account" —a step which I venture to think you will agree, is prudent and proper under the circumstances.

With regard to the future, we have all read articles in the papers and magazines by many eminent financiers, and profound thinkers, giving their forecasts of the conditions that will prevail after the war. I will not venture to make any forecast, but I feel sure that we shall be able to continue to use the funds of your Institution in safe and useful channels, not only while the war lasts, but also after it is over, provided the Chartered Banks continue to receive that measure of fair treatment which will enable them to maintain their present status of strength and efficiency. This country is under a great strain as we all know. Men, money, crops and ammunition are demanded of us to the utmost limit of our capacity, and let us hope the strain will not go beyond the point of safety, as disorganization would follow, and defeat our aim to keep Canada well organized, productive and solvent, and in good shape to help to win the war.

There is another matter I wish to speak of very briefly. It is a question I know you all take a deep interest in. I refer to the subject of Vested Interests. Some strange doctrines have recently taken possession of the minds of many people on this subject. It is a phase of the war excitement. I am enthusiastic on the subject of fair play towards Vested Interests. You and I, gentlemen, as bankers, and Bank shareholders, are the natural guardians of Vested Interests. We must argue against and oppose the mischievous propaganda of unthinking and illogical people. They will tell you that this is a socialistic age and complain that banks and large capitalists are banded together to keep on amassing wealth to the detriment of the conditions of the general community. We may answer this in saying most truthfully that Banks themselves are absolutely socialistic in their methods. They accept money from those who have it, and lend it to those who need it and can use it safely.

The great resources of any large bank belong mainly to its depositors, its own capital being, comparatively speaking, quite insignificant, nor do its depositors belong to any one particular class. It is a careful trustee of millions of dollars belonging to all classes. In our case, for example, the large total of our deposits and current accounts belong to so many thousands of individuals that the average holding is only about $500. Surely such depositors are not capitalists! Therefore, it would be most unfair to accuse us of being prejudiced in favor of great capitalists. The cost of the war is being paid for out of the savings of past years, and is now in some countries nearly approaching the limit of exhaustion, and the question of how interest charges are to be met engages the deepest attention of all classes. Here again the treatment of Vested Interests must be carefully guarded against unwise and wanton action; when we hear people talk about the conscription of wealth

and levy on capital in a vague and indefinite way, we realize that this might be pushed to a limit that would break down the whole financial fabric.

There are some radicals who, not satisfied with taxation, desire to go further and conscript not only income and profit, but also capital, I would ask them what the nation would gain by it? Only a small proportion of a man's or a company's means are in cash. If they took away a certain proportion of his stocks and bonds, what would the Government do with them? Keep them? No, the Government wants cash. They could not sell them for there would no be purchasers, because unsettlement and chaos would prevail. Again if they conscript a certain portion of a man's real estate, farm or factory, how can the proceeds of such conscription be converted into cash, or into any form that will be of tangible use to the Government? No, a fair and well considered system of taxation is the proper course to be adopted. The man of small means must be treated with moderation, and the man who is rich and the corporations that are making money must pay proportionately. Neither Companies nor individuals would object to paying substantial taxes if they are allowed to make reasonable earnings.

It must be conceded that in order to realize substantial receipts from taxation, there must be substantial earnings; all values are based on earnings and with poor earnings, values would soon fade away, and our whole system of credit and finance would go to pieces. Vested interests are also threatened from another quarter. We, in this young country, must guard them against the free trader. I am not going into politics here, but the fact cannot be overlooked that amongst the agricultural community there are many who are favourable to taking down the tariff bars, in order to cheapen articles that enter into their own daily use, without thinking of the consequences, they don't seem to realize that if they disturb the present equilibrium of tax distribution, a greater share of the taxation must undoubtedly fall upon their own shoulders. We must appeal to the general public and the farmer for fair treatment of the Vested Interests, and finally we must appeal to the legislator for fair treatment also; his duty is to study proposed new laws most critically before voting for them, and he must not forget that a law which has a destructive tendency while it may create momentary notoriety and popularity for its promoters, is sure to incite radicals and extremists to apply the axe more and more till the whole body politic is in danger.

In conclusion I wish to testify to the fine spirit and loyalty of our management and staff. They are doing splendidly in spite of the difficulties under which they are working. Our field of operations in very large, extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and there are many other banks in the field, besides ourselves, some of them being very great and powerful institutions, with enormous capital and highly efficient management and organization. So it is a comfort to feel that we have a good staff, and that they are right on the job.

In seconding the adoption of the Report, Mr. Thomas Long then said: It is a great pleasure to me to be invited to second the adoption of the Annual Report, which has been presented by the Vice-President. I am sure that as stock-holders we are all pleased and delighted to see the substantial growth that has taken place within the past few years in the volume of business transacted by this Bank. That this progress is still continuing is apparent by the report we have just heard, so that we may look forward to the future with both hope and confidence.

Address by E. F. Hebden, Managing-Director of the Bank.

It was hoped, when we met a year ago, that before we came together again the great war would be drawing to a close. In this expectation the world has been disappointed. Certainly these are anxious days. Meanwhile, the affairs of your bank continue to prosper, stimulated by favourable economic conditions certainly, but also because a hard-working and reasonably efficient organization, notwithstanding seriously increasing staff difficulties, has known how to turn the situation to the best account. In this your capable General Manager has been the mainspring. Notwithstanding possessing a staff, male and female, animated by great enthusiasm, owing to its serious depletion, the work, which is the work of the country, is greatly hampered and hindered with, I am sorry to say, the prospect of great and greater difficulties in this respect ahead. In our Dominion there is no more important part of the civil arm than the chartered banks. I say it without the possibility of the statement being gainsaid that the chartered banks of Canada have been a pile-driving influence from Confederation on—notwithstanding some setbacks to themselves—in the development of Canada's material resources in every field of enterprise. No informed economist would attempt to deny that assertion. The banks of Canada, year by year, have played a great rôle herein and never greater than since the great war broke out, when competent well organized financial machinery was almost the breath of life of the nation—the life-line! Why am I at this meeting making this statement? Because it is too often forgotten when it should ever be remembered. It has been charged that banking profits have been excessive. The proprietary of the banks, a large part female, have never been made aware of this in any convincing way. As a matter of fact, the return to the investor, even at present prices, can reckon on 6%, hardly more. No doubt the 6% is pretty sure. The business of banking cannot be carried on without some measure of risk. The profits of the banks must provide for losses, which are as inevitable as the sparks fly upward, and the bank that "lays out" to make absolutely no losses will make no profits and will sooner or later succumb to dry-rot. And so a proper and reasonable enterprise is the irreducible minimum in the operating of our great banking institutions.

The chartered banks of this country are working to-day for the civil and military interest under the highest pressure. Nevertheless, I greatly regret to state a further depletion of its trained staff is

pending. The function of the banks extends to taking care of the savings of the people and also their current funds and their safe and profitable use. This heavy and weighty responsibility demands highly developed organization. The best interests of the country cannot be served by inadequacy or slackness herein. Banking is not a profession—it is a science. It is also a highly specialized service. There are many departments. To allow the working machinery of the banks to run down under present and prospective conditions would be a policy of supreme folly and unwisdom in my view. It would be like throwing a hammer into the revolving wheels of the country's industries. Political sagacity could scarcely recede further than to withhold from the banks the necessary protection to insure them against confusion and disruption of their carefully adjusted and balanced organizations, never forgetting that the banks are continually engaged forwarding and promoting war work, as well as in advancing and facilitating the general commerce and trade of the Dominion, with its increasing swing and growing stride. Our native industries must never be forgotten or suffer neglect, especially in view of after-war problems looming larger and larger in our Canadian horoscope. There can be no higher or better statesmanship than to protect the chartered banks in their responsible and weighty work for the Dominion, equally against the time to come. Any other policy I believe to be reactionary, serving to keep heavily taxed executives busy working out problems inadequately, under most arduous conditions to the great hindering of the solid interest of the country at a time too when the banks will need to be worked to the last notch of efficiency.

We all realize how the country is growing in material wealth. In every direction it is expanding by leaps and bounds, economically. In agriculture, in manufacturing, in mining and the fisheries, in lumber and yet others—all have contributed their quota toward making Canada rich and great. All these great sources of wealth have vast interlocking interests with the banks and in increasing measure. But while the multitude and volume of the transactions is daily growing, the view would seem to be entertained that fewer, not more, trained assistants are needed to handle the increasing flood. Fifty per cent., or over 650 men, of the Merchants Bank have already taken up arms in the great war, and other banks have contributed in no less proportion, and, alas, all have suffered heavily. The chartered banks in Canada have given in man-power equal to ten regiments of one thousand each to the prosecution of the war. May we respectfully urge on those in authority that the banks besides being charged with the public's savings and securities of every kind and description are also dispensers of credit in many forms. In all these grave and weighty responsibilities, experienced and trained judgment are a *sine qua non*. Bank branches cannot be managed with a rubber stamp. Let us trust the authorities will reconsider and leave us to struggle on with our already depleted and crippled organizations, for surely only along this line lies the path of prudence and safety.

Before sitting down I should like to say a word on an important matter affecting the banks generally, namely, on the subject of the establishment of a bank rediscount in Canada, the suggestion of Mr. Pease, the able President of the Canadian Bankers' Association. I should like to state that we are entirely in accord with his proposal. Its establishment would make available tens of millions of negotiable securities, at present locked up in the strong boxes of banking institutions. The need for such rediscounting facilities is not presently felt, but we cannot tell when it may be, and this country is behind the times in not having all the organization machinery and equipment ready at hand for instant operation. This bank would gladly participate. One last word. I believe Canada's hour has struck. A great future looms before her. But we must keep her wheels moving and her financial machinery intact to avail ourselves of what opportunity will offer and destiny provide. (Applause).

Address by D. C. Macarow, General Manager of the Bank.

The whole situation has been so comprehensively covered in the brief yet lucid comments of the Vice-President and Managing Director that there is really very little left for me to add, beyond repeating the hope and belief that the statement which has just been presented to you, reflecting, as it does, this Bank's full share in the country's prosperity and development, will be regarded by you with satisfaction. During the year our assets have grown notably—now having reached the imposing total of $140,000,000, being an increase of approximately $20,000,000 or nearly 16½%. In this connection I might pertinently say that ample provision has been made for any doubtful matters, and our Bond Holdings have been written down to present market quotations.

You may, therefore, entertain the very comfortable assurance that the whole asset column represents a minimum of dollar-for-dollar in the way of actual values. Despite heavy withdrawals of a special nature, referred to elsewhere, you will perceive that our deposits show the very substantial growth of $19,500,000, or 21% over last year's figures, and our commercial discounts, with consequent increase in earning power, have also grown apace. Profits show, notwithstanding ever-mounting operating costs, a substantial increase, and, withal, a satisfactory measure of liquidity has been maintained.

The times through which we are passing are, indeed, anxious and exacting, and the future unquestionably holds many serious problems, upon the wise solution of which far-reaching issues will depend. But the potentialities of this great country are well nigh boundless, and if these potentialities continue to be developed along sound and business-like lines, as we have no doubt they will be, the future may, I am sure, be regarded without undue apprehension. Economists will tell you that the stability and wealth of a country such as ours lies largely in the measure and value of the exportable surplus of our products. Judged by this true standard and in the light of past achievements, which, even allowing for abnormal

factors, have been upon a plane of steady and practically uninterrupted progression in recent years, notably the last few, one would require to be a pessimist, indeed, to regard our future otherwise than with feelings of well-grounded confidence. In this connection it is reassuring to note there is thus far every indication that this year's production, in practically all essential directions, will be upon a substantially enlarged scale. Let us bend every effort and extend every possible facility to the end that actual results in their realization may be in line with present promise. That consideration has had its influence, I may say, upon our general policy.

During the course of the past year, accompanied by a number of the Directors, I have visited the various Provinces, and we have had the benefit and pleasure of meeting personally, in conference, all of our Managers and principal officials. With their loyalty and enthusiasm we were deeply impressed, and I am not going too far in expressing the conviction that in your local Managers throughout the country practically one hundred per cent efficiency is represented. The members of our staff have, indeed, in full measure, taken their place amongst the gallant manhood of this country, who, by their deeds at the front, have established a record for self-sacrificing heroism, immeasurably enriching the golden annals of this death struggle for the preservation of the basic principles upon which true Christianity and Civilization must rest. To those of the staff who have gone overseas we pay every tribute of admiration and respect, and to those, who for one cause or another are debarred from participation in the war in a military sense, we must also extend—and do so with the fullest cordiality—our acknowledgment and sincere appreciation for the manner in which they are doing their part in fulfilling the heavy additional duties and responsibilities thrust upon them—cheerfully and efficiently. (Applause.)

The Directors were re-elected as follows: Sir H. Montagu Allan and Messrs. K. W. Blackwell, Thomas Long, F. Orr Lewis, Andrew A. Allan, Lt.-Col. C. C. Ballantyne, A. J. Dawes, F. Howard Wilson, Farquhar Robertson, Geo. L. Cains, Alfred B. Evans, E. F. Hebden, T. Ahearn and Lt.-Col. Jas. R. Moodie. At a subsequent special meeting of the Directors, Sir H. Montagu Allan was re-elected President, and Mr. K. W. Blackwell, Vice-President.

STATEMENT OF LIABILITIES AND ASSETS

OF

THE MERCHANTS BANK OF CANADA

AS ON APRIL 30, 1918

LIABILITIES

1. TO THE SHAREHOLDERS:	1918	1917
Capital Stock paid in	$ 7,000,000.00	$ 7,000,000.00
Rest or Reserve Fund	7,000,000.00	7,000,000.00
Dividends declared and unpaid	176,900.00	178,365.00
Balance of Profits as per Profit and Loss Account submitted herewith	437,973.92	421,292.96
	$ 14,614,873.92	$ 14,599,657.96
2. TO THE PUBLIC:		
Notes of the Bank in Circulation	$ 12,327,168.00	$ 9,483,468.00
Deposits not bearing interest	34,886,747.83	27,101,587.86
Deposits bearing interest (including interest accrued to date of statement)	75,946,985.48	65,000,484.42
Balances due to other Banks in Canada	1,400,941.75	628,863.08
Balances due to Banks and banking Correspondents in the United Kingdom and foreign countries	1,161,976.79	3,904,690.72
Bills payable		
Acceptances under Letters of Credit	598,851.20	411,806.78
Liabilities not included in the foregoing		
	$140,937,544.97	$121,130,558.82

ASSETS

Current Coin	$ 4,890,061.36	$ 4,766,438.82
Deposit in the Central Gold Reserves	6,000,000.00	3,500,000.00
Dominion Notes	5,912,092.50	7,650,790.50
Notes of other Banks	893,076.00	793,367.00
Cheques on other Banks	5,311,786.12	5,674,828.67
Balances due by other Banks in Canada	4,704.37	2,635.33
Balances due by Banks and Banking Correspondents in the United Kingdom	82,580.53	61,225.79
Balances due by Banks and Banking Correspondents elsewhere than in Canada and the United Kingdom	1,357,843.03	2,413,100.10
Dominion and Provincial Government securities, not exceeding market value	5,435,464.66	3,862,507.19
Railway and other Bonds, Debentures and Stocks, not exceeding market value	4,060,204.70	3,964,251.24
Canadian Municipal Securities, and British, Foreign and Colonial Public Securities other than Canadian.	14,589,065.54	11,263,196.20
Call Loans in Canada on Bonds, Debentures and Stocks	5,223,953.88	4,627,863.57
Call loans elsewhere than in Canada	3,906,648.93	3,461,420.47
	$ 57,667,481.62	$ 52,041,624.88
Current Loans and Discounts in Canada (less Rebate of Interest)	76,194,016.15	62,737,958.74
Current Loans and Discounts elsewhere than in Canada (less Rebate of Interest)	339,987.29	377,582.42
Liabilities of customers under Letters of Credit as per contra	598,851.20	411,806.78
Real Estate other than Bank Premises	312,928.11	294,197.07
Overdue debts, estimated loss provided for	272,226.60	149,039.68
Bank Premises, at not more than cost, less amounts written off	4,886,438.98	4,617,400.23
Deposit with the Minister for the purposes of the Circulation Fund	355,000.00	375,000.00
Other Assets not included in the foregoing	310,615.02	125,949.02
	$140,937,544.97	$121,130,558.82

K. W. BLACKWELL, *Vice-President.* E. F. HEBDEN, *Managing Director* D. C. MACAROW, *General Manager.*



The New Sun Life Building, Montreal; Opened in 1917.

A GREAT INSURANCE CORPORATION OF CANADA

REPORTS* AND PROGRESS

OF

THE SUN LIFE ASSURANCE COMPANY

Directors' Report for 1917

In presenting their Forty-seventh Annual Statement it is a pleasure to your directors to report that the operations of the Company continue to expand with ever-increasing rapidity, while the testing of another year of war has but served to emphasize its financial strength. New policies to the number of 22,895, assuring $47,811,567.48 were issued and paid for. This is an increase of $5,039,270.67 over the highest previous record in the history of the Company. The total assurance in force is now $311,870,945.71, a net increase of $30,436,245.77 after deducting cancellations from all causes. It is a remarkable and gratifying fact, testifying to the popularity of the Company and the satisfaction of its policyholders, that this increase is equal to 63·7 per cent. of the amount issued during the year.

The income for the year amounted to $19,288,997.68, an increase of $789,866.06, notwithstanding the large reduction in annuity premiums due to the existing conditions in Great Britain. The sum of $8,840,245.42 was paid to policyholders and their beneficiaries in death claims, endowments, profits, etc. This is larger by $1,262,228.55 than the amount for the preceding year, due in great measure to claims resulting from the war. Notwithstanding the heavy extra mortality it is particularly pleasing to note that the total claims by death were slightly under eighty per cent. of the sum predicted by the mortality tables. Our usual rate has been about sixty per cent.

The loss of our gallant men who on the battle-fields of Europe have added glory to the name of Canada, has been a misfortune too great and too tragic to be measured; yet it is a source of satisfaction that the wives, children and other dependants of many of them are being aided in their time of trouble by the proceeds of policies in this Company to an aggregate exceeding $1,700,000. The assets now amount to $90,160,174.24, an addition of $7,211,178.18. The sum of $1,560,389.04 has been distributed to the policyholders as profits, and there still remains an undivided net surplus over all liabilities and capital stock of $8,550,761.64 after providing for a considerable shrinkage in the market value of securities, and taking account of the increased reserves on policies payable in silver currencies due to the enhanced value of that metal.

* Preceding Annual Reports with an Historical record of the Company may be consulted in preceding issues of *The Canadian Annual Review.*

The distribution of profits for the coming year has engaged our most careful consideration. Life companies everywhere are being tested as they never before were. Few indeed four years ago would have believed it possible that in this stage of such a war the business would be in its present prosperous position. But what of the future? The duration of the war, future war mortality, future financial conditions, are all unknown. Your directors believe that under these circumstances it is the duty of all life offices to be conservative, and to prepare for contingencies by retaining until conditions become normal a portion of the profits they would otherwise pay out. This is a war measure which we are sure our policyholders will approve. The reduction in profit payments to the individual will be but slight, and if later this precaution shall be found to have been unnecessary, a special or extra bonus will then be given.

At the inception of the war, your Directors decided to place the financial resources of the Company as far as possible at the disposal of the Governments of the Dominion and the Mother Country, and to a less extent of our Allies. It is a matter of patriotic pride that the Company has thus been able to take the leadership in subscribing to all the Canadian Government domestic loans, besides purchasing large amounts of issues of other parts of the Empire.

This Annual Meeting is unique, in that it is the first to be held in the Company's new Head Office building. The growth of the business has made the increased office accommodation a pressing necessity, while the improvement in working conditions will add to the efficiency of the staff. Mr. H. Warren K. Hale having accepted the position of Comptroller of the Company, resigned his directorship. Mr. John W. Ross has been appointed to the vacant seat.

T. B. MACAULAY, *President.* S. H. EWING, *Vice-President.* FREDERICK G. COPE, *Secretary.*

Report of the Annual Meeting

The Annual Meeting of the Shareholders and Policyholders of the Company was held on March 5, 1918, in the new Head Office Building, Dominion Square, Montreal. The President, Mr. T. B. Macaulay, occupied the chair. The President, in moving the adoption of the Directors' Report for the year 1917, emphasized the remarkable progress made during the past year, and welcomed his hearers to the new home of the Company, which was designed not merely to meet the present requirements of the business, but to provide for the great expansion which the future unquestionably has in store, for the land owned by the Company in the rear and at the side of the new building will permit of large extensions when these become necessary. He also pointed out with pride that the amount of Assets held for the Policyholders, together with payments made to Policyholders since organization, exceeded by $5,893,264 the total premium receipts for the entire period. The motion was seconded by the Vice-President, Mr. S. H. Ewing, who briefly reviewed the Company's history, comparing the struggles and vicissitudes of the early days, forty-five years ago, and the position of power and security now attained.

The retiring Directors were unanimously re-elected and are constituted as follows:

T. B. MACAULAY, F.I.A., F.A.S., President and Managing Director.
S. H. EWING - Vice-President.

W. M. BIRKS.
HON. RAOUL DANDURAND.
J. REDPATH DOUGALL.
GEORGE E. DRUMMOND.
SIR HERBERT S. HOLT.
CHARLES R. HOSMER.
ABNER KINGMAN.
H. R. MACAULAY, M.D.
JOHN McKERGOW.
JOHN W. ROSS.

OFFICERS OF THE COMPANY

Actuary: ARTHUR B. WOOD, F.I.A., F.A.S.

Secretary: FREDERICK G. COPE.

Treasurer: E. A. MACNUTT.

General Manager of Agencies: JAMES C. TORY.

Comptroller: H. WARREN K. HALE.

Consulting Medical Referee: W. F. HAMILTON, M.D.

Medical Officer: C. C. BIRCHARD, M.B.

Asst. Secretary: C. S. V. BRANCH.

Supt. of Foreign Agencies: W. A. HIGINBOTHAM.

Supt. of Home Agencies: JAMES W. SIMPSON.

ASSETS OF THE COMPANY

(The market values given are those fixed by the Dominion Government Insurance Department).

Bonds—Government, Municipal, Railway Gas, Electric and other bonds:		
Par Value	$68,148,219.09	
Ledger Value	52,620,209.90	
Market Value	52,337,844.11	
Carried out at Market Value		$52,337,844.11
Stocks—Preferred and Guaranteed Stocks:		
Par Value	$10,167,393.75	
Ledger Value	8,434,753.98	
Market Value	7,890,896.81	
Carried out at Market Value		7,890,896.81
Other Stocks:		
Par Value	$ 2,256,900.00	
Ledger Value	1,535,457.60	
Market Value	1,488,080.00	
Carried out at Market Value		1,488,080.00
Loans on Real Estate, first mortgage		8,150,048.86
Real Estate, including Company's buildings		4,227,604.74
Loans on Company's policies (secured by reserves on same)		11,693,446.94
Loans on bonds and stocks		944,881.70
Cash in banks and on hand		387,225.74
Outstanding premiums (less cost of collection)	$ 1,310,603.50	
Deferred premiums (less cost of collection)	493,632.55	
		1,804,236.05
(These items are secured by reserves included in liabilities).		
Interest due (largely since paid)		258,253.00
Interest accrued		964,161.92
Rents due and accrued		13,494.37
Net Assets		$90,160,174.24

LIABILITIES OF THE COMPANY

Reserves on Life Policies according to the British Offices Om. (5) Table with 3½ per cent. interest on policies issued prior to December 31st, 1902, and 3 per cent. on policies issued since that date (Federal Life policies 3½ per cent.)	$64,514,414.17	
Reserves on Annuities according to the British Offices Select Annuity Tables with 3½ per cent. interest	13,596,565.21	
	$78,110,979.38	
Less Reserves on policies re-assured	191,354.00	
		$77,919,625.38
Death Claims reported but not proved, or awaiting discharge		966,368.56
Extra Reserve for unreported death claims		230,000.00
Present value of Death Claims payable by instalments		534,524.88
Matured Endowments awaiting discharge		213,155.64
Annuity Claims awaiting discharge		112,157.89
Dividends to policyholders declared, but not yet due, or awaiting discharge		357,307.60
Profits allotted to Deferred Dividend Policies, issued on or after January 1st, 1911		90,933.28
Accumulated Credits on compound interest policies		39,211.43
Premiums paid in advance		50,507.21
Sinking Fund deposited for maturing debentures, etc		220,265.62
Commissions, medical fees, taxes, etc., due or accrued		350,672.40
Shareholders' account, including dividends due 1st January, 1918		105,971.80
Sundry Liabilities		68,710.91
Total Liabilities		$81,259,412.60
Cash Surplus to policyholders by the Company's standard, as above		8,900,761.64
Capital subscribed, $1,000,000; paid up	$ 350,000.00	
Net Surplus over all Liabilities and capital stock	8,550,761.64	
Net Surplus over all Liabilities, except capital stock	$ 8,900,761.64	
		$90,160,174.24
The net Surplus over all Liabilities and capital stock according to the Dominion Government Standard is	$9,603,113.41	



The Home Bank of Canada; Head Office Building, Toronto.

A PROSPEROUS CANADIAN INSTITUTION

REPORT AND ADDRESSES

OF

THE HOME BANK OF CANADA

The Thirteenth Annual General Meeting of the shareholders of the Home Bank of Canada was held at the Head Office of the Bank, 8 King Street West, Toronto, on Tuesday, the 25th day of June, 1918, at 12 o'clock noon. Among those present were:

R. P. Gough.	J. F. M. Stewart.	J. C. Moor.
John Dunn.	W. J. Green.	R. L. Archambault.
C. M. Gripton.	Wm. Crocker.	J. O'Leary.
C. A. Barnard, K.C.	Brig.-Gen Hon. Jas. Mason.	J. O. Paterson.
J. Cooper Mason.	James Mtthews.	Hon. A. C. Macdonell, K.C.
O. G. Smith.	Thos. Long.	A. M. Stewart.
M. J. Haney, C.E.	C. E. P. McWilliams.	A. Willis.
Thos. Nihan.	Chas. Pendrich.	H. J. Daly.
M. W. Green.	Dr. T. C. Trigger.	J. J. Seitz.
A. McCabe.	J. B. O'Higgins.	F. E. Annett.
Dr. J. A. Todd.	W. H. Partridge.	A. J. Pattison.
J. H. Francis.	Frank P. Lee.	S. Casey Wood.
F. E. Luke.	Wm. Bacon.	G. W. S. Shipman.
Jesse Ashbridge.	L. V. Dusseau.	Jos. Hayes.

Moved by Mr. W. Crocker, seconded by Mr. C. M. Gripton, that the President, Mr. M. J. Haney, take the chair, and that the Acting General Manager, Mr. J. Cooper Mason, do act as Secretary. Carried. The Secretary then read the Notice calling the Meeting. Moved by Mr. J. C. Moor, seconded by Mr. W. Crocker, that the Minutes of the last Annual General Meeting be taken as read. Carried. The Secretary then read the Report of the Directors, as follows:—

The Directors of the Bank beg to submit to the Shareholders the Thirteenth Annual Report for the year ending the 31st May, 1918, accompanied by a Statement of the Bank's affairs and the results of the operations for the year. The report of the affairs of the Bank at the close of its fiscal year may be considered as satisfactory, showing, as it does, a substantial growth during the past twelve months. Following the conservative policy adopted by a number of the Banks, a sum has been transferred from the net profits to provide for temporary contingencies consequent upon the prolongation of the war. The net profits, after making provision for bad and doubtful debts, rebate of interest on unmatured bills under discount, cost of management, etc., amount to $228,963.19. This added to $140,238.68, brought forward from last year, together with premium on new stock $208.54, makes the sum total of $369,410.41, which has been appropriated as follows:—

Four quarterly dividends at the rate of 5% per annum	$ 97,362.40
Government War Tax on Note Circulation	19,316.90
Reserved for Depreciation of Securities and for Contingencies	90,000.00
Written off Bank Premises Account	10,000.00
Donation to Patriotic Fund	2,000.00
Balance carried forward	150,731.11
Total	$369,410.41

During the year one new branch was established at Vancouver, B.C. The Hon. T. A. Crerar, having accepted a Portfolio in the Dominion Cabinet, resigned from the Board of Directors, and the vacancy thus caused has been filled by the election of Mr. S. Casey Wood. The usual inspection of the Head Office and the branches has been made, and the Auditor appointed by the Shareholders, Mr. S. H. Jones, has completed his investigation and has attached his certificate to the statement now submitted. The Secretary then read the Annual Report and Statement for the Year ending 31st May, 1918:

PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT.

Cr.

Balance of Profit and Loss Account, 31st May, 1917	$140,238.68
Net Profits for the year after deducting charges of management, interest due depositors, payment of all Provincial and Municipal taxes, and rebate of interest on unmatured bills	228,963.19
	$369,201.87

CAPITAL PROFIT ACCOUNT

Premium on Capital Stock received during the year	208.54
	$369,410.41

Which has been appropriated as follows:—

Dr.

Dividend No. 43, quarterly, at the rate of 5% per annum	$24,338.31	
Dividend No. 44, quarterly, at the rate of 5% per annum	24,339.69	
Dividend No. 45, quarterly, at the rate of 5% per annum	24,342.17	
Dividend No. 46, quarterly, at the rate of 5% per annum	24,342.23	
		$ 97,362.40
Government War Tax on Note Circulation		19,316.90
Reserved for Depreciation of Securities and for Contingencies		90,000.00
Written off Bank Premises Account		10,000.00
Donation to Patriotic Fund		2,000.00
Balance carried forward		150,731.11
		$369,410.41

GENERAL STATEMENT, 31st MAY, 1918

LIABILITIES

To the Public—

Notes of the Bank in circulation	$ 1,758,180.00
Deposits not bearing interest	4,143,264.31
Deposits bearing interest, including interest accrued to date of statement	11,539,486.62
Deposits by and balances due to Dominion Government	3,151,326.54
Balances due to other Banks in Canada	1,589.54
Balances due to Banks and Banking Correspondents elsewhere than in Canada and the United Kingdom	654,434.65
Acceptances under letters of credit	3,087.50
	$21,251,369.16

To the Shareholders—

Capital (subscribed, $2,000,000) paid up	$1.947,430.98	
Rest Account	300,000.00	
Dividends unclaimed	1,900.20	
Dividend No. 46 (quarterly), being at the rate of 5% per annum, payable June 1st, 1918	24,342.23	
Balance of Profit and Loss Account	150,731.11	
		2,424,404.52
		$23,675,773.68

ASSETS

Gold and other current coin	$ 123,454.89	
Dominion Government Notes	3,129,010.50	
		$ 3,252,465.39
Deposit with the Minister of Finance as security for note circulation		105,000.00
Notes of other Banks		192,862.86
Cheques on other Banks		524,118.52
Balances due by other Banks in Canada		112,259.18
Due from Banks and Banking Correspondents in the United Kingdom		31,325.37
Balances due by Banks and Banking Correspondents elsewhere than in Canada and the United Kingdom		716,525.52

Dominion and Provincial Government Securities not exceeding market value		$1,548,211.89
Canadian Municipal Securities, and British, Foreign and Colonial Public Securities, other than Canadian		2,727,332.01
Railway and other Bonds, Debentures and Stocks, not exceeding market value		923,172.17
Call and Short (not exceeding 30 days) Loans in Canada on Bonds, Debentures and Stocks		939,909.91
		$11,073,182.82
Other Current Loans and Discounts in Canada, less rebate of interest	$11,307,680.47	
Other Loans and Discounts elsewhere than in Canada	29,226.26	
Loans to cities, towns, municipalities and school districts	147,720.55	
Liabilities of customers under letters of credit, as per contra	3,087.50	
Overdue debts	34,782.41	
Real Estate other than Bank Premises	74,995.37	
Mortgages on Real Estate sold by the Bank	77,112.13	
Bank Premises, at not more than cost, less amounts written off	871,393.52	
Other assets not included under the foregoing	56,592.65	
		12,602,590.86
Total		$23,675,773.68

M. J. HANEY,
President.

J. COOPER MASON,
Acting Gen. Manager.

Address of M. J. Haney, President of the Bank

In moving the adoption of the Annual Report for the past year, which is presented for your consideration to-day, it is in order briefly to review the general conditions which are influencing our national economics and therefore have a material bearing upon the figures of our Report. Development and production, in Canada, are being prosecuted at present under the handicap of a scarcity of labour. This condition exists throughout Canada, but is more serious on the Atlantic and Pacific coasts, where men are being drawn for both the land and sea forces, than it is in the inland sections, where recruits for the land forces only are being secured in large numbers. Economists hold that an adequate supply of labour is the first essential in the development of any nation, and this problem therefore requires the immediate and earnest attention of every patriotic Canadian. One marked advance towards remedial measures is the entrance of women into many of the departments of business and industry formerly discharged exclusively by men. It would have been impossible for the banks, for instance, to contribute so large a proportion of their young men to the military forces, and continue to extend the detail of banking accommodation to the public, if young women had not proved capable of taking up the duties of the absentees. They have done as well as any body of intelligent boys and men untrained to banking routine would have done in the same circumstances.

The farmer is attempting to solve the problem created by the absence of the hired man, by working overtime himself. The reports received by this institution regarding farming conditions indicate another prosperous year, so that, even with the scarcity of labour, we can depend upon our farmers doing double service, and reaping satisfactory results from their crops. A great responsibility rests upon our industrial organization for the development of our natural resources of forest and mine. Activities in this direction must do more than meet present necessities. Not only must the

demands for home consumption be filled, but plans should now be laid for the period of reconstruction that will follow, in every country, at the close of this destructive war. It is now that our manufacturers should be preparing for business after the war—to increase our trade with other countries, and stabilize our trade balance by manufacturing the highest products from our abundant natural resources. The success of our three transcontinental railways in Canada depends on the rapid development of our national resources by the most practical and vigorous methods.

The war has turned the attention of all peoples to the necessity for maintaining an efficient merchant marine. Canada should have under its own flag shipping available to convey its exports direct to foreign markets. We have made a right step in this direction in Canada, and steel ship-building is being vigorously undertaken in Halifax, the shipyards on our lakes are operating to capacity, while in British Columbia operations are being carried on to a promising extent. The general conditions in British Columbia have greatly improved during the past year. The timber business is increasing, and the great opportunities for the manufacture of pulp are being developed by a few energetic firms.

Our slogan should be first a UNITED CANADA—the fullest development of all our natural resources with absolute co-ordination between the financier, the farmer, the fisherman, the miner, the lumberman, the manufacturer, and the transportation system, to provide the necessary capital, labour, energy and management for war requirements, to the extent of our ability, and place this country in a position to meet its obligations during and after the war.

The Hon. T. A. Crerar having accepted the Portfolio of Minister of Agriculture in the Dominion Cabinet, retired from the Board. Mr. S. Casey Wood has been elected to fill the vacancy caused by Mr. Crerar's retirement, thus completing the complement of nine Directors called for under our By-laws. The success of every institution is due to the loyalty and ability of its staff under a proper head, and I wish to say as a whole we have had a most loyal and industrious staff, who, under the careful and able supervision of the Acting General Manager, Colonel Mason, have produced the satisfactory results presented in this statement.

On the motion of the President, seconded by Mr. R. P. Gough, Vice-President, the Report was duly adopted.

COMMENTS OF THE ACTING GENERAL MANAGER

The Thirteenth Annual Report of the Bank shows it to be in a strong position. Our actual cash position is the strongest we have ever occupied, and our liquid assets represent 52·10% of our total liabilities to the public. Notwithstanding the heavy withdrawals for investment in Government and other attractive securities, a very substantial increase is shown in the deposits. Our deposits by the public, exclusive of deposits and balances due to the Dominion Government, amount to $12,680,000, an increase of over six million dollars, or 64·12% in the past three years. The net earnings for

the year were larger than last year, being about 10·18% of the Paid-Up Capital and Rest.

The Staff situation, due to the large number of enlistments, is a serious one, but all are working together, early and late, giving faithful war service. Since 1914 the volume of business has increased at least 50%. The total number of employees on the staff at the outbreak of the war was—Men, 254; Girls, 15; Total, 269. At the present time—Men, 165; Girls, 102; Total, 267. The girls who have been taken into the service for the most part have given very good satisfaction, and are being employed as tellers in some of our smaller branches.

Mr. Thomas Long and Mr. C. M. Gripton both spoke briefly, expressing the satisfaction of the Shareholders and complimenting the management upon the Statement presented. It was then moved by Mr. Thomas Long and seconded by Mr. Frank P. Lee that the thanks of the Shareholders are due and are hereby tendered to the President, Vice-President and Directors for their careful attention to the affairs of the Bank. Carried. Moved by Dr. J. A. Todd, seconded by Mr. J. B. O'Higgins, that the thanks of the Shareholders be tendered to the Acting General Manager and the other officers of the Bank for the efficient manner in which they have respectively discharged their duties during the past year. Carried.

Moved by Mr. L. V. Dusseau, seconded by Mr. W. J. Green, that Mr. Sydney H. Jones be re-appointed Auditor of the Bank for the ensuing year. Carried. The following Directors were then elected for the ensuing year: Messrs. C. A. Barnard, K.C., H. J. Daly, R. P. Gough, M. J. Haney, C.E., John Kennedy, Hon. A. Claude Macdonell, K.C., Brig.-Gen. the Hon. James Mason, J. Ambrose O'Brien, S. Casey Wood.

At a meeting of the new Board of Directors held immediately after the adjournment of the General Meeting, Mr. M. J. Haney, C.E., was re-elected President, Mr. R. P. Gough, Vice-President, and Brig.-General the Hon. James Mason, Honorary President, of the Bank. Lieut.-Colonel J. Cooper Mason, D.S.O., was also appointed General Manager.

THE BATTLE CREEK SANITARIUM

Francis Grierson, the Famous English Litterateur and World Traveller, Visits This Great Institution

For many years, during my travels in Europe, I had heard of the Battle Creek Sanitarium. In Germany I was often asked if I had ever visited the famous institution and at all the leading health resorts in England and Scotland I was asked the same question.

One day, at Carlsbad, an eminent Russian scientist said to me:—"America has given the world two ideas that will never die—the Declaration of Independence and the Battle Creek Idea." I became deeply interested and decided I would some day visit the Sanitarium and see, hear and experience for myself.

On my arrival I was struck by three things—the beauty of Battle Creek, the size of the Sanitarium Buildings, and the superb appearance of the trees and lawns surrounding the buildings on all sides. The Battle Creek Idea is the most vital and biological ever put into practical form. It did not take me long to realize this. In Europe I saw failure resulting from the fact that some one tried to establish a practical, working institution with nothing to work on but notions and fads.

Battle Creek Not a Fad.

The Sanitarium has passed from theory to realization, from the local idea to universal application. It is no longer in the pioneer period. As I have just pointed out, it is known to the remotest limits of civilization. Here guests are not treated sentimentally, but scientifically. Here there is no place for guess work and make-believe. There is no dallying with whims and vagaries.

Every University in England and America has its simple-life enthusiasts here. In the dining room, I was introduced to a young Russian who told me more about present-day life in Russia than I ever knew. One evening I was surprised to meet some acquaintances from Florence, Italy, and while I was talking with them, some friends came up whom I had known in Paris.

The climate is remarkably equable, and the position of the town, one thousand feet above Lake Michigan, in the centre of the stage, at the top of the great mound which forms the State, insures pure, cool lake breezes from all sides—from Lake Michigan on the West, Lake Huron on the East and Lake Superior on the North. Summer heat is less here than on the lake shore, because the town is on a greater elevation and during hot spells it is even cooler in Battle Creek than it is at the northern resorts.



THE BATTLE CREEK SANITARIUM IN 1917, BATTLE CREEK, MICH., U.S.

"It is cool in Michigan," is a phrase that draws tens of thousands of people to this part of the United States from Texas and other southern States, every summer season. There are two hundred small lakes in the vicinity of Battle Creek and several thousand in the State, and the beauty of the walks and the public roads, can hardly be adequately described.

The beautiful maples, elms, lindens and catalpas which line the streets and fill the numerous lovely parks, are the home of hundreds of big black and grey fox squirrels, which scamper about the trees and play with children in the parks.

THE MEDICAL STAFF.

The Battle Creek Idea embodies all the most improved and most scientific methods of combating disease. There are no violent heroic measures, no empirical formulas, no secret methods employed. The system is simply a rational plan of leading the individual out of suffering and inefficiency into health, comfort and useful activity.

The medical corps of the Sanitarium comprises more than thirty physicians and from three to four hundred nurses and attendants, the number varying with the season of the year. The leading physicians of the Battle Creek Sanitarium have been connected with the institution for ten to forty years and all of them have been especially trained for the work in the best medical institutions of this country and Europe.

The most popular breakfast foods originated here. Toasted cereal flakes are a Battle Creek Sanitarium idea which has won favour throughout the world.

It is interesting to note the ever increasing appreciation of the work of the institution on the part of the medical profession. This is clearly shown in the fact that the family of patients always includes many physicians and from inquiry I learned that a large proportion of the patients are referred here by their family physicians.

In looking over the annual report I found that among thousands of others admitted last year as patients there were one hundred and fifty-six attorneys; one hundred and eight bankers; ten judges; three hundred and thirty-six students; twenty-one publishers; one hundred and eighty-one teachers; four senators; seven editors; twenty-eight presidents; two hundred and twenty nurses, and two hundred and eighteen physicians.

Provision is made for the care of the sick and poor, as well as for those who are able to pay. The case of the poorest sufferer receives the same painstaking, careful investigation as that of the wealthiest patient.

Newfoundland

The Norway of the New World

A Land of Surpassing Beauty and of Rare Interest for the Traveller

FOR the photographer, the artist and the lover of the beautiful in Nature its attractions cannot be exaggerated, Its dependency, LABRADOR, exceeds in its picturesque natural panoramas the much-praised Fiords of Norway.

The Sportsman's Paradise

Abounding in game of the finest in fin, fur and feather. Lordly caribou in countless herds. Rivers teeming with salmon. Lakes filled with trout. Forests alive with birds and furry creatures. All sport free except caribou hunting, which requires a license fee of $50 (£10), and salmon fishing, which involves a rod tax of $10 (£2).

Forest, Mine and Farmland Wealth

Splendid opportunities to acquire lands for Farming, Mining, Lumbering, and Pulp and Paper Making on reasonable terms, with generous concessions from the Government of Newfoundland in the way of free entry for all machinery and equipments requisite in establishing new industries.

COPPER and IRON MINES in active operation.

SAW MILLS, cutting extensively of lumber for export.

Two of the world's largest PAPER MILLS recently established.

For Information respecting Sport, apply to Mr. J. G. Stone, Minister of Marine and Fisheries, St. John's, Newfoundland; Respecting Lands, to Hon. J. A. Clift, Minister of Agriculture and Mines, St. John's, Newfoundland, and otherwise to HON. W. W. HALFYARD, Colonial Secretary, St. John's, N.F.

NORTHERN ONTARIO

THE Great Clay Belt of Northern Ontario extends westerly from the inter-provincial boundary between Quebec and Ontario for over 400 miles—varying in depth, north and south, from 25 to 100 miles and more. It is safe to say that from 65 to 75 per cent. of this vast expanse is good farm land. The soil is rich and deep and produces in abundance practically all crops grown in Older Ontario.

RAILROADS—A settler can ride from the big cities of Ontario or the West in a Pullman if he wishes almost to his own door. This is something new in pioneer life. Note that this fertile land is one degree south of Winnipeg. The climate is ideal for perfect health; warm in summer, cold and invigorating in winter.

The land is well watered with lakes and rivers and covered with merchantable timber.

For information re Land Settlement Scheme for Returned Soldiers and Sailors communicate with Lieut.-Col. Robert Innes, Parliament Buildings, Toronto.

Our literature descriptive of this great country may be had free by applying to

H. A. MACDONELL,
Director of Colonization,
Parliament Buildings,
Toronto, Ontario

G. H. FERGUSON,
Minister of Lands, Forests and Mines.

From Tuesday, June 18, 1918

CENTRAL TRUST CO. *of* NEW YORK

ESTABLISHED 1875

UNION TRUST COMPANY *of* NEW YORK

ESTABLISHED 1864

will be known as

CENTRAL UNION TRUST COMPANY

OF NEW YORK

Capital, Surplus and Undivided Profits, $29,000,000

Deposits $220,000,000

Until the alterations now being made at No. 80 Broadway are completed, the business heretofore transacted by the Central Trust Company will continue to be carried on at No. 54 Wall Street and the business heretofore transacted by the Union Trust Company will continue to be carried on at No. 80 Broadway. The business at both offices, however, after the effective date of the merger will be transacted by the Central Union Trust Company of New York, and new business of any kind may be taken up at either office.

The entire personnel of both companies will be retained and the company will be fully equipped to handle financial business of every kind consistent with conservative banking.

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Deposits (May 10, 1918) - -	*194,000,000.00*

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Perhaps you have never clearly and definitely faced the question.

It is certain to become a real one in time. Face it now.

Some day the writing on the wall may strike you with a sudden realization of its truth and importance.

When that time comes will you be insurable?

You do not know.

But if you are in good health you can place insurance on your life at once.

Total and Permanent Disability no longer constitute the same menace to your future if you have the Confederation Life's new Disability Clause in your policy. In case of disability your premiums cease, you receive an income for life, and the amount of the policy is paid to your heirs at your death.

A Confederation Life representative will gladly send you the necessary data to enable you to decide at once what plan best meets your requirements.

CONFEDERATION LIFE ASSOCIATION

201

THE

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William and Beaver Streets
NEW YORK

Organized - 1853

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CAPITAL, SURPLUS AND PROFITS, $11,000,000
NET DEPOSITS, $110,000,000

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Surplus - - - - $ 4,466,293.00

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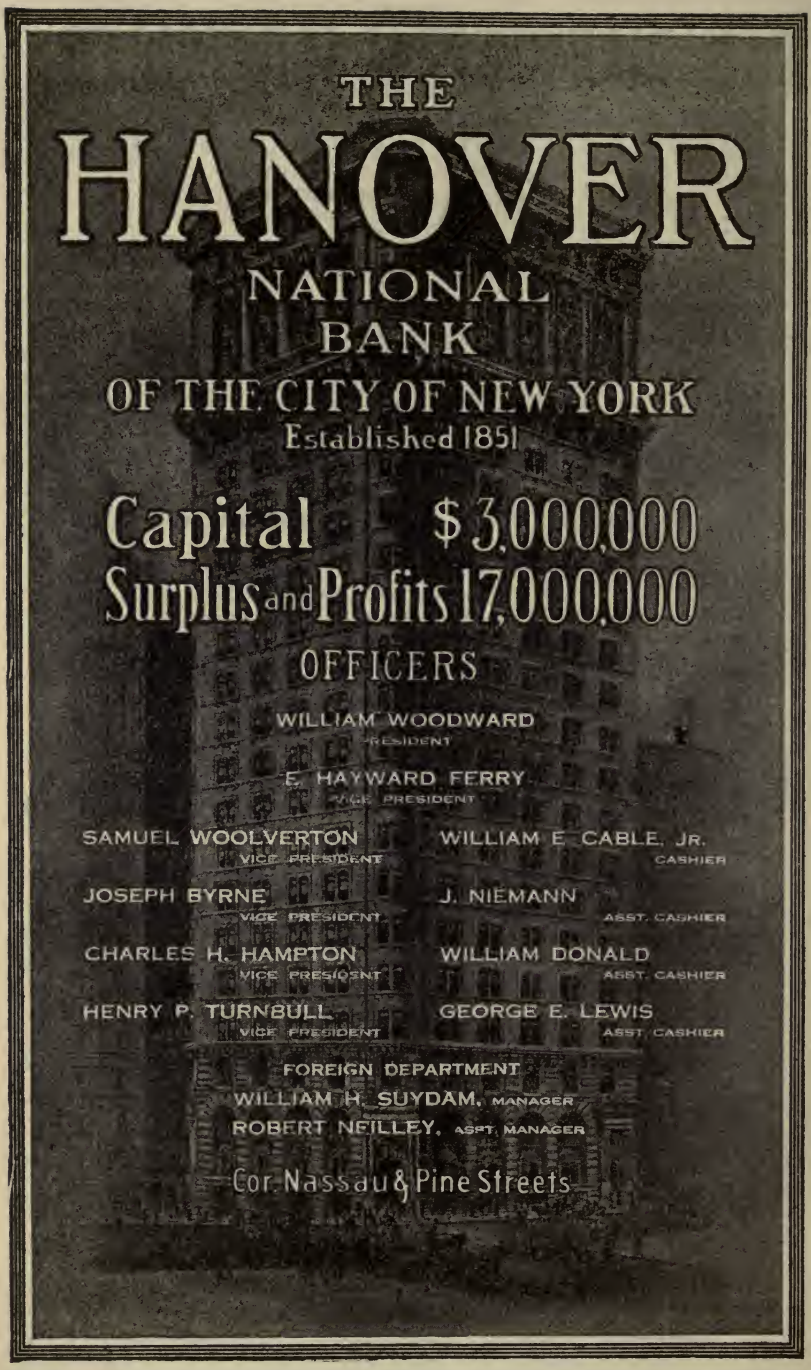
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THE
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BANK
OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK
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Capital $3,000,000
Surplus and Profits 17,000,000
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The ultimate fate of the fortune you have struggled to acquire will partly depend upon the wisdom you exhibit in the selection of your Executor. A friend, no matter how astute, can scarcely be expected to give your affairs his undivided attention, whereas by appointing this Corporation as your Executor, your Estate will have experienced, capable and constantly attentive experts to manage its affairs, with no greater cost for administration.

Consultation Solicited. Call or Write.

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A. D. LANGMUIR, General Manager W. G. WATSON, Asst. Gen. Mgr.
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Capital Paid-Up	$1,500,000.00
Reserve Fund	1,950,000.00
Assets Under Administration	83,286,782.69

HEAD OFFICE - - 85 BAY ST., TORONTO
BRANCHES: OTTAWA, WINNIPEG, SASKATOON, VANCOUVER

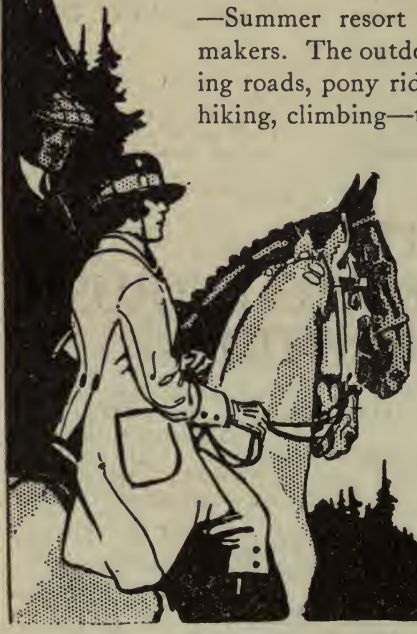


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Quebec to Vancouver and Victoria, B. C.
Convenient Train Service. All modern equipment.

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Made in Canada

Belting For all purposes	Rubber Hose for
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(A World-wide Business Transacted)

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Incorporated A.D. 1851

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ASSETS exceed - - -	$6,000,000
CAPITAL (authorized) -	5,000,000
" (subscribed) -	2,500,000
" (paid-up) - -	2,500,000

Losses paid to policy-holders since organization of the Company in 1851, over $71,000,000

British America Assurance Company

Established in the reign of King William IV., A.D. 1833

FIRE, MARINE, INLAND TRANSPORTATION,
AUTOMOBILE AND HAIL INSURANCE

ASSETS exceed - - -	$3,500,000
CAPITAL (authorized) -	3,000,000
" (subscribed) -	1,400,000
" (paid-up) - -	1,400,000

Losses paid to policy-holders since organization of the Company in 1833, over $43,000,000

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Western Assurance Co.
Cor. Wellington and Scott Sts.

Canada Permanent Mortgage Corporation

Established 1855

HEAD OFFICE—TORONTO STREET, TORONTO

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President—W. G. Gooderham
First Vice-President—W. D. Matthews Second Vice-President—R. S. Hudson
Joint General Managers—R. S. Hudson, John Massey
Assistant General Manager—George H. Smith

Paid-up Capital	**$ 6,000,000.00**
Reserve Fund (Earned)	**5,250,000.00**
Investments	**31,557,661.82**

DEPOSITS

The Corporation is a Legal Depository for Trust Funds

Every facility is afforded Depositors.
Deposits may be made and withdrawn by mail with perfect convenience.
Deposits of one dollar and upwards are welcomed.

Interest at Three and One-Half Per Cent.
per annum is credited and compounded twice a year.

DEBENTURES

For sums of one hundred dollars and upwards we issue Debentures bearing a special rate of interest for which coupons payable half-yearly are attached. They may be made payable in one or more years, as desired. They are a

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